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Different Cultures in Education for Democracy and Citizenship

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Tilman Grammes

Editorial: Different Cultures in Education for Democracy and Citizenship

This volume of the *Journal of Social Science Education* could be another example for what is being observed as the current renaissance of comparative studies that seek to overcome the traditional approaches called “Comparative Education.” The task is to develop new conceptual frameworks that allow going beyond merely inter-national education systems and to acknowledge the development of an educational *world* culture (world polity, global institutionalisation of education, Meyer, Ramirez 2012; cf. Schriewer 2007; Kennedy 2011). Taking this into account, the *JSSE* should include teaching and learning cultures in subject matter didactics. Thus, the comparative study of citizenship education and social studies can be established as an integral part of cultural studies, mirroring society through the lenses of teachers and students. As Schubert (2009, 159) points out: “Since pedagogy in a traditional understanding – does not only deal with teaching and reforming culture, and can itself be only understood as part of a culture and a cultural tradition, it is almost self-evident to grasp pedagogy as cultural studies ... And since talking about culture – from a current perspective – has to inevitably assume its plurality and therefore has to include comparative elements of different cultures, it seems to be almost mandatory to speak about *comparative* cultural studies.”¹ This issue of the *JSSE* deals with different impact factors on such educational cultures in the subject fields of civics and social studies: academic disciplines and their dominant paradigms, school culture, the hidden power of curriculum or the influences of migrational biographies on teaching culture. The contributions cover different regions such as China, Japan, Finland or the two Germanies.

The essay by *Silja Graupe* (Alanus Maurus University, Bonn, Germany) reflects a dominant disciplinary culture, which has a powerful global influence on school lessons via academic teacher training: the academic teaching of the standard paradigm of economics and its inherent images of man. Her essay is an exercise in thought style (“Denkstile”) with reference to the Polish historian of science, Ludwik Fleck. The thesis of the essay is that the human image underlying the economic curriculum differentiates society into mere cogs in the machine of the economy, on the one side, and omnipotent social engineers, on the other.

Matti Rautiainen and *Pekka Räihä* (Jyväskylä University, Finland) deconstruct our image of an exemplary educational culture, namely the high score PISA winner Finland. Focusing the democratic deficit and the passivizing tradition in Finnish educational culture, education for democracy seems to

¹ Originally, the quotation is in German language: „Da Pädagogik – in einem durchaus traditionellen Verständnis – nicht nur mit Vermittlung und Erneuerung von Kultur befasst ist, sondern auch selbst nur als Teil einer Kultur und einer Kulturtradition begriffen werden kann, liegt es nahe, sie als Kulturwissenschaft zu verstehen (vergleiche Mollenhauer 1983...). Und da die Rede von Kultur – zumindest heute – notwendig von deren Pluralität auszugehen hat und damit Elemente des Vergleichs verschiedener Kulturen einschließt, erscheint es fast schon zwingend von *vergleichender* Kulturwissenschaft zu sprechen“ (Schubert 2009, 159, translation TG).

be a “paper promise” especially when compared with its neighbour Sweden. They report on a project on Critical Integrative Teacher Education (CITE) which leads a way out of the two different sides of Finnish school culture. It establishes investigative communities of teacher students who learn participation to be a way of life in their professionalisation process. In addition, the reader gains a lot of inside information on current Finnish school culture.

Is heterogeneity a challenge that may lead to a need for revising teacher education programmes and turn them into thorough diversity-oriented programmes for the social studies domain? *Andrea Szukala* (Bielefeld University, Germany) deals with this question of diversity management in teacher recruitment for civics which leads to a mismatch in social studies teacher-learner relations. In her research, she uses exploratory biographical narratives with two young teachers named Lukas and Gökhan. “How I became a social studies teacher student?” - the identity construction of the narrative becomes obvious. The narrative analysis helps to identify some basic fields of future concern. A similar discussion in a European context can be found in the EDUMIGROM country profiles (Szalai 2011 and www.edumigrom.eu).

Norio Ikeno (Hiroshima University, Japan) focuses on the curriculum cultures within social studies and how they have been organised since World War II (for a global perspective, compare Su-Ying 1991; Rauer 1998; Schriewer 2007): Is citizenship education the aim of social studies as a school subject? This question is taken up in a selected review on Japan.

The transformation of a “socialist democracy” – as the dictatorship of the political party (SED) in the former German Democratic Republic identified itself – into a Western parliamentary system has been a difficult task because no blueprints existed. The educational narrative “The Chestnut Case” is situated in the difficult transitional process from a participatory dictatorship to a participatory democratic civil culture after 1989. The teacher *Ingo Lokies* (Weimar, Saalfeld, Germany) describes a “personal experience” and “almost coincidental situation of actuality” which started with a single action to rescue a tree and ended up in a broad campaign for environmental protection in the community. The commentary by *Julia Sammoray* and *Christian Welniak* (both Hamburg University, Germany) contextualises the historical circumstances and documents the scholarly controversies that arose around this award winning project in democracy learning. This case report continues the series of outstanding curriculum narratives in German civics education which started in [JSSE 2010-3](#) with the concept of categorical conflict didactics as the core paradigm of German civics education (How to deal with party politics at school?). It was followed up in [JSSE 2011-1](#) with a case about political education in the former GDR (The fox and the grapes) and in [JSSE 2011-2](#) with a case from the Weimar Republic (Pedagogy of the League of Nations). The final contributions in this series will include different practices during the Nazi dictatorship (1933-1945) and the pedagogy of the so-called 1968 movement (forthcoming). All together, the cases in this series hopefully provide study material rich in content for courses in comparative education or in German studies departments. The JSSE is very interested in classical curriculum narratives and lesson reports from other countries and educational cultures worldwide. A professional discussion about social sciences education is

dependent not only on empirical data but also on historical consciousness and shared narratives, which are continuously reflected theoretically.

This issue's country profile takes the reader back in the challenging history of a no longer existing nation-state: the former German Democratic Republic (GDR 1949-1989). "Staatsbürgerkunde," translated as "civics courses," is supposed to be a core element in the young generation's ideological infiltration by Marxism-Leninism and Scientific Communism. Various layers of documents and perspectives show a more sceptical view: Staatsbürgerkunde might have created internal contradictions that turned civics into an "impossible" course. This case study sums up various research conducted by *Benita Blessing* (Amherst, University of Massachusetts, USA and University of Vienna, Austria), *Henning Schluss* (University of Vienna, Austria) and *Tilman Grammes* (University of Hamburg, Germany). It should serve as a model to reconstruct the contradictory practices and the controversial views on ideological education, not only in other post-communist European countries (cf. the two issues on "Transformation and Citizenship Education": [JSSE 2-2007](#) and [JSSE 1-2008](#), Georgi Dimitrov and Elena Stoykova in [JSSE 4-2009](#), Albena Hranova in [JSSE 1-2011](#), Georgi Dimitrov in [JSSE 4-2011](#) and Tit Neubauer in [JSSE 1-2012](#)).

The film review by *Liu Changqing* (East China University of Political Science and Law, Shanghai/China) introduces an expressive so-called educational documentary (Yijing 2011). The film "*Vote for me!*" was produced in China as part of an international film project titled "*Why democracy?*" Within this documentary project, 17 thought-provoking short films deal with personal, political and legal issues around the theme "What does democracy mean to me?" In a groundbreaking collaboration, "*Why democracy?*" teamed up with Metro Newspapers worldwide to ask various people – from political leaders to athletes, from celebrities to religious figures – ten questions about democracy. The answers appear online, in the press and in a collection of short films (<http://www.whydemocracy.net/>). The Chinese contribution "*Vote for me!*" is not only about the election of a so-called "class monitor" in a Chinese Middle School but also provides insights into Chinese grassroots democracy (cf. Osler 2011). The film confronts the international reader/viewer with a question that challenges the epistemological framework of citizenship education: the question whether democracy is a universal value that fits human nature or – on the other hand – whether elections inevitably lead to manipulation.

The selected review on citizenship education and social studies in Japan focuses on an educational culture which has been constantly monitored by comparative educational researchers from the inside as well as from the outside. Often, Japan is referred to as a "learning society" where not only schools but also society as a whole are regarded as micro-communities of learning. Meanwhile, Japan has become a multicultural society and the construct of "Japaneseness" is no longer self-evident. Doing comparative education in a cultural sensitive way means re-imagining the images, i.e. the stereotypes of the Self and the Others. In this context, Japanese scholars carefully reflect on the problem of translation, which often remains underestimated in comparative education. "Why I am writing in English and what is the value in doing so?" – this is the thoughtful question of Kariya (2011, 281), a scholar teaching at Oxford as well as in Tokyo. "In fact, hundreds of books and thousands of journal articles on education, both

academic and popular, are published in Japanese annually ... All of this work is 'locked' in Japanese, owing to a highly developed publishing industry, self-sufficient universities, and 'outward-looking' educational researchers and journalists ... Needless to say, little attention is paid to books on Japanese education written in 'foreign' languages" (Kariya 2011, 281). Imai, another scholar, reflects on the "risk of reducing cultural plurality in educational studies and thus standardizing thinking about education... Publishing in English can be considered as a contribution to a forum where the different semantics of education interact and respect one another, in the hope that together they are exploring the whole domain" (Imai 2010, 2, with a striking example from a PISA task).

Culturally sensitive comparative educational research in the subject of social studies still remains a challenging and time consuming project (for an impressive documentation in the field of history education, see Erdmann, Hasberg et al. 2011; Georgi 2008). The *JSSE* will continue to address this task and is preparing a further issue using visual analysis, educational documentary, practised lesson plans and other qualitative material (*JSSE* 2013-4). Contributions are very welcome!

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Matti Rautiainen, Pekka Räihä

Education for Democracy: A Paper Promise? The Democratic Deficit in Finnish Educational Culture

This article presents one way of changing the participatory culture of training teachers – the Critical Integrative Teacher Education (CITE)¹ programme now being implemented at Jyväskylä University. For the last ten years the Finnish school system has been the centre of considerable international attention because of its success in PISA. The Finnish school, however, has two faces. In the shadow of those good learning outcomes there lurks a democratic deficit in school and a lack of school wellbeing amongst children. This article examines the nature of the Finnish school and teacher education from the perspective of democracy. If participatory culture in Finnish schools is restricted, then the same also applies to teacher education. The long tradition of education as well as the radical school democracy experiment in the early 1970s resulted in the neutralization of teacher education and the removal of politics and politicality. This led to a teacher education with the emphasis on didactics and psychology but with a social viewpoint conspicuous by its absence. Even though the system offers opportunities to implement even radically different training methods, there is little that is done differently.

Keywords

Democracy, critical integrative teacher education, participatory culture

1 Introduction

At the end of June 2010 Finland once again took top place in an international school evaluation study. This time it was the ICCS study, which looked at the civic knowledge, skills, values and attitudes of young people. The results showed that the civic knowledge of young Finns in the 8th class of comprehensive school ranked amongst the highest in the world. When attention was shifted from knowledge to attitudes and particularly to participatory culture, Finland came out near the bottom: only a small minority of young people are interested in politics, or even indeed in civic activity, i.e. participating in the activities of the community (Suoninen et al. 2010). The same conclusion was reached in a Finnish-German research project that compared civic participation of young Finns and Germans (Feldmann-Wojtachnia et al. 2010).²

The results are simultaneously surprising and unsurprising. Schools

1 See <https://www.jyu.fi/edu/laitokset/okl/integraatio>.

2 See <http://www.nuorisotutkimusseura.fi/sites/default/files/verkkojulkaisut/Youth%20participation%20in%20Finland%20and%20in%20Germany.PDF>

continue to be anything else but democratic communities. The two faces of school – good learning outcomes, but also a passive participatory culture and lack of school wellbeing – are an exaggerated picture of the Finnish school, but one that nonetheless holds true for many schools. Admittedly, active efforts have been made to remedy this situation, albeit with meagre results, by means of various activity-increasing measures and through the curriculum. The significance of school as the fulfiller and definer of the democratic way of life remains central.

”Basic education³ is part of fundamental educational security. It has both an educational and instructional mission. Its task on the one hand is to offer individuals the chance to acquire a general education and complete their educational obligations; and, on the other, to furnish society with a tool for developing educational capital and enhancing equality and a sense of community. Basic education must provide an opportunity for diversified growth, learning, and the development of a healthy sense of self-esteem, so that the pupils can obtain the knowledge and skills they need in life, become capable of further study, and, as involved citizens, develop a democratic society. Basic education must also support each pupil’s linguistic and cultural identity and the development of his or her mother tongue. A further objective is to awaken a desire for lifelong learning. In order to ensure social continuity and build the future, basic education assumes the tasks of transferring cultural tradition from one generation to the next, augmenting knowledge and skills, and increasing awareness of the values and ways of acting that form the foundation of society. It is also the mission of basic education to create new culture, revitalize ways of thinking and acting, and develop the pupil’s ability to evaluate critically.” (National Core Curriculum for Basic Education 2004, 12).⁴

Even though the development of a participatory culture is a clearly expressed objective in the Core Curriculum, which gives the guidelines for schools, it has remained marginal because of the spheres of influence occupied by the school subjects and the lobbying they carry out.

What is surprising is that so little has happened in ten years. Finland previously participated in an equivalent study (Civics) at the end of the 1990s and the results were largely the same as those obtained in the recent ICCS study.⁵ They revealed, or rather made public, the culture of non-participation existing in schools. A non-participatory culture is by no means the only problem that has troubled the Finnish school (Suutarinen et al. 2001). Tiredness and lack of wellbeing are also an everyday part of school. Research indicates that especially the senior secondary school (lukio) is felt to be more taxing than vocational school. Even though the research results (e.g. Salmela-Aro 2008; Salmela-Aro et al. 2008, 682-683) show that as many as 20% of senior secondary girls demonstrably suffer from some degree of exhaustion, there are no changes planned for teaching at senior secondary level. If workers under an employer experienced exhaustion to the same extent as senior secondary pupils, the law would require the

³ See http://www.oph.fi/english/education/basic_education/school

⁴ See National Core Curriculum for Basic Education 2004:

http://www.oph.fi/english/sources_of_information/core_curricula_and_qualification_requirements/basic_education

⁵ See ICCS 2009 European Report:

http://www.iea.nl/fileadmin/user_upload/Publications/Electronic_versions/ICCS_2009_European_Report.pdf and Toots 2010: <http://www.jsse.org/2010/2010-3/pdf/Toots-JSSE-3-2010.pdf>

employer to take measures to correct the situation. But why does school not change even if there is need for change?

2 Why Does the Passivizing Tradition Continue?

The system of basic education in Finland needed reforming in the 1960s. The hundred-year-old primary school system had reached the end of the road and a thorough reform was initiated. With this reform both basic education and teacher education changed in Finland. Compulsory basic education for all was extended to nine years, after which pupils would choose either upper secondary school or vocational education. The transition to the new basic school was carried out in stages beginning in 1972. The 1971 decree on teacher education transferred teacher education to the universities and from the end of the 1970s qualification as a class teacher has required a higher university degree, a Master of Education.

Finland attended comprehensive school in the 1970s and early 1980s, and it was a school totally stripped of pupil activeness. The democratization experiments carried out at the start of the 1970s were brought to a rapid halt. The highly politicized school councils were quietly ditched towards the end of the 1970s and schools became small islands where people were careful not to talk about politics, in other words, not to take a stand on contentious issues. With the introduction of the comprehensive school, assessment of learning moved more vigorously towards evaluation of how well individual pupils achieved the objectives set for each subject. Thus, by the start of the 1980s, schools had become socially neutral places (Kärenlampi 1999). In school pupils studied the contents of the subjects, albeit with no attention at all to an understanding of these contents, and they were educated in a blissful and rapidly developing welfare state. In the country of lottery winners – winning on the lottery is what Finns call being born in Finland – there was no need to educate pupils to see things differently and develop their activeness. It was a virtue to dutifully achieve learning outcomes and not, for example, to talk about learning objectives and whether they were sensible. The physical structure of schools, such as their space allocation, was a direct reflection of this mental state. Apart from the corridors and entrance halls pupils had no space of their own for meeting or spending time (e.g. Tolonen 2001).

The school experiences of people our age are very similar irrespective of where in Finland they are from. There are of course also exceptions, but they really are exceptions. It is true that these experiences tell of a time when the directive and regulatory powers of central government were stronger than nowadays, but have times changed as school autonomy has increased? Today school could, if so desired, have a very different operational culture, as we make clear in this article.

If, however, we take a look at the diverse range of outcomes that the vigorous activation of schools and students has produced in Finland over the last ten years, then there is one operation that rises above the others in terms of its success – school pupil unions. When something had to be done,

pupil union work was established as the basic virtue of the participating pupil. In the Participating Student project a huge number of Finnish teachers were trained to run and supervise pupil unions. They in turn took what they had learned back to their own regions and into their own schools. The result was that within a few years there was a pupil union system that was very similar in all schools (Nousiainen, Piekkari 2007). However, the pupil union system only involved a fraction of school pupils, mostly those who were otherwise active.

The pupil unions are in the spirit of representative democracy and they belong in school, as long as they are given decision-making power in matters affecting the school, not merely responsibility for arranging May Day and Valentine's Day celebrations. What is interesting in the way pupil unions arrived in school is the message it conveys about the development culture in our schools: despite school autonomy the schools are very similar. There is then only a small amount of bottom-up change. On the other hand, top-down change at its best can proceed extremely effectively: regional teacher recruitment, effective training providing an operational model, and immediate implementation of activities in school.

Compared to Sweden, for example, development has been very different. Whereas in Finland school democraticization only experienced a peak at the beginning of the 1970s and recently again in the 2000s, in Sweden the relationship between democracy and school has a longer and profounder history appropriate to a culture of discussion, although even in Sweden the idea of participatory citizenship did not really make a breakthrough into schools until the 1970s (Englund 1986, 318-325). The 1960s and 70s in the west were generally a time of powerful social justice and participation in schools and they became seedbeds of democratic education, either through radical change (as in Finland) or more restrainedly as part of the old structure (Goodson 2005, 121, 127).

It is clear that the politicized and radical school council experiment of the 1970s left its scars on Finnish schools, especially on teachers who had strongly resisted the experiment from the outset. The experimental reform was especially hard for middle-class secondary school teachers committed to the political right (Kärenlampi 1999, 29). While challenging teachers' political ideology, it also invaded the protected and autonomous inner circle of the teaching profession and made "forbidden fruit" – social and political reality – a part of school. The school democracy movement raised the question of on whose terms and on what ideological basis the activity and goals of school are organized. In other words it brought into view the political nature of school which, with the fading of the school democracy movement, once again donned the garb of neutrality: school reverted to a place where the values-based and political nature of teaching and school culture was obliterated.

Vacuums, however, are in the habit of being filled. With the removal of a value base and politicality, the gap was filled with more intensive study of school subjects. Even though from the teacher's perspective everything seemed to be fine and in order, pupils saw the change differently. Too much of school development has been to meet the teachers' welfare needs,

not those of the pupils, according to professor Lea Pulkkinen's analysis.⁶ Pulkkinen urges us to stop basking in our PISA success and take seriously the fact that Finnish children do not like school. At the moment school is too knowledge-based. The discussion initiated by Pulkkinen, however, never really took off and it was redirected from school and teachers to a consideration of the shortage of resources for youth psychiatry. It seems that nobody is taking the unpleasant messages emanating from schools seriously (Räihä 2010a).

3 Empirical Findings - Teacher Education as an Upholder of Tradition

Justice is a particular social virtue that contains within itself all other virtues (see e.g. Aristotle 1981, 211). It is part of an open democracy that people have the right to ask about the principles of justice and demand that they are fulfilled. For this reason, communities have rules and practices which endeavour to ensure the protection of the law. In Finnish schools, however, there are no organs providing legal protection, whereas in Sweden, for example, legal protection is regarded as having a positive effect, increasing trust and clarifying the limits for exercising power (Ahonen 2003, 28).

In western democracies efforts to ensure the implementation of the idea of justice have involved, among other things, the division of power, its best-known exemplar being Montesquieu's tripartite system. The organs of legal protection in Swedish schools represent the principle whereby an independent organ evaluates the actions of those exercising power and their just implementation. In Finland issues of legal protection are marginal. Rautiainen (2008) carried out an extensive study of the conceptions of communality amongst students, all prospective subject teachers, and yet not a single student approached the activity of a community from the perspective of legal protection. Perhaps questions of legal protection are not considered necessary because in the students' opinion school itself includes the idea of justice - school is premised on the pursuit of justice. The role of the teacher is to ensure the realization of this idea.

Data in Rautiainen's (2008) research was collected in the form of essays under the heading: what community should there be in school culture? What does it require of the members of the community? The resulting 221 essays were analyzed using the traditions of phenomenography and hermeneutics.

Students' understanding of this idea, however, reflects conservative thinking, maintaining the operational culture and structures of school rather than reforming and changing it. Students' notions about school are rather traditional and they form links in a lengthy chain where political activity is exceedingly moderate (for example, nobody writes about the possibility of civil disobedience in school) and where the role of the teacher as determiner of students' activity and as supervisor is significant. Even

⁶ See <http://www.uusisuomi.fi/kotimaa/36756-tassako-evaat-koulusurmien-estamiseksi>. According to Lea Pulkkinen, professor of psychology, crises like school killings (Kauhajoki and Jokela in Finland) cannot be prevented by increasing funding for youth psychiatry. Instead she requires a change in the curriculum.

though many students are willing to have equality in school, only a small number are interested in why school exists. Nevertheless, almost all of them are willing to make school a place with more discussion and sense of community.

Students also express the most doubt about achieving the genuineness and openness related to discussion and encountering a person. Furthermore, their conceptions are characterized by the more commonsense idea that together we can achieve a better result. The second most prominent feature of the students' conceptions is the goal built into collaborative activities, namely the socialization of students into society, as is made clear in the following student extract (Rautiainen 2008, 87-88):

“One of the basic examples is probably the troublemaking learner who through his (or her) own behaviour fundamentally disturbs or even obstructs attainment of the goal of the other members of the micro-community (i.e., class), namely a successful learning process. He can by certain criteria be called a social criminal. This, however, cannot mean the same as the caricatured status of “outlaw;” on the contrary, other members of the community should make efforts to “adjust” this individual disturbing the enjoyment of others so that he can re-enter the community. The goal may be a little idealistic, but in my opinion achievable, as long as the various members of the community cooperate closely amongst themselves. In this way, as the final outcome of this long-term effort, and (as so often in this particular scenario) with the input of the school welfare officer and/or school psychologist, not forgetting that of the family counsellor, the individual can be made to cease his socially “criminal” activity.”

“In order for this society to function well, rules have been drawn up for it and they must be followed. Disobeying a rule may result in punishment, just as when the law is broken. When every member of society follows the rules, society apparently functions well. Real functionality is only achieved when people act together.”

Acting together is understood more as a method whereby goals revert to pedagogical objectives or school's general socializing goals. There is also a noticeable difference in that whereas we think of discussion as belonging to the teacher-teacher axis, acting together is located more on the teacher-pupil axis. Students' conceptions, however, do also emphasize the importance of discussion between teachers and pupils, as becomes apparent in the following student extract (Rautiainen 2008, 88):

“Besides, how can an educator demand of his students the ability to cooperate or to get along with other people if he himself as an adult human being is incapable of functioning as an active member of his own community or in cooperation with other teachers or with the home?”

Placed on Schein's (1985) three levels of organizational culture, an increase in discussion, which students emphasized, is placed on the level of activity, which concerns the organization's visible structures and activities. A minority of students talk about the level of values and basic assumptions, attainment of which is a prerequisite for truly understanding a culture.

Communality is thus the solution that will improve the functionality and smooth running of school. Since students receive the task assigned to school as almost cut-and-dried, all that remains for the teachers and pupils in school is to carry out that task. Because very few see the task as something that has to be interpreted by the school community, there is very little room in school for seeing differently or for politicality. It also causes tension between the two groups: those who want to discuss the fundamentals of the community, and those who want to concentrate on doing. From the perspective of school development it is extremely important to work together in considering the basis of the work, the core of teacherhood. This is possible by researching and discussing one's own work down to its deepest foundations. Analyzing the foundations in turn opens up the possibility of seeing school in a new cultural context.

According to students communality is strongly linked to the core idea of democracy: everybody having an opportunity to participate and influence those matters that affect themselves and their environment. Students view the gap between this idea and reality as the biggest of all. In addition there is a strong contradiction inherent in this: the teacher is responsible for and likewise decides on matters affecting school, while the pupil's participation is directed and defined by teachers. Students, nevertheless, regard improvement of pupils' opportunities for participation as one major focus of school development, as becomes apparent in the following student extract (Rautiainen 2008, 96).

“In a school community pupils should be given the opportunity of directly influencing school activity. A simple example would, for example, be defining the objectives for courses. Pupils should have the possibility of influencing all kind of activity. Admittedly, participation does presuppose sufficient knowledge about how school works, but this could be gradually taught even during lessons. Pupils should have equal chances of influencing the school community and everybody should have the opportunity and right to affect matters. The issues and the decisions should have a real meaning and appropriate goals. The community must approve the goals democratically, but be open to new suggestions and ideas. Pupils could be given different roles and tasks in the community. Through joint action and planning pupils commit themselves to developing the community.”

In practice the task of creating a culture of participation in a novel way will ultimately run into the problem of lack of time. When teachers' experience of school tends towards the idea that there is not enough time even for going through the basics, how can time be found for practising living democratically? In addition to lack of time, change is made more difficult by the deeply rooted traditions of school, such as the pupil's unquestioned position as learner and the teacher's as supervisor. Many attempts to change teaching are brought back down to earth surprisingly quickly, and students are not the smallest group resisting change. Changes require students to study in a more responsible way, something which their subordinate role in school has not accustomed them to and which is not even desired. In fact, the aim is rather to evade responsibility using various means (Mäensivu 2007).

Students do not actually set any limits to the development of democracy at school. Yet the idea of a completely democratic school seems strange and they want to preserve the hierarchic order of school. They are willing to give power above all in those matters that they consider to affect pupils. Their conceptions then are very contradictory. When teacher education creates the image of an ideal school, and the students themselves do the same, the end result is a school where everything good will be realized: individualism will flourish as part of a strong community where there is a lot of discussion but also a lot of studying. The students' decisions on what is most important in school mean compromises where school shows signs of being a school for cooperation, but in the background there remains the present school foundation with its emphasis on individualism. Accordingly the teacher's strong position as a definer of individualism and democracy also remains (Rautiainen 2008, 147).

4 CITE - Making Participation a Way of Life in Education

The Critical Integrative Teacher Education (CITE) programme, intended for prospective class teachers, began at Jyväskylä University in 2003 and is one of the training programmes that is built on a culture of doing it differently. It is based on a goal whereby understanding the reality of a school's and teacher's work is more important to the teacher than controlling it. In the programme students are taught to understand and confront phenomena that relate especially to learning, teaching and being an individual and member of a community.

Figure 1⁷



⁷ All photos used in this article are taken by Anssi Koskinen.

Instead of the passive pupil we should really start talking about the passive school system. In so far as pupils have been shown to be growing up as subordinates rather than active citizens, the situation of teachers looks no better. They are products of a decontextualized teacher education programme. In that programme didactics and psychology are more important and of greater priority than training a prospective teacher to understand school as a sociohistorical institution (Räsänen 2008; Simola 1997). As it is now, teacher education produces conforming and loyal teachers rather than critical teachers. And since the conservative, perpetuating attitude of students intending to be teachers is also strong already during their training and before entering working life (Rautiainen 2008), attention should be directed at the entire system, not its parts.

The selection tests for teacher education programmes⁸ have also in themselves supported the perpetuating role of school and teacher education. According to Rähä (2010b), student selection has replicated rather than renewed the teaching body. The search has been for teachers that are precisely suitable for this day and age, and not for those who are capable of changing with the flow of time. The aim of the selection tests is to recruit the right kind of people (i.e. those adapting smoothly to school), but in addition they are used in the supremacy struggle between subject areas, meaning the attempt to secure a place for one's own subject in the selection process (Rähä 2010b).

Although the position of democracy, its promotion and nurture is central to the school system, discussion about school participatory culture in Finland is based around the concept of individualism and not democracy. Democracy requires a strong sense of community whose foundations are deeper than the democratic organs of an institution, when we see it as the principle directing the way humans lead their lives. The relationship between communality and democracy is complex and intricate since the concepts involve a great number of different meanings and interpretations of their true nature.

From a historical perspective the Finnish school has been marked by strong individualism with the educational emphasis on individual success and, in addition, a sense of responsibility for other people (Ikonen 2006, 94-98). The sought after individualism has in any case been symbolic in nature, so that the sense of community manifests itself as a feeling of solidarity, shared beliefs, feelings and experiences (Antikainen et al. 2003, 14). When school had a significant part in the task of constructing national identity, communality and nationality were constructed in relation to national virtues. In the modern globalizing world communality at school extends at its widest to the whole of humanity, at least on the level of speech and objectives.

Strong communality can be strong democracy when the values and actions of the community are based on tolerance and respect for diversity. In such cases the feeling of community is built on a foundation which offers the opportunity to disagree and see things differently. Otherwise a democratic way of life in a strong community is not possible; rather, the community

⁸ Class teacher education has been one of the most popular study programmes in Finland. In 2009 there was approximately eight applicants for each available study place. When the numbers of applicants significantly exceeds the number of places, selection test assume a key role. (Rähä 2010b.)

will mark itself off as a group whose members have common beliefs and experiences and inside which different views are not permitted. Understanding and shaping of the new should begin from noting that there does not exist a neutral school where subjects are just studied or citizens formed according to a particular formula. Through his or her choice of profession a teacher makes a powerful commitment to take part in the implementation and development of a democratic society. This idea has, however, largely disappeared from the basic visible character of the teaching profession, or at least it has been understood very narrowly, even wrongly.

The teacher's role in shaping the everyday democracy of school is important. Even though power in school is legally more and more in the hands of the headteacher, teachers play a significant part in school activities and shaping its culture. Through their actions they can create a culture where the hallmarks of participatory democracy prevail, but they can also create a superficial democracy where some of democracy's practices are visible but where the flame of democracy does not burn. In fact, at worst, the school may also form a community which no longer represents democracy, but rather oligarchy or even autocracy.

If we want school to pursue the democratic way of life as a form of human living, education and training have to be reorganized. Democracy cannot be pasted onto a curricular course plan, but at the same time it should not be organized merely under the guise of traditional activities promoting representative democracy. Taking part should be an everyday event, at which point what happens in classrooms or generally during education, becomes central. The basic activities, i.e. learning and being together, should be such that democracy can be implemented. Time has to be set aside for discussion where the possibility of an alternative view, the contentious nature of issues and consensuality can arise. Time, for its part, can be created by integrating communality into regular studying.

In democracy it is a question of listening to the other person and respecting his or her opinion. This should be realized in school organization at three levels: in encounters between pupils, between teachers, and between pupils and teachers. For these encounters to take place, however, structures have to be created. For pupils this can be done in the classrooms as part of the normal school day, but what about a common shared time for teachers, or one for the whole school – teachers and pupils?

When do teachers have time in school to discuss the basic questions about school, for example, why school exists or where their own school community is heading? In most communities the answer is probably never or a small group meeting voluntarily in their free time. In schools teachers have amazingly little time reserved for joint activities. Staff meetings once a month revolve around basic routines and for the rest of the time the teachers, at least one or two, are teaching. The structures are such that they make finding a common time impossible. If a particular group wants to start doing things differently, it is a long uphill struggle to challenge the structures, but nevertheless not an impossible task (Rautiainen et al. 2010).

The role of teacher education takes centre stage in creating the basis of a new culture. If we can say that the operational cultures of school differ from

each other only slightly, then the same applies to teacher education: the ways of doing things differently at the community level are few and far between. Since present-day teachers find an active school somewhat strange, the responsibility for change now falls increasingly to teacher education. Even here, though, change is not easy because, with some rare exceptions, teacher education itself also prefers to uphold existing school culture rather than develop alternatives where participation and activity would be constant and on a daily basis.

It is true to say, however, that teacher education has made efforts to change over the years. But the changes have not necessarily been deep structural changes, at least not aimed at activating teachers and hence students. Rather they have reinforced the prevailing mindset. When teacher education offers a specialization, for example, in art or languages, this cannot really be called a culture of doing things differently but more a weighting of contents in the programme. This weighting can lead to a deeper change, but at worst specialization may be a method of controlling the chaotic and fragmented nature of the programme with the ultimate aim of preserving, not changing, the culture (cf. Rähä 2010b).

In CITE we face phenomena authentically and not through imagined school situations. In practice, this means that we aim at arranging a sufficiently free and open intellectual atmosphere for the group to build a common understanding of itself and its work. The research includes experiential studies on learning and group processes. The experiences and diversity in the group are the starting point of the programme. For the course to succeed it is essential that instructors and students are able together to construct an investigative community where it is possible and safe to be interested in researching (Nikkola et al. 2008).

Figure 2



In the CITE programme a new culture of participation is being built which is based on an understanding of group and community activity. One of its dimensions is the political nature of education and, more broadly, of human actions, in other words the fact that issues are not neutral but always contain the possibility of seeing differently. It is possible to grasp them only by discussing with others. The activities of CITE are therefore structured to make discussion possible. For the entire academic year Mondays and Tuesdays are set aside for students studying in CITE. For the rest of the week they take the same courses as other students. For its own part, the teaching given by the CITE course instructors endeavours to help create and understand the new operational culture.

Even though it is difficult to create a new culture of participation, change has happened at the level of both attitude and action. One student describes this change as follows:

”Yes, I think that you could affect them (the studies) and the contents of the courses as well, if you just want to do things differently then sure you can do them differently, if you can give your reasons why.”

”Yes, at least I’ve noticed that you yourself can have a big effect on your life and what goes on around you... Yes, like, you can, I mean all those teachers are just human beings and you can talk to them and try and change their mind.”

According to teacher who has gone through the Critical Integrative Teacher Education (CITE) things could be done differently from how they are done now.

“When you’ve been doing that work and had a look at the system, then perhaps you think more about what school could be. What it isn’t yet, but what it hopefully could be sometime. Then you try to look at it, thinking about what could be done with this system. Some things really do annoy me, well, not just some but quite a lot. The idea of how you could set about changing it somehow, when you’re just a rank-and-file teacher doing her basic work and trying to manage from one day to the next. And even though you mightn’t have the chance or courage to set about changing it, I reckon it’s important for me to notice, that I notice that there’s something wrong here and something should be done about it. Because then at least you won’t be spending your next 40 years wearing blinkers and be like the one who mutters to herself.” (Räihä et al. 2011, 68).

At the action level CITE students as a group have carried out interventions to do with the student culture in the Department of Teacher Education. On its own initiative the 2005 intake group began to pursue history of education courses, which in the students’ opinion were insufficiently on offer as part of regular studies. The same group also proposed a more sensible way of completing a natural history course. The course instructor accepted the group’s well-argued proposal as a more sensible alternative (Moilanen, Rautiainen 2009). The examples demonstrate above all the shouldering of responsibility for professional development as well as taking an active role in one’s own community.

Beside seeking to change the culture of teacher education and school, the

CITE programme also challenges university culture in a broader sense. Where the current trend, including at universities, is to try and make everything happen in networks or digital space, the CITE programme brings students more tightly together. And the time spent together in this closely-knit group not only concerns students but also instructors. More often than not there are several instructors present during CITE courses. In this way CITE authentically creates a model of teacher cooperation and learning together for future teachers.

Figure 3



Creating the new also affects the culture of evaluation (Moilanen, Nikkola, Rähkä 2008). For example, no special course feedback is collected from students but courses are changed and refocused on the basis of research studies on the CITE. We have also researched teachers graduated from CITE programme (Rähkä et al. 2011). Like other things, course teaching in the CITE group is to a large extent authentic - no external material is introduced into the courses. The result is that the theses and other research completed by students as well as instructors spring from that experience of being in a closely-knit group. In this way students become an active part of the community's activities also in the most crucial area - the development of teaching. Probably school should be like that, too.

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Norio Ikeno

New Theories and Practice in Social Studies in Japan: Is Citizenship Education the Aim of Social Studies as a School Subject?

This paper aims to introduce new theories and practice in Social Studies in Japan since the 1990s, to outline some trends and characteristics relating to the question 'Is Citizenship Education the aim of Social Studies as a school subject?' and to identify 'Applied' and 'Academic' Social Studies as two separate categories.

The Japanese Ministry of Education, Culture, Sport, Science and Technology has long advocated the merits of Applied Social Studies, but recent trends have seen educational researchers and local education administrators actively supporting the reformation and promotion of Social Studies from an 'applied' perspective. Going even further, several schools and districts are so in favour of this development that Citizenship Education has been incorporated as a subject or topic into the school curriculum. However, defence of Academic Social Studies is also deeply rooted; its argument being that Social Studies means Social Sciences. According to this view, Geography, History and Civics (comprising politics, economics and sociology) are treated as distinct fields of Social Studies.

Keywords

School subject, Social Studies education, Citizenship Education, Japan

1 Introduction

This paper will focus on Social Studies as a school subject. Debate over the nature of Social Studies in the world of education has raised issues of how to include Citizenship Education and what kind of things it should cover. In broad terms, opinions emerging from the debate can be divided into two sets of views, the first favouring Applied Social Studies with a general mission to develop Citizenship Education and the second Academic Social Studies with a more specific brief to teach social sciences. Recently, growing attention has been paid to the intersection between these two views, and new research and practice are being carried out in this area. The aim of this paper is to summarize these trends and to examine the function and significance of that intersection. In order to do this, the following sections will clarify trends in Social Studies and Citizenship Education in Japan in the 1990s and 2000s, explain the intersection between Applied and Academic Social Studies, and consider the place of Geography and History within Citizenship Education.

2 Trends in Social Studies/Citizenship Education in Japan in the 1990s and 2000s

2.1 The Shake-Up in Social Studies in Japan

Social Studies has been taught as a school subject in Japan since the end of the Second World War. Since shortly before the end of the 20th century, the generally accepted definition and concepts of Social Studies as a subject have vacillated and become ambiguous.

There are three main reasons for this, the first being changes in education policy and administration. Since 2007, in the process of revising their aims, the government and MEXT have implemented one change after another in the Fundamental Law of Education, the School Education Law and the Courses of Study. The need to develop “builders of the nation and society” has been reaffirmed, and the new aims of fostering love for one’s home town and patriotism have been added. The aim of Social Studies itself within the Courses of Study, namely “to cultivate the basic civic qualities necessary to be a builder of a peaceful and democratic nation and society living in international society,” has not changed, but several items have been added to its content, in accordance with revisions in related laws. A transition in emphasis has also occurred, from ‘an education free of pressure’ to ‘back to basics,’ leading to greater focus on basic knowledge and its acquisition and use. The development of this trend has become the leitmotif for individual subjects, the Period for Integrated Studies and school education as a whole.

The second reason is the reorganization of Social Studies in line with reforms in school education in general. In the latter half of the 20th century, the main motivators of educational reform were the administration sector, in the form of MEXT and the prefectural Boards of Education, and private educational research organizations. Schools themselves did not act as motivators. During the period of transition around the turn of the century, however, Shinagawa Ward in Tokyo and Kure City in Hiroshima Prefecture made use of the Special Education Zone system to restructure elementary and junior high schools into 9-year integrated institutions, developing appropriate curricula and implementing an education based on them. This marked the beginning of school-initiated reform. It also indicated the start of educational reform being carried out in schools in conjunction with the direct involvement of local government offices. In line with these initiatives, Social Studies was also included in reforms that diverged from the existing Courses of Study. The best example is the subject called Shimin (Citizenship), which was established in Shinagawa Ward in 2004. The origin of this initiative was a subject called Yo-no-naka (In the world), which was being taught at Wada Junior High School in Sugunami Ward and in which Social Studies was reorganized to adopt the content and methodology deemed necessary for children in a changing contemporary world. This led to questions about what was required of children in contemporary society, and the existing concepts of Social Studies began to be shaken.

The third reason is the changes in the actual teaching of Social Studies. There has been substantial development in the practice of Social Studies

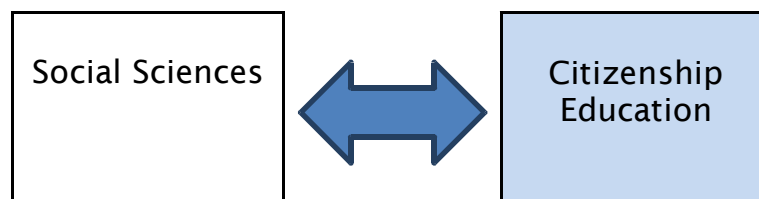
classes in the past; however, most of this has emphasized knowledge and understanding of social life, or the educational practice of social understanding. In this paper, this approach to Social Studies is called ‘social science education.’ From around the turn of the century, aspects that had not previously been included in Social Studies, such as values, criteria, rules and order, began to be incorporated. In addition, some researchers and teachers emerged who wanted to reform Social Studies classes, thus furthering the rethinking of Social Studies.

These changes demanded a re-examination of the question of what Social Studies as a school subject was and should be. Until then, Social Studies had been defined as a subject in which “citizenship qualities are cultivated through the development of social understanding” (Utsumi 1971). This definition has remained constant since the introduction of Social Studies into the curriculum in 1947. The Courses of Study continue to maintain this definition. At the same time, in the revisions of the Courses of Study in 1989, Social Studies was abolished in the first two years of elementary school and in senior high school, being replaced by Life Environment Studies in elementary school and by Civics and combined History and Geography in senior high school. This reform has had a significant impact, playing a major role in leading to our current investigation of the nature and scope of Social Studies.

2.2 Diversification of the Social Studies Subject Model

From the period around the turn of the last century, Social Studies in Japan changed in terms of both educational theory and educational practice. This trend manifested itself in the diversification of the relationship between Social Sciences, which focused on understanding society, and Citizenship Education, which focused on the development of responsible citizens. Their relationship within Social Studies can be represented in various forms. The three models shown below are the most common.

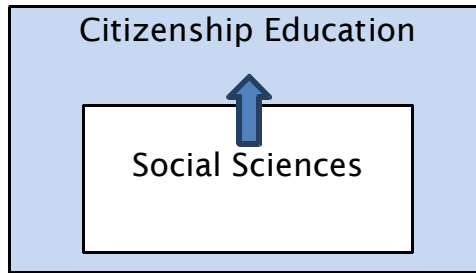
Figure 1. Social Studies Model 1: The separatist model



I use the term ‘separatist model’ for Figure 1. In this model, Social Sciences and Citizenship Education are set alongside each other, and the aim is to link them. This model has been used in the world of Social Studies in Japan for more than 60 years. In basic terms Social Sciences and Citizenship Education are treated as two separate entities, and it is assumed that they are distinct spheres. They can be set vertically or horizontally in relation to each other. If they are set vertically, it becomes a relation of hierarchy; if they are set horizontally, it becomes an aim-method link or a cause-and-effect relationship. This lack of specificity in the relationship is the black

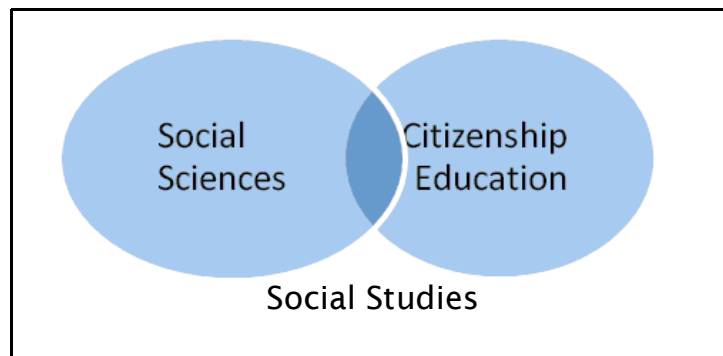
box feature of this model. Until now, definitions have existed only within the parameters of Figure 1, and for many years debate has centred on how to connect the two.

Figure 2. Social Studies Model 2: The integrated model



I use the term ‘integrated model’ for Figure 2. In this parent-child model, Social Sciences becomes subsumed into Citizenship Education, following an aim-method structure. The aim is Citizenship Education, and the method is Social Sciences. Social Studies theory and practice in Japan has rarely followed this model, which originated in the late 1940s based on the experiential education theories of Dewey and others. Around 1950, citizenship was set as the aim of all education, and Social Studies played a central role in achieving it.

Figure 3. Social Studies Model 3: The linked model



I use the term ‘linked model’ for Figure 3. Here, Social Sciences and Citizenship Education overlap and are linked; however, the premise is that each has its own independent aim. The link itself creates new aims, and new theories of Social Studies are being organized around this area of overlap. It is here that two areas of education merge to create a new field of study and new directions for development. These new developments have progressed apace in Japan since the 1990s.

2.2 Trends in Social Studies from the Turn of the Last Century to the Beginning of the 21st Century

Social Studies in Japan has diversified since the 1990s. This diversification can be summarized by saying that theories of Social Studies and lesson development have progressed from the separatist model of Figure 1 and the integrated model of Figure 2 to the linked model of Figure 3.

- Context and Turning Points

The context of these developments is the constantly shifting demands made of education in Japan, together with revisions to educational laws and systems and to Courses of Study made in response. Structural reform and the easing of regulations associated with neo-liberalist theory, as well as the resultant free-marketization of education and the conservatism of an emphasis on uniquely Japanese traditions and culture, are among the influences to be noted.

Social Studies has been equally influenced by these trends, leading to the changes that have occurred since the 1990s. In particular, the definition and concept of Social Studies became ambiguous. For many years after the end of the Second World War, its aim had been to “cultivate citizenship qualities through the development of social understanding,” but this concept became unstable. The first step in this process was the advocacy of Social Sciences in the latter half of the 1970s by Moriwake and others (Moriwake 1978). This group, influenced by the new Social Studies movement in the USA, restricted Social Studies to Social Sciences and abandoned Citizenship Education. By limiting the remit of Social Studies to what could be empirically proven, a high degree of scholarship in education could be guaranteed. They stressed that Social Sciences should be limited to what could actually be implemented in practice and what was possible in real terms. This further narrowed the sphere of responsibility of Social Studies. Teachers were released from the burden of Citizenship Education that they had previously shouldered, and relieved of their mission. This was the theory of ‘Academic Social Studies.’

Such restrictions reformed Social Studies by using Geography, History and social science research as a platform from which to introduce academic research and its results and methods into school education. The strength of the theory of Academic Social Studies lies in the way in which solid content and methods, based on academic research, are used in practice. It is organized in such a way that teachers experience academic research for themselves and then adapt this research according to the type of school, the interests of the children and their level of study, thus enabling children to experience and learn from it. Just as Social Sciences educational theory was incorporated into the new Social Studies movement in the USA, it was used in Japan to organize classes premised on absolute trust in academic research and reflecting it faithfully. One of the best-known proponents of this movement, Moriwake (1978), proposed a model for Social Sciences through the creation of a History unit on the Shogunate system, based on historical research into the Edo era, and a Civics unit on pollution, based on social science research. The most important aspect is that the social

understanding created by children should be 'scientific,' and securing academic standards and objectivity is the guarantee of this.

In terms of the model of Social Studies shown in Figure 1, Academic Social Studies is found only within Social Sciences, and the responsibility of Social Studies in general covers only a small section of this area. As a result, many theories about Social Studies are regarded as belonging to Applied Social Studies, thus linking all Social Studies to Citizenship Education and its development.

Seen from the perspective of Academic Social Studies, and based on the theory of Social Sciences, the traditional Applied Social Studies appears to encompass huge responsibilities and tasks, imposing a psychological burden on education researchers and teachers by making them conscious of the weight of their moral responsibility and imposing on them the duty to resolve this burden themselves. On the other hand, the abandonment of Citizenship Education in Social Studies stimulated the formation of an educational research group which supported the specific mission of Social Studies and education in citizenship, and led to them to emphasize the role of citizenship even more.

- New Aspects

The theory of Academic Social Studies began as a movement within academic associations and grew to have enormous influence, threatening to destroy existing definitions and concepts. It first surfaced in the 1989 Courses of Study, in which the models shown above in Figures 1 and 2 began to move towards the linked model in Figure 3 as various new aspects began to identify themselves.

The first new aspect was a renewed emphasis on theories of Citizenship Education in Social Studies. These had previously centred on students' attitudes and interest, but new Citizenship Education addressed such aspects as values and norms (Mizoguchi 2001; Yoshimura 1996, 2000, 2001), as well as rules and order (Ikeno 2001, 2006), thereby requiring skills of judgement and decision-making in addition to understanding of social situation. In linking Social Sciences with Citizenship Education in Social Studies in this way, the new integrated model shown in Figure 2 was created.

The second aspect was the move to extend the educational remit of Social Studies to include not only values, norms, rules and order, but also the fields of moral education and ethics. This move began with the textbooks entitled "Yo-no-naka" (In the world) and "Rules", edited by Fujiwara and Miyadai (1998, 1999), which were not authorized textbooks for secondary schools. These textbooks cover fields such as law and psychology as well as the Civics fields of economics, politics and sociology. They are written from the viewpoint that it is not enough simply to provide knowledge about society, because this knowledge needs to be closely linked to 'life' and how to live 'in the world;' and that what students need to learn is not how to relate to society and the world, but how to actually 'manage to live' in it. "In the World" was established as a new subject. Fujiwara became the principal of Wada junior high school in Sugunami Ward, Tokyo, and introduced the subject into Social Studies and the Period for Integrated Studies. Another

initiative related to this movement was the establishment of Shimin (Citizenship) as a subject, replacing life environment studies and Social Studies at the elementary school attached to Ochanomizu University (2004) as part of its research development programme from 2001; the aim of Shimin is to develop the skills and abilities of ‘responsible citizens’ through the cultivation of social value judgements and decision-making. One more example is the educational reform in Shinagawa Ward, Tokyo, where Citizenship was established as a subject – a part of an original 9-year integrated curriculum for elementary and junior high school children. “Citizenship” integrates the three areas of moral education, the Period for Integrated Studies and Special Activities, and its aim is for students to “be aware of their own way of being and living, and find their own path in life.” This second aspect is clearly a reaction to the minimization of moral duty in subject teaching and the attempt to exempt education from responsibility as represented by Academic Social Studies, swinging instead to a widening of the responsibility of education and an expanded role for Applied Social Studies (Ikeno 2007). These new movements appear to be crossing the borders of Social Studies and extending to education as a whole, thus fitting the parameters of the integrated model shown in Figure 2.

The third aspect was the response of ‘academic’ theory as a reaction to ‘applied’ theory in Social Studies and education in general. New Social Studies courses have been developed to resolve the ambiguity in the relationship between Social Sciences and Citizenship Education (Moriwake 2001; Harada 2000; Kodama 2005). This movement is creating new developments in the area of intersection between them, as indicated in Figure 3. These developments will now be examined.

3 Applied Social Studies and Academic Social Studies: Exploring the Intersection

3.1 New Developments in Models of Social Studies

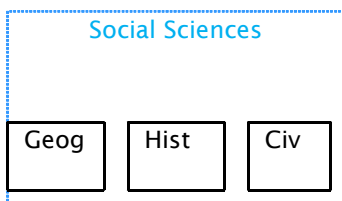
In the previous section, I suggested that models of Social Studies have become more diversified and are producing new zones of intersection. I would now like to introduce these theoretical developments in schematic form. It is important to note that these models represent a theoretical ordering of new developments, which is not the same as the actual or chronological order of developments.

The group of models shown in Figure 4 focus on the component areas of Geography, History and Civics in Social Studies, and illustrate the various relationships between Social Sciences and Citizenship Education. Blue lettering indicates related areas that are taken into consideration but not directly aimed at; dotted lines indicate areas that are taken into consideration without being directly related.)

The models in the left hand column place a relatively strong emphasis on Social Sciences. They put primary importance on the relationship of Geography, History and Civics to Social Sciences and then, in descending order, pay increasing attention to links with Citizenship Education. Figure

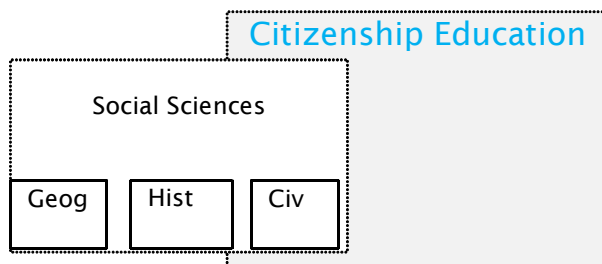
4.4.1 shows a model in which Geography, History and Civics are integrated into Social Sciences, which in turn is directly related to Citizenship Education. The models in the right hand column place the stronger emphasis on Citizenship Education. They are consistent in setting Citizenship Education as the actual aim of Social Studies, and in making Social Sciences the process by which that aim must be realized. Going down the column, Social Sciences in themselves become less and less important, while the relative emphasis on citizenship becomes stronger. Once again, it must be stressed that this series of models is a theoretical structuring, and does not represent actual practice or chronological developments in Social Studies research since the 1990s.

Figure 4.1. Geography, History and Civics as discrete subjects



In Figure 4.1, Geography, History and Civics are taught separately, as distinct and unconnected subjects. Naturally, consideration of Citizenship Education is not included and, in practice, classes often lack awareness of a Social Science perspective. In junior high school Social Studies and senior high school Geography, History and Civics, many teachers in their separate classrooms follow the example of Figure 4.1. If the teachers see themselves as Geography or History specialists, they tend to use class time exclusively for the purpose of their own subject. Umbrella titles such as 'Social Studies' or 'Geography with History,' together with the citizenship aspects of their aims, are regarded as nothing more than decorative labels.

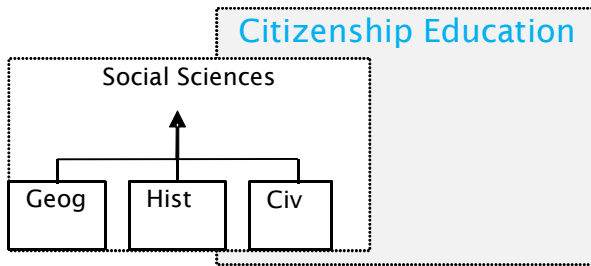
Figure 4.2. Geography, History and Civics as Social Sciences



In Figure 4.2, no consideration is given to Citizenship Education, but there is awareness of the sphere of Social Sciences. Although Geography, History and Civics are taught separately, they are taught either as a means of acquiring knowledge and understanding about society or as an actual Social Science course. The content is drawn from the individual subject areas, but a conscious effort is made to link this content with contemporary society and its functions. This link is made directly in Geography and indirectly in

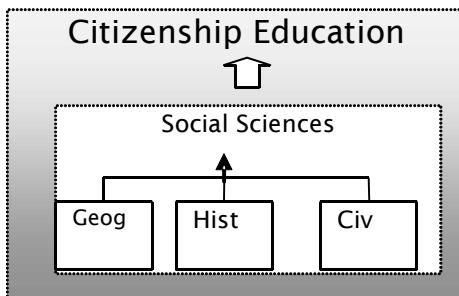
History. Areas of knowledge from individual academic fields are taught, and classes are organized and developed in accordance with research findings. The model shown in Figure 4.2 is a theory of Social Sciences based on academic research.

Figure 4.3. Geography, History and Civics as connected Social Sciences



In Figure 4.3, although Geography, History and Civics are taught separately, there is a requirement that each should fulfil the criteria of Social Sciences. These criteria are concepts and theories that can be used to understand contemporary society. In this type of approach, Geography, History and Civics are sometimes interconnected and may be explicitly structured into an integrated Social Studies curriculum, using their concepts and theories to address contemporary society and its problems; and in this link with contemporary society, Citizenship Education can be indirectly implemented.

Figure 4.4.1. Geography, History and Civics for Citizenship Education through Social Sciences



In Figure 4.4.1, Geography, History and Civics transcend Social Sciences and are directly linked to Citizenship Education. According to this model, it is possible in Geography classes to go beyond explanation of the problems of contemporary society to examine ways of coping with and resolving these problems by investigating the values and norms at issue, examining judgements and decisions, and reflecting on them critically in order to test them and possibly make better ones. In History classes, too, ways of dealing with contemporary problems and resolving them can be found or considered through comparative analysis of issues in past and present societies, thus demonstrating the contribution of the past to the present

and revealing the link between them. This model shows a new theory of Citizenship Education in which the study of Geography and History involves interpretation, explanation and resolution through judgements and decisions that entail explication of values and norms, together with a close investigation of their function and role.

In the Citizenship Education models on the right, Geography, History and Civics are not accorded their own independent existence, but they are three fields that can be integrated to provide explanations and solutions within the primary framework of educational content related to contemporary society and its problems. The entry point may be Geography, but any one unit will also involve a study of History and Civics as well, so that the unit as a whole provides education that integrates all three. Furthermore, it also requires individual responses in making judgements and decisions regarding problems; deals with the responses, judgements and decisions made by social groups, classes and society as a whole; and considers the way that society should be from individual, group and macro perspectives, requiring value judgements, social choice, creativity and application.

Figure 4.4.2. Geography, History and Civics for Citizenship Education

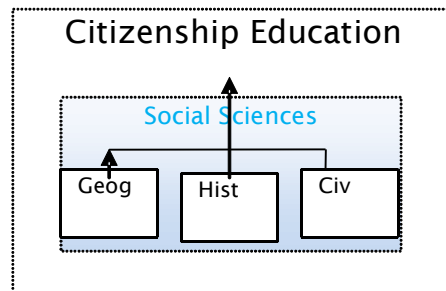
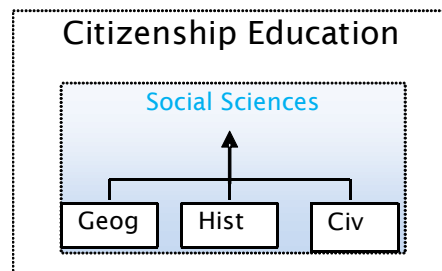


Figure 4.4.2 shows a model in which Geography, History and Civics are linked to each other and also to Citizenship Education. By making the main focus of study society and its problems, Geography, History and Civics are not separated but they are linked with the aim of providing integrated explanations, and then organized in such a way that students can progress to analyzing, discussing and solving problems in society, thereby providing a connection to Citizenship Education.

Figure 4.5. Geography, History and Civics aimed at Citizenship Education



The model in Figure 4.5 is similar to that in Figure 4.4.2, but it aims to analyse, discuss and solve problems in society from the very beginning. In this respect, citizenship is more in the spotlight, while Geography, History and Civics fade more into the background. At times, the distinction between Geography, History and Civics disappears, and the approach is to deal with society and its problems. This model adopts the approach of using Geography, History and Civics as a means by which to deepen thinking and discussion on the diverse perspectives involved when comparing problem-solving and strategies in terms of spatial relationships, temporal processes and historical differences. Drawing together Geography, History and Civics as Social Sciences, or proceeding through the stage of Social Sciences, is not a feature of this model. There can be changes according to the topic of study, but the focus is always on Citizenship Education, and each individual child is required to think about how an individual citizen or society as a whole should respond to a social problem, engaging in discussion about social choice, development and practice.

3.2 Types and Features of Intersecting Areas

The main aspects of the models shown in Figure 4 can be summarized in the table below, focusing on six points: subject of study; aims; main content and methods; examples in Geography; examples in History; and purpose.

Table 1. Types of relationship between Social Sciences (SSc) and Citizenship Education (CE) in Social Studies

Type	Separate, independent areas of education (Fig. 4.1)	Awareness of SSc (Fig. 4.2)	Linked SSc (Fig. 4.3)	CE through SSc (Fig. 4.4.1)	SSc for CE (Fig. 4.4.2)	Geography, History and Civics aimed at CE (Fig. 4.5)
Subject of study	Content of separate fields	Content of separate fields	Content of separate fields	Content related to contemporary society	Social problems	Social problems
Aims	Acquisition of knowledge in separate fields/areas	Acquisition of knowledge and explanation in separate fields/areas	Acquisition of knowledge in separate fields/areas	Understanding and explanations of society	Analysis and discussion of social problems	Discussion and resolution of social problems
Content	Study of geographical areas and historical periods	Study of geographical areas and historical periods	Study of geographical areas and historical periods	Social study of geographical areas and historical periods	Research into social problems	Social development based on social problems
Methods	Teacher-centred (lecture)	Teacher-centred (lecture/exploration)	Teacher-centred (lecture/exploration)	Teacher-centred (exploration/lecture)	Collaborative study between teacher and students	Collaborative study between teacher and students
Examples (Geography)	Topography study	Topography study	Topography study	Regional social research	Geographical research on social problems	Study to resolve social problems
(History)	Study of eras	Study of eras	Study of eras	Social research into eras	Historical research on social problems	
Purpose	Geography, History, Civics education	Geography, History, Civics education	Education for geographical, historical and civic aspects of social understanding	SSc as social research	CE as research into social problems	CE as social problem-solving

4 Discussion and Conclusion

4.1 The Place of Geography and History within Citizenship Education

As described above, there have been new movements in the world of Social Studies in Japan during the period from the 1990s to recent years in terms of linking the two educational theories of Social Sciences and Citizenship Education. This movement can be said to have brought about new developments in both fields in the area of intersection between them. There have been pioneering moves on both sides of the intersection (Figure 4), as summarized in Table 1, with the result that the two educational spheres of Social Sciences and Citizenship Education have come closer and more open to compromise, developing relationships which have led to new developments in both fields.

In these new developments, novel ideas have emerged in both Geography and History education. I would like to end this paper by using examples to examine the future direction of Citizenship Education in Social Studies and subject teaching in Japan.

Kusahara (2006, 2007, 2008) has already reviewed the new developments in Geography. According to Kusahara, Geography has moved in the direction of socialization and Civics and, in relation to Citizenship Education, has proceeded from a theoretical base of specialization and compartmentalization toward theories of collaboration. Whereas Geography used to entail the teaching of specifically geographical content, it now incorporates contemporary societal issues in a move towards 'socialization' and includes links with Citizenship Education in a move towards 'civic education.'. New elements emerge in the development of Geography, such as geographical and social science research.

One example is an actual lesson on demographic change, which involves exploring the causes of population change in post-war Japan, linking them to social change and examining the historical changes of contemporary society through spatial population movements (Kotani 2005; Kusahara 2006). This lesson goes deeper than a merely geographical view of population change, explaining it in terms of temporal change by applying a social science perspective and revealing links to contemporary society.

However, there is a danger that the approach through social scientific explanation might be abandoned in favour of mere study of geographical content, risking a retreat to isolationist Geography education. As Kusahara (2006) points out, linking Geography education to Social Sciences is the most effective policy in the current Japanese education system and it is practical for many teachers, but there are limitations. Academic and scientific geographical knowledge is prioritized over the aims of Social Studies as a whole to the detriment of Social Sciences, not to mention Citizenship Education. More emphasis on the development of Social Sciences itself, as well as of Citizenship Education through Social Sciences, is required.

In the field of History education, reviews by Sato and Kuwabara (2006) and Ikeno (2007a) indicate that new developments are occurring more actively than in Geography. Social Sciences relating to historical and societal facts and to values, Social Sciences for the purpose of Citizenship Education, and

History courses aimed at Citizenship Education are all types of initiative that have been created and fit into the group of models shown in Figure 4.

Ikeno (2006) suggests incorporating the topic 'Use of Force' in teaching World History. This would look at post-independence America and link its history with contemporary issues in Japan and the world, analyzing, examining and making judgements about the ways in which people and citizens, as well as political authorities, can use 'force'; and encouraging students to develop their own opinions about the society of the future. This approach could be cited as one example of the potential for building a democratic society through the study of history.

There are issues that remain to be addressed in this approach. Just as in the Geography lesson described above, the method is not limited by the topic, but can develop Social Science skills through research into contemporary society and making judgements about problems, as well as directing educational practice towards Citizenship Education. However, a question arises: where and how to develop such a course in practice? In other words, even if the theory and lesson models are established, the problem of actually guaranteeing their use in real classroom situations remains.

School education in Japan is heavily restricted by the Courses of Study and textbooks, and teachers have little freedom. Even when new theories and practical models are developed, only a minority of teachers make use of them and indeed, not all are able to. The area of intersection between Social Sciences and Citizenship Education is being widely explored, but the freedom of teachers to make use of these developments in actual classroom situations needs to be increased, step by step. For this to happen, there needs to be more pressure from schools calling for the expansion of educational freedom, and an easing of regulations by the government and MEXT.

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Andrea Szukala

Heterogeneous Teacher Recruitment and Social Studies Didactics: Bringing the Sociology of Education Back In

"[...]The preference of Negro future teachers are more compatible with the market than are those of the majority; too few of the latter, relative to the clientele requiring service, prefer blue-collar or low-ability children or prefer to teach in racially heterogeneous schools, or in special curriculum, vocational or commercial schools. [...]"

(James S. Coleman, 1966, Equality of Educational Opportunity, 27 - 'Coleman-Report' after the Civil Rights Act 1964)

This article contributes to a newer debate in teacher education research regarding the professionalization for the work in multicultural urban classrooms. In a social studies didactics' perspective teacher-learner-mismatch seems to be an important factor influencing the ability to construct meaningful social studies learning environments - and thus represents an important challenge for the education of future teachers in our domain. But what are the social origins of diverse teacher professional identities in the social studies domain? This article refers to a biographical-narrative study on teacher students from very heterogeneous backgrounds exploring their basic beliefs and attitudes towards becoming a social studies teacher.

Keywords

Heterogeneity, diversity, teacher education, biographical narrative analysis

1 Introduction: Heterogeneous Teacher Recruitment and Social Studies Didactics: Bringing the Sociology of Education Back In

Teacher education doesn't exist in a vacuum but is embedded in a context of social, cultural and political beliefs and practices. More and more research focuses on the contextual variables explaining the professionalization and accommodation processes with the teaching profession from a sociology of knowledge and sociology of education perspective (see Bendixen, Feucht 2010). Even researchers who do not subscribe to a genuine critical view of the teaching profession (like the German "structural" school, see Combe, Helsper 1996; or the new sociology of education in a Bernsteinian or Bourdieuan tradition, see Muller, Davies, Morais 2004) but to more 'mainstream'- oriented competences and professionalization theories (Baumert, Kunter 2006, see for an overview of the social studies domain: Reinhardt 2009), face up sooner or later to the

problem of beliefs and preconceptions of pre-service and in-service teachers.

Today the effects of teacher beliefs on students' motivation and learning outcomes are practically undisputed (Blömeke 2008). But what are the social origins of teacher professional identities and special beliefs and attitudes about teaching and learning in a certain domain?

Earlier positions that seemed to be optimistically based on a kind of "tabula rasa"- vision of young teacher students and professionals focusing on the all-trainability of the 'professional self' and job relevant skills and competencies seem to get recently relativized. The call for assessment and selective recruitment has been repeatedly voiced by eminent colleagues like Oelkers and others (see in his FES-report: Oelkers 2009). In a similar vein, critical teacher education research demands an "affirmative action" in view of the still all too homogenous social background of today's teaching staff: prominent US-colleagues denounce the detrimental effect of hidden social segregation processes at the allocation side of the teaching resources for today's school systems (Zeichner 2009, Cochrane-Smith 2009). They see the ensuing difficulties of growing mismatch between teachers and learners in 21st century's heteronomous urban classrooms as a crucial problem of present-day schools and of public education in the multiethnic and multicultural "Global North" in general (Apple 2011, 227f.). One answer could be "teacher education for multicultural classrooms" as promoted by most of the relevant teacher education programs in the United States (Jennings 2008) in the context of the "No child left behind"-Campaign (NCLB, see for the social studies: Heilmann 2010), another solution is the recruitment of teachers from more diverse backgrounds (see below).

As schools in many other OECD-countries, Germany's urban schools are characterized by heterogeneity and cultural diversity alike. Today statistically heterogeneity is the normal case, homogeneity of young urban Germans without immigrant background is the exception case: In 2010 31% of the German population under 18 had an immigrant background, 46,2% in municipalities over 500 000 habitants.¹ However comparisons at the macro-level of national and/or state-level school systems show a great variety of institutional arrangements within OECD that impact performances and educational achievements of immigrants and their second/and third generation offspring in very uneven ways. In some countries, school systems mirror important social segregation and a lack of equal opportunities for students with lower socio-economic status (SES) and from immigrant families. In some countries resulting educational inequality is even blatant. Germany counts among the unfairest countries, where middle class children encounter quite favorable circumstances that enable them to yield a significant educational advantage (OECD 2006).² Although the public debate on the legitimacy of a spectacular UN-fact finding mission on that issue (see the 2006 UN human rights commission special inspection in Germany, Vernor Munoz) was controversial, it highlighted a growing discomfort with the perceived unfairness of the German system. Until then 'educational inequality' as a collective debate had been completely out of

1 Statistisches Bundesamt (Federal Statistical Office), 2010, Press release no.345, 20 september 2010, see: http://www.destatis.de/jetspeed/portal/cms/Sites/destatis/Internet/DE/Presse/pm/2011/09/PD11__345__122,templateId=renderPrint.psm!

2 Thanks to parents who are able to deploy different forms of capital to gain educational advantages for their children - see a newer post-bourdieuan French and Anglo-american research on the new "parentocracies" and the middle class educational hypostasis (for an overview see Nogueira 2010).

sight: in the eyes of most non-immigrant Germans, the ‘expansion’ and democratization of education was an accomplished mission, since the transformation of the emblematic ‘rural catholic blue collar worker's daughter’ as the typical case of disadvantaged youths into a ‘son of a low SES-Turkish immigrant’ (Allmendinger, Ebner, Nikolai 2009) remained fairly unnoticed. The PISA-wake-up call not only slowly but surely harms the trust in core values of postwar Germany such as the meritocratic norm of a fair and just middle class society based on equal opportunities’ standards.ⁱ But the actual integration of immigrant persons in Germany also suffered throughout the nineties and the first years of the new millennium from an ever-increasing tendency to socio-economic marginalization and segregation of persons from diverse cultural backgrounds and from growing educational inequality (Kalter, Granato 2004).³ As a result, the German government made special efforts to regulate and to innovate educational policies at the federal level and to invite the German Länder to implement reforms encouraging a fairer allocation of educational resources and opportunities to immigrant persons (Gogolin 2009): the recruitment of more teachers from immigrant families being one measure amongst others to enhance diversity, the just recognition of school performances and anti-discriminatory practices, reducing effects of stigmatization and prejudices on immigrants in the German educational system (Bundesregierung 2009, 65).

This most recent policy innovation attracts scientific interest since teacher recruitment now untypically refers to criteria that complement the ‘blind’ meritocratic norms - the recruitment based on socio-ethnic criteria. Several German Länder (regional entities) just started to enhance the enrollment of persons with diverse social and “minority” origins, e.g. North-Rhine-Westfalia (Stiller, Zeoli 2011, 280), where special diversity recruitment programs seek to attract and to support teachers from families with an immigration background.

This trend points to a transformation of norms and ideas, which is also highly critical for the understanding of social studies teacher recruitment and teacher education at university colleges: As these new policies quasi-officially confirm the basic diagnosis of an all too homogeneous profession, which is notorious for being a social “closed shop”, given the extremely high social reproduction rates of the teaching profession in Germany and in other countries throughout the OECD.⁴ A most recent initial case study of the German situation of a small number of in-service teachers with immigrant backgrounds describes thus some of the typical difficulties encountered at German schools, namely at grammar schools (“Gymnasium,” Georgi, Ackermann, Karakas, 2011, 216ff.). The Hertie Foundation-analysis displays a scientifically speaking not fully representative but nevertheless irritating picture: Immigrant teachers’ narratives refer to school experiences at grammar school describing feelings of alienation and not belonging. Another difficult period seems to be the preparatory internship at school, when immigrant teacher-candidates repeatedly confront challenging

³ Fortunately these tendencies seem to be reduced in recent times (Migrationsbericht 2010), unfortunately in recent years the societal debate on integration gets more and more polarized.

⁴ In Germany the teaching profession is a sector earmarked for the upper lower middle classes, or a social step stone to get ahead to the higher middle classes. Today, any fourth new teacher has at least one teacher parent (see Kühne 2006); the key transmission path being that from father to daughter (Ibid.). Like in other domains of the German public sector immigrant minorities are underrepresented.

situations and ethnic ascriptions: immigrant background candidates are via randomly often approached for being immigrants explaining 'their' culture, other professional competencies and qualities being neglected (ibid. 218ff.). This confirms a bulk of newer research, which has not only focused on the systemic effects of new mechanisms such as the free choice of schools (see for a thorough explanation of the organizational origins of educational segregation: Radtke 2004), but on micro-level processes of stereotyping, ethnic ascriptions and unfair grading of students from families with an immigration history (see e.g. the biasing effects of Turkish names on grading: Sprietsma 2009).

However, the basic underlying assumption that the important German teacher-learner mismatch produces socially biased teaching and learning outcomes is still to be proven for the social studies domain. Earlier empirical analyses carried out at the school class-level are limited to subjects like math and sciences and they do not fully explain the demographic achievement-gaps in Germany (see for this line of argumentation Ditton, Aulinger 2011). Could these findings be generalized to other domains such as the social studies and citizenship education? The scientific discussion is quite controversial because the causal effects between achievement gaps, teacher perceptions and prejudices about learners and learners' origins tend to be multidirectional since learners' own low status perceptions produce influences on self-concepts, even in most regular situations, when concrete teachers do not discriminate at all against low-SES or immigrant students ('stereotype threat', see also below).

This paper seeks to contribute to the emerging debate by provisionally sidestepping the effective biasing outcome-problem and by focusing potential causes for biasing at the teacher side of teacher-learner-relation: The analysis aims at capturing and exploring the differential of basic attitudes and aspirations of future social studies teachers from very heterogeneous social backgrounds. Are there different approaches to being a social studies teacher and to the legitimization of a professional choice towards the social studies? If there were no distinctive attitudes, further investigation on teacher demographic biasing and specific needs for teacher education purposes would make no sense. But if so, what may be the specific critical features linked to socialization and other biographical stances of future social studies teachers from dissimilar backgrounds? In my view two key systematic arguments justify a closer look on current and future challenges linked to diversity and the teaching profession in our domain.

First, the recent German special didactics debate on citizenship education of persons from low SES-backgrounds creates new opportunities to reflect on the sociological basis of political learning not only from a unidirectional "How to deal with low SES and at risk-learners?"-perspective, but also from a reflexive teacher-learner-relations- perspective. Secondly, experiences from other systems such as the United States ratify a further discussion of the mismatch problem in the social studies domain.

2 The Mismatch Problem in Social Studies Teacher-Learner Relations

Why is awareness of teacher-learner-mismatch an important factor influencing the ability to construct meaningful social studies learning environments – and thus represents an important constituent for the education of future teachers?

German didactics always paid special attention to the socialization conditions of learners: Not only didactical conceptions, such as the learner-orientation as a didactical core principle preventing students' alienation (Hedtke 2011), but also the teaching goals, such as citizens' identity construction, as well as social and political conflicts as a didactical driving force (Reinhardt 2009; Petrik 2010) refer to the individual developmental and social conditions of students in the field of citizenship education.

As social studies are nurtured by the societal substance, in which they are embedded, they are as a teaching domain surely less socialization blind than other fields of education in public schools. Furthermore, from a perspective of negotiating sense(s), and of co-constructing social, economic and political knowledge (Sander 2008), socialization and cultural backgrounds of students and teachers deeply shape teaching and learning processes and outcomes.

Most German social studies teacher educators, in-service-teachers and teacher students will still subscribe to the commonly acknowledged position formulated by Hermann Giesecke (1972) that social studies teacher curricular activities may correct and/or enhance, but never substitute the real world socialization and political learning processes. In real world circumstances, teachers are on par with students. As Gagel puts it: "The teacher loses his competence lead when it comes to debating real political conflicts." (Gagel 1994,15). But whose conflicts?

Perhaps different from other domains, social studies teachers realize parts as social actors, curricular gate-keepers, social models, mediators and facilitators of the educational process of meaning making all at once. As they are themselves involved in dynamic social and political learning processes, their own socialization is anything but trivial and may produce considerable channeling effects on societal world views and on lines of legitimization of the given political, economic and societal state of affairs in actual classrooms: the effectiveness of social studies teachers as curricular gate-keepers is without any doubt shaped by the individual teacher's frames of reference. Therefore, for a long time, social studies didactics reflect potential risks and hazards of overwhelming students in actual learning contexts by imposing strict professional norms of self-restraint with respect to students' autonomy and independent political judgment. The 1976 German Beutelsbach Consensus is an example of how such professional norms may enhance the teachers' ability to cope with this problem (Schiele, Schneider 1996):

"2. Treating Controversial Subjects as Controversial: [...] In affirming this second basic principle, it becomes clear why the personal standpoint of teachers, the intellectual and theoretical views they represent and their political opinions are relatively uninteresting. To repeat an example that has already been given: *their*

understanding of democracy presents no problems, for opinions contrary to theirs are also being taken into account [emphasis added].”⁵

The didactical debate about the implications and consequences of the Beutelsbach Consensus is rich, especially with regard to the principle of controversy, which is a core principle of citizenship education in pluralistic societies (Grammes 2005). At the epistemic level, these debates implicitly originate in the homogeneity assumption, that controversy consists of the presentation of multiple opinions and perspectives and that all these perspectives are equally discernible by whichever involved actor. The basic supposition is that they can be shared between teachers and learners from utmost diverse social and cultural backgrounds: Newer research would characterize such a proposition as “naïve egalitarian” (Causey, Thomas 2000, 34). Because there is a relatively small epistemic doubt about the broadness of the spectrum of societal and political realities, which are in the range of the curricular spectrum, and those, which do not make their way into social studies classrooms and teaching programs. Sociological curricular theory that theorizes those selective social mechanisms (to speak with Basil Bernstein: “the use of the pedagogical device”) has not yet been applied to special didactics curricular production and to the basic organizing principles of knowledge production in our field (Maton 2004).

There are still continuous debates about which educational purposes are maintained, reproduced and transformed: These debates represent power relations of knowers (ibid.), which are shaped by dynamics of social change, namely in the field of citizenship education for learners from low SES and immigrant backgrounds. In Germany, an intense curricular discussion about what knowledge for which learners in the citizenship education field (labeled “elementarization”-debate) currently replicates some archetypical forms of conflicts between hierarchies of knowledge and of knowers. In this context the growing social mismatch between ‘knowers’ and ‘learners’ in a multicultural society is slightly under-theorized. Educational actors from immigrant minorities have no voice since till today they are underrepresented in the didactics community. A first analysis of educational beliefs of immigrant teacher candidates in our domain may therefore pave a bit the way to the future facelift of the “Beutelsbach”-Consensus upon the terms and conditions of a progressively more heterogeneous German society.

What can we learn from the US-experience? Today, ethnic minority students represent at least a half of the population in the 25 largest US-cities, but still about 88% of all teachers in the US are white, in some areas even up to 99% (Ladson-Billings 2005, 229). But the US research on ethnic achievement gaps and teacher-learner- mismatch has a long tradition from the civil rights movement and the Coleman-Report (1966) till recent times.

In a critical vein, Ladson-Billings denounces the current “disconnection between and among the students, families and community and teachers and teacher educators” since “in school, students do not experience an accurate picture of what it means to live and to work in a multicultural democratic society” (ibid. 231). Teacher education in the United States faces challenges

⁵ Official translation, Landeszentrale für Politische Bildung Baden-Württemberg: <http://www.lpb-bw.de/beutelsbacher-konsens.html>

similar to those in the German urban regions: there is growing teacher-learner-mismatch at urban schools, since students' populations grow more and more heterogeneous. The measures taken at the allocation side of the teacher profession are quite critical. Ladson-Billings shows that white majority teacher students "enter teacher education programs believing strongly in an optimistic individualism, the inevitability of triumph over any obstacle through hard work and individual efforts (Ahlquist 1991; Finney, Orr 1995; McCall 1995; Nieto 1998). Beginning teachers also tend to believe in absolute democracy when it comes to students, that 'kids are kids' regardless of their cultural background or that the same 'good pedagogy is equally elective for all students' (Finney, Orr 1995; Nieto 1998; O'Grady 1998)" (ibid. 22). After multicultural honeymoon in-service-teachers have tendencies to adopt a more cynical attitude. In his thorough research-report on mismatch, Howard (2010) discusses its most central damaging effects: differential on grading, discrepancy of time spent on race-matched and mismatched learners; lower expectations towards some mismatched minorities. Race-matched teachers provide social role models for SES-students as well as they raise students' academic motivation and self-concept, because there is no stereotype-threat, which is not only attached to race and gender, but also to social class, see Croizet (1998) and has a fully detrimental impact on school performances. However, as Gay (2010, 205) asserts: "Similar ethnicity between students and teachers may be potentially beneficial, but it is not a guarantee of pedagogical effectiveness."

Milner (2008) states that "Teachers from any ethnic, cultural, or racial background can be successful with any group of students when the teachers possess (or have the skills to acquire) the knowledge, attitudes, dispositions, and beliefs necessary to meet the needs of their students." But: "Minority teachers seem to be more akin to the potential of diverse socio-cultural background and have less fears with regard to culturally mixed classrooms." (ibid. 386)

If not active discriminatory practice but actual mismatch is the point, what are the special challenges with regard to citizenship education classes? As Milner states: "White teachers and students of color, in some ways, possess different racialized and cultural experiences and repertoires of knowledge and knowing both inside and outside the classroom, racial, and cultural incongruence may serve as a roadblock for academic and social success in the classroom." (ibid. 387). Indeed Pang and Gibson (2001) state that curricular work in race-matched classrooms may enhance the construction of meaningful learning environments. Finally, socio-culturally and politically omniscient teachers, who are able to construct meaningful learning, indiscriminately successful in any kind of classroom, tend to be rare: In the US as well as in Germany.

3 Two Biographical Narratives and the Representation of Different Systems of Reference for Becoming a Social Studies Teacher

The University Duisburg-Essen (DUE) has high proportions of students having an immigrant background (24,9%) and with parents without any academic education. The 7 DUE-campus is well-known for being a university for “Bildungsaufsteiger” (“educational climbers,” e.g. students without any parent with academic education), which is typical of the universities of the Ruhr region, but untypical of German universities in general, since the middle class academic reproduction rates are still important (BMBF 2010). At DUE very low educational basis and an immigrant background intersect, because 90% of students, whose parents have both not completed any vocational training, have an immigrant background (above 10% of the immigrant students have parents with no vocational training at all). 54% of the students with an immigrant background get public funding (BAFÖG) or do student-jobs in order to be able to attend university; therefore their age and living conditions are quite different from those of non-immigrant students. Students with an immigrant background have educational careers, which are often dissimilar from a ‘typical’ non-immigrant student, who attends grammar school and then starts e.g. teacher training at a university: Students with immigrant backgrounds have via randomly often attended comprehensive schools (“Gesamtschulen”) and/or ‘Berufskollegs’, which are vocational schools offering opportunities to get an A-level (“Abitur”), as well (Universität Duisburg-Essen 2011).

During my guest-professorship at the UDE’s department for social studies teacher education, numerous students with an immigrant background frequented my introductory courses to social studies didactics. I observed some fairly different approaches from what I had experienced at two other teacher education departments. E.g. for the first time in my academic career, several students wanted to know if I had a polish immigrant background since they had themselves a polish immigrant background. There was a constant allusion to the potential commonality between teacher educator and teacher students and to the opportunity to have an immigrant professor. The second notable difference consisted in the high level of politicization of discussions about social studies topics and didactical controversies, which I hadn’t experienced at teacher education departments with a more homogenous – and more apathetic – studentship. I started to reflect about similarity and commonality of values and the role of educational inequality perceptions in teacher education and I wondered if these factors could be connected to my second observation. Then I explored possible theoretical approaches, which I found not fully satisfactory (see above, part 2). I decided to do some field research and initiated the project ‘How I became a social studies teacher student.’

Self-study and narrative research have a special tradition in teacher education research. Biographical narratives as a research method are quite often used (in Germany in particular in the tradition of F. Schütze), e.g. when exploration of professional identities and crisis are under consideration. In the research field of educational inequality and exclusion, narratives are most common methodological approaches as well, because micro-level

processes and persons' sense making cannot be easily 'objectivized.' However, according to Bruner (1986), narrative thinking reflects definite cognitive structures: Narrative genres are therefore seen as mental models representing hypothesis on how the world may be, they are therefore no singular phenomena but represent process structures and shared cultural artefacts, which can be made visible and can be used to construct tentative models in a Grounded Theory- style:

"What makes ... texts "narrative" is sequence and consequence: events are selected, organized, connected, and evaluated as meaningful for a particular audience. Storytellers interpret the world and experience in it; they sometimes create moral tales – how the world should be. Narratives represent storied ways of knowing and communicating" (Hinchman, Hinchman, 1997).

This assumption, which has become a commonplace since the linguistic turn in the social sciences, promotes the use of narrations as centerpieces for documentary and reconstructive qualitative research (the thorough discussion of variants and methodological subtleness would certainly go far beyond the scope of this paper). A newer approach combines reconstructive documentary methods (Bohnsack 2008) with the biographical narrative approach since both are interested in the interconnections between layers and varieties of knowledge in a Mannheimian tradition (Nohl 2010). We made use of "classical" narrative biographical interview techniques and applied then transcription techniques and analysis in a 'documentary'-analysis mode (as in Bohnsack 2010), not without referring to core facets of the classical biographical narrative method e.g. the elementary biographical process structure as it was introduced by Schütze.

The project seeks to explore the effects of socio-economic origins on motivation, perspectives and beliefs about the teaching profession in the social studies domain. It therefore started from a most simple tentative assumption that social studies teachers' biographies produce different motivations, which are not trivial for professional beliefs. Participants have been recruited on a voluntary basis around the teacher education department. The public call did explicitly not focus on low SES-students and/or students with an immigrant family background since the selection of interviewees for thorough narrative interviewing was based on methods of theoretical sampling and with the intention to collect data from students from quite diverse backgrounds. We gathered seventeen narrators, whose selection was based on information on family and educational backgrounds and the serious intention to be a social studies teacher. All three interviewers had training on biographical narrative inquiry. The interviews took place from May to October 2010 and lasted between one and about three hours. The following table summarizes some basic demographic features of the interviewees.

Table 1. Demographic features of the students participating at the DUE-narrative research project 2010

	Interviewees without an immigrantbackground	Interviewees with an immigrant background
Total Number	8	9
Nationality		
German	8	8
Greek		1
Immigrant Background		
Polish		4
Turkish		4
Greek		1
School education		
Grammar School	8	2
Comprehensive School	-	6
Vocational School	-	1
Parents' educational background		
Farther without vocational education	-	4
Vocational education	5	5
at least one parent with academic background	3	
at least one teacher parent	2	-

For the following presentation I selected two narratives which represent two extremely emblematic and polarizing cases. These extreme cases refer nevertheless to general situational and process features, which are represented in their structure. It is interesting to note, that a comparison of the cases equally reveals habitual modes of communication at the university, where these interviews took place. They surely do not represent a representative stance as single cases (that is at least what I wished to avoid), but serve as conceptual anchors that help zooming on social and educational configurations which should be analyzed and discussed. For controlling for my own stereotyping, I presented the interview 10 in a

methods group at the Bielefeld faculty of sociology for a group interpretation with colleagues, whose comments I gratefully acknowledge.

- *Narrative 1: Lukas (Interview 5)*

Lukas has an academic family background with a father (teacher at a comprehensive school, "Gesamtschule"), who is deeply attached to equal opportunities values and to a 'no child left behind'-philosophy. Lukas has an extremely straight educational career, since he has – without attending the army – quasi completed his teacher education program at DUE at the age of 24 and expects now to be an intern at a secondary school ("Realschule") in the Ruhr area. He is quite anxious about passing his last exams and doubtful about the assignment to a 'difficult' school district: He explains emphatically his school choice (justification of not choosing a comprehensive school), since this would imply a certain risk to be placed at a "Hauptschule," a 'lower' secondary school with the reputation to be 'difficult' due to its high proportions of immigrant students especially in the Ruhr-region. The main topical focus of his narrative is how to successfully cope with becoming a teacher and didactics. There is no reference made to politics/political science as a discipline and/or to his political socialization at school or at university. In table 2, I replicate the very first sequence of the interview after the short narrative impulse of the interviewer ("Please tell me the story of your decision to become a social studies teacher student.")

Table 2. Lukas [Interview 5, sequence 1.1]

English Translation

1 Yeah, well I was actually unambiguous quite early
 2 anyway;
 3 it was just by my father that I've actually always
 4 squinted at least in that direction.
 5 So at the beginning there were still ideas like lawyer, I
 6 could have imagined, but ehm after my internship at a
 7 legal firm @ @ things got evident pretty quickly and
 8 then maths is just, what I would say I am best at @
 9 and in the social sciences domain I have just
 10 discovered a lot of connections, with regard to
 11 empirical research eh eh: = and electoral research and
 12 for that matter the stochastic field is really very
 13 interesting.
 14 And ehm a great point leading me straight to the
 15 political sphere was then the economic domain, when I
 16 was in the ninth grade when we got the second
 17 elective course and we had just been offered
 18 citizenship education / economics, but actually in a
 19 nice open form, in the form that we have founded a
 20 student company, with which we had been very
 21 successful, and we have even won national student
 22 competitions and we were on exhibitions and we have
 23 cooperated very well with non-school institutions ehm
 24 and actors (.)
 25 and = and it is this open form this = this project form
 26 somehow, that I enjoyed very much and because
 27 probably everybody knows boring political education
 28 classes, eehm,
 29 and you somehow had the feeling that, if you wanted
 30 to do this as a teacher, things should also go in that
 31 direction, in this project-oriented, interdisciplinary
 32 teaching direction, yes, eehm, that's, that really was
 33 the = the main starting point.
 34 Ehm it = and for the senior classes, I have finally
 35 chosen mathematics and = and ehm then physical
 36 education as main subjects, then I got injured and
 37 couldn't do sports any longer, and then I switched to
 38 the social sciences as well, and from that moment
 39 anyway it was clear also that I would choose the two

German Original

Ja also bei mir war das eigentlich schon recht früh
 irgendwie klar, allein auch durch mein Vater eben, dass ich
 eigentlich immer zumindest in die Richtung geschickt habe.
 Also am Anfang gab=s auch noch so Sachen wie
 Rechtsanwalt, was ich mir hätte vorstellen können, aber
 nach meinem Praktikum in der Kanzlei, @ hat sich das
 recht schnell erübrigt@ ehm ja und dann ist halt
 Mathematik im Effekt das, was ich sagen würde, was ich
 wirklich am allerbesten kann und gerade im
 sozialwissenschaftlichen Bereich eben auch viele
 Verbindungen entdeckt habe, was eh empirische Forschung
 eh: und=Wahlforschung vor allem eben auch angeht,
 was im stochastischen Bereich ja schon sehr interessant ist.
 Und ehm nen großer Punkt gerade in die Richtung vom
 politischen Bereich her hat ich dann und dem
 wirtschaftlichen Bereich, hat ich dann in der neunten
 Klasse, als wir dann eben den zweiten Wahlbereich hatten
 und Politik/Wirtschaft angeboten wurde, aber eben schön
 in einer richtig schön offenen Form, in Form, dass wir eine
 Schülerfirma gegründet haben, mit der wir sehr erfolgreich
 waren, sogar Bundeswettbewerbe gewonnen haben und auf
 Ausstellungen waren und eben auch mit außerschulischen
 Institutionen ehm und Akteuren kooperiert haben (.)
 und=und gerade diese offene Form, diese=diese
 Projektform irgendwie, das, das hat mir schon sehr gut
 gefallen und weil wahrscheinlich auch jeder schon mal
 langweiligen Politikunterricht gehabt hat, ehm, hat man
 schon irgendwie das Gefühl gehabt, dass wenn man das als
 Lehrer machen will, das schon so in diese Richtung auch
 gehen soll, in diesem projektorientierten,
 fächerübergreifenden Unterricht teilweise auch hinein, ja,
 ehm, das sind so, war so wirklich der=der
 Hauptansatzpunkt. Ehm dann war=s in der Oberstufe so,
 dass ich im Endeffekt Mathematik=und=ehm
 Sportleistungskurs gewählt habe, dann mich verletzt habe,
 Sport nicht machen konnte, und dann eben auf
 Sozialwissenschaften da auch eh umgestiegen bin und ab
 dem Moment war dann im Endeffekt auch klar, dass ich mit
 den beiden Fächern an die Universität gehen würde (..) ja (.)

<p>40 subjects at the university (...) yes (...) ehm, that is how 41 originated my teacher training course, eehm, that I'm 42 here in XXX, is mainly due to the restricted admission 43 in XXX 00:02:48-1</p>	<p>ehm so hat sich das eigentlich in zu dass ich Lehramt studiere entwickelt, ehm, dass ich hier in XXX bin, liegt vor allem am NC in XXX 00:02:48-1</p>
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- Topical Structure of the opening sequence of interview 5

1-2 Metadiscourse: the decision to be a social studies teacher is straight. There is no real alternative to the actual decision to become a social studies teacher.

3-4 Social background/family: father is an instance, has no explicit concrete influence.

5-8 Reference to metadiscourse/Straightness: quick exclusion of an alternative option.

9 Personal competence/Positive self-ascription: being a good student in math.

10-13 Disciplinary perspective: connections between math and the social sciences; transmission of competence from math to social studies.

14-16 Personal Interest/Individual disciplinary perspective: economics as a field of interest leading to politics.

17-19 Pedagogical disciplinary reference: positive reference to school experience and to the curricular and didactical frame.

20-24 Personal competence/Positive self-ascription: successful learning project, recognition from outside instances (winning a price).

25-28 Pedagogical disciplinary reference/Individual disciplinary perspective: valuation of certain didactical strategies, generally devaluating unspecified other forms of teaching.

29-33 Individual disciplinary perspective/Positive self-ascription: transmission of the experienced positive didactical strategy on imagined future practice as a social studies teacher. Interviewee was a student, who already wanted to be a good teacher, when he was at school.

34-40 Metadiscourse/Straightness: underlining coherence of the decision. Decision to become a social studies teacher student is based on the choice of the two main school subjects for the A-level exams: replacement of physical education by social studies because of physical damages.

41-43 Metadiscourse/Straightness: there is no alternative to be a student at XXX because of restricted admission.

- Interpretation

Lukas is fully aware of the organizational and educational context of the interview. There is a clear cut perception of the interviewer (the author) as a specialist in social studies education and of her (imagined) ideal vision of a young teacher student. Further, there is a permanent tacit allusion to the common social studies didactics background and to common values about how 'good' social studies education may look like. The opening sequence of the interview has a clear structure, which above all aims at controlling the auditor:

- metadiscourse valuating the decisiveness of the following;

- allusion to a common professional and middle class social background;
- ascription of competence for being a good student;
- ascription of disciplinary competence;
- ascription of deep interest;
- ascription of competence for being a good future teacher.

The narrative's driving force is commonality of perspectives and shared values with the interviewer. The aspiration to present a coherent picture leads to a construction of a very personal and individual professional vocation, which seemingly lacks alternatives. At the end of the opening sequence a purely pragmatic rationality emerges, which at least 'counterweights' the rationale of professional inclination and of individual aptitude: finally, the decision to become a social studies teacher basically seems to be due to fate and misfortune. But even this accidental event doesn't harm a vision of the self as being a consistent and regular part, which totally fits into the mechanisms of the educational system: The reference to a helpful 'rule', that consisted of choosing two main a-level school subjects and make a profession out of them is an impressive example. There is no dissonance at all between Lukas and the educational system – and above all the school: The University as an institution is a place, where one qualifies for being a school teacher. The educational venture stops at this point, since Lukas strictly avoids expressing any direct personal interest in politics (math and economics bridging the gap). The individual political socialization and the developmental tasks of young adulthood are – if not vague – at least not connected to the professional and educational challenges ahead.

- Narrative 2 Gökhan (Interview 10, sequence 1.2)

Gökhan has a family background with both parents not having any vocational training. His father is a retreated immigrant, who left East-Anatolia in the early seventies to be an unskilled industrial worker in the Ruhr-region. Gökhan is the family's eighth and last child, his siblings having all failed the Abitur (A-level), while he had delivered at a comprehensive school in the Northern Ruhr. He describes his mother's educational ambitions ("you are my last child") as a major influence for him trying to bring academic laureate to the family. His family wanted him to be a computer expert; they express concern about the opportunity of a 'Turk' to be a teacher, to be a civil servant in Germany. Gökhan is German; he is 26 years old and before starting the teacher education program at UDE (University Duisburg-Essen), he has given up an information technology program at another university. He describes himself as an educational 'loser' (a fact that he had only recognized, when he compared himself to his peers studying at the University) and accuses the comprehensive school of not preparing to successful university education. He is still far from passing the final exams since he has spent a lot of time studying political sciences (attaining good grades), which he describes as being a discipline that has helped him to overcome his educational deficits and facilitated a deeper understanding of the Turkish political system (which he studies by himself since the DUE's political science department has no specialization in Turkish politics). This political science knowledge has already contributed to a new

role in his community (“der Bekanntenkreis”), where he is said to be an expert, when it comes to debates on politics and society in Turkey as well as in Germany. He describes the old men circles and especially his father as persons, who are “not very competent.” The main topical focus of the interview is being a Turk in Germany and the question how to cope with the risk of a general personal failure (social-educational-economic).

Gökhan’s German original interview contains a slight accent, dialectical expressions and abbreviations in word order, of which I try to give an account in the English translation. For purposes of better presentation and comparison of the two interviews I cut the very beginning (sequence 1.1.), where Gökhan relates his failure at the XXX-University.

Table 3. Gökhan [Interview 10, sequence 1.2]

English Translation

1 G: I of course stopped then my program at the
 2 XXXr University / eh / then I wanted to enroll in
 3 XXX, but in addition to history, what to study?
 4 Well, then, of course, a whole family history @@ in
 5 the Turkish family it is always like that .. you have
 6 a little affinity to politics, you have to. Very *great*
 7 Turkey / eh / abandoned land actually by my
 8 father, who has always listened to the news, on
 9 the radio then. *Cologne*-radio was always in
 10 Turkish, always, I think at 19.00 clock, yes every
 11 day at 19 there had always been Turkish news.
 12 One then has always noticed and then grew up
 13 with that, with politics, although actually you never
 14 knew exactly what they were doing there. @@ So
 15 then I thought social sciences at the school told
 16 me nothing interesting, really. Has something to
 17 do with politics, okay, I will enroll there. I do not
 18 know what awaits me, I .. simply go for it. And that
 19 was really the story, the beginning of the story.
 20 Why do I actually go for Socio.. for teaching.
 21 Wasn't really directly so .. a childhood dream, so
 22 to say since you are 5: I want to be a teacher! Just
 23 as people, as children, who want to be a firefighter
 24 or so. Actually, only .. okay, I'll study then, and
 25 then teaching. Afterwards everything developed
 26 naturally, then I found it more and more
 27 interesting, and then of course I was super
 28 interested in the course of my education, okay,
 29 teacher, sounds good, is definitely what I want,
 30 what I also want to be in any case, I can well
 31 imagine. But at the beginning that was definitely
 32 not on my agenda, on my life plan ..

German Original

G: Habe ich natürlich an der XXXuniversität dann
 abgebrochen mein Studium /eh/ mich dann in XXX
 einschreiben wollen, aber neben Geschichte, was
 studiere ich? So, dann ist natürlich so eine ganze
 Familiengeschichte @@ in der türkischen Familie
 ist das immer so .. bisschen Affinität zu Politik,
 muss man haben. Ganz *große* Türkei /eh/
 verlassene Land eigentlich schon von meinem
 Vater, der hat immer die Nachrichten gehört,
 damals noch im Radio. *Köln*-Radio hieß das immer,
 auf Türkisch wurde das immer, ich glaube 19.00
 Uhr jeden Tag ja, 19.00 Uhr gab es dann immer
 türkische Nachrichten. Hat man dann immer so
 mitbekommen und wuchs auch fast schon damit
 auf, mit Politik, obwohl man nie genau wusste
 eigentlich, was die da machen. @@ So, dann
 dachte ich mir Sozialwissenschaften, hat mich an
 der Schule nix interessiert, ehrlich gesagt. Hat was
 mit Politik zu tun, *okay, schreibe ich mich da ein*.
 Ich weiß nicht, was mich da erwartet, ich .. geh
 mal einfach rein. Und das war eigentlich die
 Geschichte, die Anfangsgeschichte. Warum ich
 eigentlich zur Sozio zum Lehramt komme.
 Eigentlich nicht direkt so .. ein Kindheitstraum
 gewesen, *so seit 5 Jahren*: Ich will Lehrer werden!
 So wie Leute wie Kinder, die Feuerwehrmänner
 werden wollen oder so. Eigentlich nur .. okay,
 studier ich mal und dann auf Lehramt. Hat sich
 dann entwickelt natürlich, fand ich dann immer
 interessanter, und war ich dann natürlich super
 interessiert im Laufe meines Studiums, okay,
 Lehrer, hört sich gut an, will ich auf jeden Fall will
 ich auch werden, kann ich mir gut vorstellen. Aber
 am Anfang stand das auf jeden Fall nicht in meinem
 Plan, im Lebensplan ..

- Topical Structure of the opening sequence of interview 10

1-3 Personal competence/Metadiscourse: failure at another university, in a completely different academic discipline; confusion about the choice of a second subject.

4-6 Social background/the community: Turkish families in general are inclined to politics. Political interest is an obligation.

7 Reference to politics/the community: normative political vision of Turkey as a great nation.

8-11 Social background/Family: father is a migrant, who listened to Turkish radio programs, which had been produced in Germany.

12-14 Personal Interest/Personal Competence: as a child the interviewee

listened to the Turkish radio show, but didn't understand. General lack of knowledge.

15-16 Personal Interest/Pedagogical disciplinary reference: not at all interested in social studies as a school subject.

17-19 Personal Interest/Personal competence: diffuse interest in politics but uninformed about university education.

20-24 Metadiscourse/Pedagogical disciplinary reference: difficult decision to become a teacher, no vocation.

25-28 Personal Interest/Disciplinary reference: studying at the university furthers the political interest.

29-30 Personal interest/Pedagogical disciplinary reference: there is a vague self- conception of being a teacher.

31-32 Metadiscourse: unclear perspective on the professional choice, lack of early vocation.

- Interpretation

Gökhan has a special frame of the interview situation. The tacit assumption is the mismatch-assumption: He sees the interviewer as a person completely unfamiliar with his personal social background, it is unthinkable for him, that the author knows a German-Turkish family and therefore he fully explicates the context. He interprets the Turkish immigrant family as a social topos and his own family as a special case of this typical arrangement. Above all, he does not try to hide his educational failures: They are a part of the identity construction of his narrative, a fundamental lack of knowledge constitutes his self-concept. However, in a way his narrative generates a kind of self-assurance, as he generalizes on the one hand and on the other hand he also takes his distances above all from the vision of Turkey as a great nation and from a passion for politics, which lacks competence and understanding. 'Turkey' is shrunken up into a non-understandable radio show, that is not even produced in Turkey, but which constitutes the sole possibility for his father to escape from an isolated social situation in Germany. On the other hand, 'Turkey' equates 'politics' and therefore politics is positively connoted even if specific competence is lacking. The decision to be a political science student could be interpreted as a way to reconnect with his father's "abandoned land".

The interview has a basic structure similar to the Lukas narrative, which confirms a quite correct analytical abstraction of an elementary biographical process structure with regard to the biographical trajectory that constitutes his professional decision to become a teacher (Schütze 1987, 248):

- metadiscourse valuating the un-decisiveness of the following and previous failure;
- allusion to a completely alien social background;
- allusion to a diffuse personal interest for politics paired with incompetence;
- allusion to a lacking disciplinary interest and at school;
- ascription of deep disciplinary interest at university;
- allusion to a diffuse conception about being a future social studies teacher.

There is no coherent and straightforward vision of the educational and

professional growth since knowledge about educational opportunities at the university is completely missing. It seems like a social accident that Gökhan is enrolled at the UDE. He sees himself not only as somebody lacking competences, but also lacking a deep vocational decision, which he stipulates being a norm. He makes quasi no reference to social studies as a school subject and to social studies didactics. School as an institution is a blank space. He therefore has not yet developed any clear vision for himself as a teacher in Germany, but focuses on the improvement of his political competences, which will also enhance his status in his reference group, the German-Turkish community. However, he experiences educational achievement at the university, which seems to produce positive effects on the attitudes towards school as well, since finally “teacher sounds good” to him. The university is an educational institution, which enhances his educational self-concept as well as his individual development as a person, who has to cope with an educational challenge, which may also alienate him from his peers. But it is also a place, where he gets opportunities to confront the extremely difficult development and socialization tasks of early adulthood between two quite different social worlds.

4 Conclusions

Is heterogeneity a challenge that may lead to a need for revision of teacher education programs and turn them into thorough diversity-oriented programs for the social studies domain? The answer is yes, and the narrative analysis helps to identify some very first basic fields of future concern.

First, the structure of the opening sequences points to an important topic: For both cases the first reference is social background when it comes to school and to the decision to become a teacher. Referring to a communal or to an un-communal background with the interviewer (who is in both cases a teacher educator=a teacher of teacher students) is decisive not only for the faith to be a teacher, but also for the coherence of the entire narration of the educational career. This structure massively highlights the significance of match and mismatch in educational contexts.

A second most important problem is social studies at school as it is presented in the narratives of future social studies teachers. The Gökhan narrative represents a constellation, where social studies as a school subject are absent. Unfortunately, most of the interviews with DUE-immigrant social studies teacher students display that tendency towards a complete irrelevance of politics at school for those in real world contexts of the narrators. The relevance of political and citizenship education in the case of the young son of a teacher is marginal as well. In both cases, there seem to exist massive socialization deficits, which are compensated in the case of Gökhan, not at all treated in the case of the middle class-son.

A third point highlighted through the two narrations presented here is the paradoxical cross-cutting constellation of high-low politicization with high-low educational and professional conviction. This is a difficult problem for teacher educators who should reflect their perceptions of persons with diverse backgrounds, and after all being extremely aware of matching and

other reciprocal effects.

A fourth point is the current discursive background as regards the “citizenship education for low-SES-student”/elementarization-debate. It is absolutely unthinkable to question a thorough citizenship-education of students coming from all types of milieus and ethnic backgrounds. It is absolutely harmful not to think about diversity as an enormous opportunity to enhance and to further civic education and social studies teacher education. It is equally unthinkable to frame a debate on people with low SES backgrounds as being persons with low interest in public affairs holding politically apathetic attitudes: As the narrative analysis shows, quite the contrary might be the case.

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Silja Graupe

The Power of Ideas. The Teaching of Economics and its Image of Man¹

“I don't care who writes a nation's laws
– or crafts its advanced treaties –
if I can write its economics textbooks.”
(Paul Samuelson)

Economics as a science not only investigates what is (as a positive science) and what should be (as a normative science), but influences, through its fundamental ideas, what facts and norms are recognized as such in society. This holds especially true for economic education. My article explains this thesis and elaborates, in particular, how this form of education stipulates a particular vision of human beings worldwide. First, I show how economics actively seeks to influence the inscription of the commonplace image of the human through economics education. Second, I discuss economics as a textbook science in Thomas Kuhn's sense: as a science incapable of giving the students any plural or critical understanding of their self and the world. In the third step, I identify the essential features of the human image lying at the base of the economic curriculum; an image (so I argue), which splits society into mere cogs in the machine of the economy on the one side and omnipotent social engineers on the other side.

Keywords

Critique of Economics, economic education, textbook science, historical amnesia, image of man, mechanistic worldview

1 Introduction

Why study economics? Paul Samuelson, the most famous economics textbook writer of all time, answered this question with the following words of John Maynard Keynes (1955, 12):

“The ideas of economists and political philosophers, both when they are right and when they are wrong, are more powerful than is commonly understood. Indeed the world is ruled by little else. Practical men, who believe themselves to be quite exempt from any intellectual influence, are usually the slaves of some defunct economist. Madmen in authority, who hear voices in the air, are distilling their frenzy from some academic scribbler of a few years back. I am sure the power of vested interests is vastly exaggerated

¹ Translated from the German by Roger Gathman.

compared with the gradual encroachment of ideas.”

This allows us to discover an important thesis about the function of economics as a science: it not only investigates what is (as a positive science) and what should be (as a normative science), but influences, through its fundamental ideas, what facts and norms are recognized as such in society. It forms something like the base of thought, from which we think about the economy and society, without ever reflecting on it in turn. It determines, tacitly, the assumptions of our scientific reason, without, conversely, being interrogated by that reason. Thus, economics immobilizes what can appear to us as the most interesting problems or relevant questions in science. It forms what Ludwik Fleck (1980, 130) would call a *thought style*: “It is readiness for both selective feeling and for correspondingly directed action. ... It constrains the individual and determines what cannot be thought in any other way.”

In the following I want to explain this thesis and thus elaborate, in particular, how economics is inscribed with a particular vision of human beings. Doing this, I will start with the following idea: We cannot normally foreground our image of man in order to observe it. Rather, it is inscribed in how we see ourselves and others and the kind of explanations we seek for our humanity. Fundamentally, our images of man are not images at all, but ‘lenses’ or ‘filters’ through which we selectively observe our action in the world: “Our image of the human is already, in our pre-scientific reflection, an indissoluble component of our everyday activity” (Meinberg 1988, 10).

My essay is divided into three steps. In the first, I show how economics actively seeks to influence the inscription of the commonplace image of the human through economics education. Second, I attempt to present an insight into the basic features of this form of education. Here, economics will become visible as a textbook science in Thomas Kuhn’s sense: as a science incapable of giving the students any plural or critical understanding of self and the world. In the third step, I will identify the essential features of the twofold human image that, I would argue, lies at the base of the economic curriculum. On the basis of this image, students get trained to understand themselves on the one hand as “pleasure machines,” “robots,” or “laboratory guinea pigs.” On the other hand, they learn to identify themselves as social engineers who observe *other* people as pleasure machines, robots, or guinea pigs and to strive to manipulate the latter according to their own ideas and interests.

2 The Influence of Economic Education

Globally, economics is booming as a discipline. In US colleges and universities alone, 1.5 million students annually enroll in the introductory economics course (Nasar 1995). “This introductory course is both the first and the last brush that most educated Americans have with supply and demand, marginal cost, comparative advantage and other first principles of

the dismal science” (ibid). One could make a similar observation about the approximately 360,000 students of economics departments in German universities who make up nearly seventeen percent of all students in Germany (Statistisches Bundesamt 2010). They, too, in their beginning micro- and macroeconomics classes are obliged to confront economics thought. Even if in the past, most ambitious economists focused “on the kind of esoteric research that might win them a Nobel Prize,” they are now jumping at this chance “to mold the minds of the next generation of political leaders, executives, image makers and other members of the ... elite” (Nasar 1995). Here, we are not speaking simply about the power to shape individual lectures or seminars; rather, the great names in the guild strive to write textbooks powerful enough to *dictate the canons of their discipline to almost all universities around the world*.

To begin with, it is a question of dominance within a giant market. In the United States alone, the market for introductory economics textbooks measures about fifty million dollars per year. Of the thirty to forty books that compete for this revenue, a handful secures the lion’s share. Of these blockbusters, as the New York Times, not without admiration, names them, each sells annually about 50,000 books at a price of about fifty five dollars each (Nasar 1995). The first fifteen editions of Paul Samuelson’s *Economics* (from 1948-1995) sold approximately about four million copies, not counting the more than forty translations (Skousen 1997). The careers of other textbook authors are similarly steep. Take for example Gregory N. Mankiw, who was chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers under President George W. Bush. He was not only paid by Harcourt Publisher a record advance of 1.4 million dollars for his textbook, *Principles of Economics*, but also received a bonus of twenty two percent for each copy sold – with sales reaching well beyond the million. Here, too, we are not counting the revenue garnered from over ten translations (Nasar 1995).

Yet the *superstars* of the intro economics textbooks business do not simply seek money and wealth. By their own account, they are much more invested in the struggle for the best minds in our society. “The top three or four textbooks, even the top 10, are profitable, wildly profitable” admits, for example, Mankiw. And he adds: “Besides, economists are proselytizers” (quoted in Nasar 1995). Paul Samuelson formulates the point as follows: “*My interest was not so much in dollars as in influencing minds*” (quoted Gottesman, Ramrattan, Szenberg 2005, 98, my emphasis). Here, as in the fact that authors like Samuelson are, especially in the United States, often treated as “high priests” and their books as “bibles” or “gospels,”² we find that economists do not only desire to sell heaps of their standard intro economics textbooks; they also want them to be *read* a million fold. They wish their content to be actually learned and understood, pushed, if necessary, by the constant pressure of grading and exams.³ It all comes

2 Compare for instance the obituary notices in the Wall Street Journal (December 13, 2009) published on the occasion of Paul Samuelson’s death, where Robert Hall, Professor at Stanford, for instance, writes: “His book, *Foundations of Economic Analysis*, was a bible to my generation of economists, trained entirely in the then-new Samuelson mode.” Samuelson writes about himself: I was besieged by groupies reminiscent of Talmudic students crowding around famous rabbis. The policeman at the door of the White House whispers, ‘I am using your book at Georgetown night school.’ The chap who sells me a newspaper at Harvard Square confides that at Northeastern he studied my book. . . . Wherever I go in Europe, Asia, or Latin America, strangers greet me as an old friend or old tormenter. I have never been to India, Russia, or China, but in my MIT office, I am asked to autograph copies of translations” (quoted in Gottesman, Ramrattan, Szenberg 2005, 98).

3 Samuelson also invokes another form of pressure. He tells his students to consider the study of economics a factor absolutely decisive to success or failure in the daily struggle for existence: “As we have come to realize, there is one overriding reason for learning the basic lessons of economics: All your life – from the cradle to grave and beyond – *you will run up against the brutal truths of economics*. (...) Of course, studying economics cannot make you a genius. *But without economics, the dice of life are loaded against*

down to consciously influencing the ideas, attitudes, and imaginations of each new generation:

“It is hard to gauge the influence of Samuelson's textbook, or in general the impact of introductory courses in economics, on U.S. policymakers or corporate executives. Samuelson has been willing to claim, with tongue only slightly in cheek, a considerable impact. He has made a well-known comment: ‘I don't care who writes a nation's laws – or crafts its advanced treaties – if I can write its economics textbooks.’

He has also expressed hope that his textbook would be a reference guide for former students. ‘When the election of 1984 rolls around,’ he wrote in 1967, ‘all the hours that the artists and editors and I have spent in making the pages as informative and authentic as possible will seem to me well spent if somewhere a voter turns to the old book from which he learned economics for a rereasoning of the economic principle involved’ (Skousen 1997, 149-50).

Mankiw writes in his preface to the instructor (2001, vii): “Economists have a unique way of viewing the world, much of which can be taught in one or two semesters. My goal in this book is to transmit this way of thinking to the widest possible audience and to convince readers that it illuminates much of the world around them.” Critical economists like Steve Keen see in this nothing less than a campaign of ideological persuasion: “What I had initially thought was an education in economics was in fact little better than an indoctrination” (Keen 2001, xiii).

3 Economics as a Textbook Science

In order to be able to relate to Keen's reproach, we first need to understand how the self-conception of economics as a science has substantially changed over the last seventy years or so. Originally, economics had defined itself by means of its subject matter: it sought to explain the world of commerce (see, for example, Becker 1990). In this way, what economists did was rather well-defined. They were supposed to analyze what was commonly seen as ‘commercial’ or ‘economic’ matters.⁴ This limitation in relation to the object of research stood in contrast to a great freedom with regard to the *manner* of research. Each economist could freely control his methodological approach, and thus *how* he was to conduct his research. In consequence the self-understanding of the economic sciences was plural: it unified a number of perspectives on ‘economic’ phenomena. Modern economics, however, negates this pluralistic self-understanding and inverts the freedom of the researcher into its exact opposite. Gary Becker, a leading figure of the *Chicago School of Economics* and the Nobel Prize winner in economics for

you” (Samuelson, Nordhaus 2005, 3, my emphasis). In an earlier edition (1955, 3), Samuelson even writes: “Thus, *even from the purely egotistic standpoint of self interest* [it is important to] find answers to ... the questions of modern economic life” (my emphasis).

4 This is to say that economics was believed to simply analyze the production, distribution, and consumption of goods and services or, more specifically, the allocation of limited resources to the satisfaction of mutually exclusive ends. Common to these definitions is that they refer to the objects of economic investigation, but do not prescribe the methods, with which one should investigate these objects.

1992, codified this turn-about as follows: “That which distinguishes economics as a discipline from other disciplines in the social sciences is not its subject matter but its *approach*” (1990, 5, my emphasis). Scientific freedom means, for Becker, that fundamentally all social subjects may be analyzed by the economist: from “fertility, education and the uses of time, crime, marriage, social interactions, and other ‘sociological,’ ‘legal,’ and ‘political’ problems” (ibid, 8). Nothing less than all human behavior gets reduced to an object of economic research:

“Indeed, I have come to the position that the economic approach is a comprehensive one that is applicable to all human behavior, be it behavior involving money prices or imputed shadow prices, repeated or infrequent decisions, large or minor decisions, emotional or mechanical ends, rich or poor persons, men or women, adults or children, brilliant or stupid persons patients or therapists, businessmen or politicians, teachers or students” (ibid).

Under the flag of this economic imperialism,⁵ modern economics claims absolute freedom in the choice of its subject matter. Yet this is bought at the price of a substantial limitation of the choice over one’s research methods. The economist must (and should!) probe absolutely everything in the world. But he has to approach it from a single angle of vision: that of modern microeconomics or neoclassical theory. Only the “combined assumptions of maximizing behavior, market equilibrium, and stable preferences, used relentlessly and unflinchingly, form the heart of the economic approach” (ibid, 5). While the economist may have become free to analyze everything in the world, he has no choice regarding the rules of thought by which he undertakes this analysis. In order to preserve the unity of economics as a science, he must renounce the multiplicity of conceptual possibilities in order to align himself with a single *technique* of thinking. In this way, a *monoculture of thought* is established, that extends far over the borders of what we usually understand to be ‘economic’ or ‘commercial.’

Often I hear colleagues reply that one can easily exaggerate the power of this monoculture, if one ignores, on the one hand, the many directions that are alternative to the economic mainstream, and on the other hand, refuses to recognize the extent to which the mainstream itself continually works so as to perfect and refine its approach. These objections might be justified, at most, with respect to research. But in regard to the curriculum, they certainly mistake the actual heart of things. Because in the lecture halls of the world, the neoclassical refinements do not count; nor does their critique. Both are not taught, or only taught in later semesters. It is much more likely that the following prevails:

“Normal science can keep the student and practitioner on the straight and narrow if there develops an interpretive tradition that makes it unnecessary to consult the canonical texts with all their ambiguity, passion, and contingency. The development of textbooks is a

⁵ We are not using, here, some insult forged by critics, but the explicit self-understanding, in particular, of a science that has been colored by the Chicago School of Economics. “I am an economic imperialist. I believe good techniques have a wide application” says, for example, Gary Becker about himself (1993).

hallmark of that interpretive tradition. Teachers of economics sometimes complain that, pedagogical style apart, current economics textbooks are almost all alike. (...) The existence of canonical textbooks is a considerable part of what distinguishes economics from other social sciences” (Pearce, Hoover 1995, 184).

A remark attributed to Paul Samuelson goes: “Economists are said to disagree too much but in ways that are too much alike: If eight sleep in the same bed, you can be sure that, like Eskimos, when they turn over, they’ll all turn over together” (quoted in Weinstein 2009). This aptly hits on the superstars of the intro economics textbooks, especially in regard to their microeconomic insights. In this case, it even seems wholly appropriate to say – to remain with Samuelson’s image – that all have slept in the same bed for decades, but up to now none of them, either individually or together, has turned over. Let us look at this more closely. Today’s economic doctrine is commonly divided into the domains of micro and macro economics. To put it a little simply, microeconomics is ascribed the task of explaining, mainly, the individual behavior of economic actors. Here economists divide the social world into two classes: the consumer and the producer. Then they observe the behavior of a single individual of each class, in order to draw conclusions about all consumers or producers. Thus, microeconomics gives us a methodological individualism,⁶ in which the behavior of groups can only be explained from the aggregation of individual actions. On this basis there arises the image of an ideal market. It is imagined that individual consumers with already given preferences always meet individual suppliers with likewise fixed ideas of profit on markets as though for the first time. Social interaction is considered an end result in this view, but is not seen through as the driving force behind individual utility and gain calculi. Modern macroeconomics appropriates the principles of methodological individualism unhesitatingly, in order to dedicate itself to the representation and shaping of the mutual effects of different markets, for example those of commodities, labor and capital. It is understood, in other words, to be *micro founded*. Already from this rudimentary description we can see the fact that microeconomics fundamentally shapes the human image which then grounds all further economic descriptions of social interactions. And precisely in regard to this subject area the following holds true: even if the macroeconomic content of all standard textbooks already shows “a surprising degree of consensus” (Walstad, Watts, Bosshard 1998, 198-99), microeconomics represents precisely that subject area where “the victory of Samuelson’s early pedagogy has been most complete and where the beliefs of economists have changed least” (Skousen 1997, 138). Whether in Greek, German, Chinese, Japanese, Hebrew, Serbo-Croatian or Spanish, and under whatsoever title: in regard to the basic understanding of humanity and human action, all the important economics textbooks of our time establish a single, unified lingo.

In order to trace this phenomenon more precisely, I suggest grasping microeconomics as a *textbook or normal science*, as described by Thomas S. Kuhn (1996, 17):

⁶ The concept of “methodological individualism” goes back to Joseph Schumpeter (1908).

“In the early stages of the development of any science different men confronting the same range of phenomena, but not usually all the same particular phenomena, describe and interpret them in different ways. What is surprising, and perhaps also unique in its degree to the field we call science, is that such initial divergences should ever largely disappear. For they do disappear to a very considerable extent and then apparently once and for all.”

Actually, current economics textbooks, almost without exception, are based on a single economic theory of human behavior that was already established in the middle of the 19th century: the neo-classical. In this way, they prevent the student in this science from meeting with the usual multiplicity of perspectives, visions and ideas:

“More than a decade before I became an undergraduate, a major theoretical battle had broken out over the validity of economic theory. Yet none of this turned up in the standard undergraduate or honours curriculum – unless it was raised by some dissident instructor. There were also entire schools of thought which were antithetical to conventional economics, which again were ignored unless there was a dissident on staff” (Keen 2001, xiii).

The textbook science grounds a pedagogic concept that in essence rests on forgetting history, or more precisely, on an almost complete forgetting of economics 'own intellectual history and history of ideas:

“Textbooks, however, [are] pedagogic vehicles for the perpetuation of normal science (...) Textbooks thus begin by truncating the scientist's sense of his discipline's history and then proceed to supply a substitute for what they have eliminated. Characteristically, textbooks of science contain just a bit of history, either in an introductory chapter or, more often, in scattered references to the great heroes of an earlier age. From such references both students and professionals come to feel like participants in a long-standing historical tradition. Yet the textbook-derived tradition in which scientists come to sense their participation is one that, in fact, never existed” (Kuhn 1996, 138).

Certainly, Kuhn himself was making this statement simply in regard to the natural sciences. Yet economics has attempted, since its origin in the 18th century, to be a science, “which resembles the physico-mathematical sciences in every respect” (Walras 1969, 71). And this ambition is mirrored in a forgetting of history that takes shape in the way economics textbooks veil the ancestry and dynamic history of their science and abbreviate it beyond recognition, a process very similar to what Kuhn describes in the case of the natural sciences. For instance, in the first edition of Samuelson's *Economics* we find just a single page dedicated to the history of economics (1955, 12-13). This is presented by Samuelson as an “ancestral portrait gallery,” in which he only mentions five economists: John Maynard Keynes and Adam

Smith, whom he praises, Karl Marx, whom he refers to as the “black sheep” of the economic profession, as well as David Ricardo and John Stuart Mill.⁷ In the newer editions of his textbook, even these rudimentary descriptions drop out; instead of which we find a few disparate references to “important figures in economics” (Samuelson, Nordhaus 2005, xx). If the student thus will already find it almost impossible to clearly locate scholarly positions and approaches within the original multiplicity of economics opinions and perspectives, other textbooks drop out even these sporadic remarks concerning the intellectual history of economics. Mankiw for instance doesn’t spare a word for it (2001), and Varian does as little (2007).

“The depreciation of historical fact is deeply, and probably functionally, ingrained in the ideology of the scientific profession” (Kuhn 1996, 138). Yet with the loss of one’s proper intellectual history, an awareness of the plurality of perspectives and methodological approaches that once was the glory of the science vanishes as well. Commerce and society appear differently depending on the perspective from which we envision them. Our ‘methodological lenses’ decide what aspects of the economy we will focus on and how we do so. They also determine what problems remain essentially hidden. Many of the central problems of present day commerce remain completely in the dark as long as we only observe them from the angle of the economic mainstream. Thus, for instance, Norbert Häring in his study, *Markt und Macht* (“Power and Markets,” 2010), represents how textbook economics systematically hinders taking into account the phenomenon of market power. This can similarly be shown for creativity (Brodbeck 1996) or the inherent dynamic of markets (Schumpeter 1942; Sraffa 1926; Keen 2010). In this way, a systematic blindness is spurred on, which already led Joan Robinson (quoted in Hill, Myatt 2010, 1) to the following question:

“It is true that we cannot, in the time available, teach everything that we would like. But why do we pick out for treatment just that selection of topics that is least likely to raise any questions of fundamental importance?”

“The point is: The way we think changes things... The freedom of thought depends on the fact that one can choose between different ways of thinking” (Hedtke 2008, 5-6). As correct and important this insight is, as completely is it ignored by a textbook economics for which ‘multiple perspectives’ is a foreign term that is never even mentioned, once, as a *possibility*. “For every critical economic issue there are competing concepts and theories that lead to different conclusions. The problem is that when they are not missing from textbooks altogether, these theories are almost always summarily dismissed” (Adler 2010, vx). “But if one is barred from all alternatives, one does not even know that one could chose if one knew the different thought concepts” (Hedtke 2008, 6).

The newer textbooks in particular drive such a method-monism to extremes,

7 About Adam Smith, Samuelson writes (1955, 12-13): “First comes *Adam Smith*, a Scotch bachelor with *powdered wig* like *George Washington*, who gathered together the earlier wisdom of business pamphleteers and philosophic system builders in his *Wealth of Nations* (1776). He recognized the virtues of free markets, and the times were ripe for his doctrines to become the bible of the rising middle class. About Marx, Samuelson says: ‘And then our picture gallery comes upon the black sheep, who was beyond the pen of the true classical tradition. Karl Marx, an exile from Germany, worked away in the British Museum vowing that the Bourgeoisie would pay for the suffering his boils cost him as he sat working out his theories of the inevitable collapse of capitalism’” (re-translated from the German edition).

in as much as they do not even make their own perspective clear as a means of knowing. There exists a systematic difference between the observer and the observed, or between the knower and the known, and it is the task of an introductory chapter about the scope and methods of science to make the reader aware, at least, of this difference. What commerce looks like to economists, how it appears to them, is not simply equivalent to commercial reality as such. Yet Varian, for instance, simply sweeps aside such reflections as superfluous. He writes, explicitly, that “it is rather inappropriate *to begin* the study of the economy with it” (2007, 1). Mankiw (2001, 3-17) takes this kind of pedagogy even further. At the beginning of his textbook, he explains his “10 principles of economics” so that they appear simply as facts, and not a higher level, selective description *of* facts. Take, for example, Mankiw’s forth principle “people respond to incentives” (2001, 7). This principle essentially tells us to analyze individual behavior in the framework of a stimulus-response model: we are to preconceive people as if they automatically and unconsciously altered their behavior in response to changes in market prices. As such, Mankiw essentially leads us to highlight certain characteristics of human beings, i.e. the easily predictable, while erasing others, i.e. the thoughtful, creative and essentially non-determinable aspects of human activity. But Mankiw does not reveal this as a methodological pre-adjustment. He rather pretends to speak about reality as such. He simply tells us that all people *factually* respond to incentives. Thus he misleads his students into taking a specific view of social reality uncritically as the equivalent of or the substitute for this reality.

At least with Paul Samuelson one can perceive that such leveling is in no way unintended, but is instead a conscious pedagogical program. Thus, he confronts millions of students at the beginning of his textbook with the following message (1955, 5-6):

We must “firstly develop the faculty in ourselves to see things without partisanship or previous assumptions, that is, to see them as *they really are*, and without reference to whether that is pleasant or unpleasant to us. (...) We know that a *doctor passionately interested* in stamping out disease must first train himself to *observe things as they are*. (...) Similarly, there are elements of valid reality in a given economic situation, however hard it may be to recognize and isolate them. There is not one theory of economics for Republicans and one theory for Democrats, one for workers and one for employers... On many basic principles concerning prices and employment, most – if not all! – economists are in fairly close agreement” (translated from the German edition, emphasis in the German original).

These few references may satisfy us in order to show how textbook economics narrows the student’s understanding systematically down to a single perspective. Instead of making this limitation known, economics leads the student to apply this perspective to ever more commercial as well as social phenomena, and to describe the latter on this basis in continually more refined detail. Students are thus hindered to develop their own thought, if they are not completely blocked in regard to the following: They are neither given the tools to critically reflect on the grounds of the

assumptions underlying their own thought, nor to transform them in any respect. Again a similar point has been made by Kuhn with regard to the natural sciences. The praxis of science “will seldom evoke overt disagreement over fundamentals” (1996, 11). “Given a textbook, ...the creative scientist can begin his research where it leaves off and thus concentrate exclusively on the subtlest and most esoteric aspects of the natural phenomenon that concern his group” (ibid, 20). At the same time, the student is isolated from all social problems that cannot be described with the help of the conceptual instruments of economic textbook science. He is, in other words, compelled to banish all of those problems that cannot be adequately focused within the economic perspective to the realm of the irrational and unscientific – even if they occur to him, as a human being, to be obvious and pressing.

4 The Image of Man in Economic Textbook Science

Certainly, economic assumptions about humanity are an object of scientific research. Here, advocates of mainstream economics openly acknowledge that *homo oeconomicus* is simply a model, created for a particular, highly specific purpose (see for instance Kirchgässner 1991). Likewise they repeat Joan Robinson’s sentence: a model that didn’t dispense with the whole variety of reality would be as useless as a map on the scale of one to one (quoted in Felderer, Homburg 1999, 10). Every theory, the argument goes, must emphasize certain aspects of reality as being ‘significant’ (positive abstraction) while dismissing others as ‘meaningless’ or as ‘confusing collateral circumstances’ (negative abstraction), so that it may serve its specific end: the same thing should hold true with regard to the image of man. But even though this statement from Robinson is frequently quoted in economic textbooks, it is, with regard to the economics curriculum, misleading in at least two senses. Firstly, they suggest that students are continually made aware of abstractions as part of their own intellectual activity, as their own instruments of thought. But with our contemporary economics textbooks this is certainly not the case. And this concurs with our second sense, which is that textbook economics never makes its view of economic man explicit as what it truly is: an *image* of man. Rather, *homo oeconomicus* functions as a mere fundamental assumption, which is casually introduced inside the framework of the greater theoretical structure. It is hardly reflected upon but only *applied* to problem-solution. Thus, it is not explained to students, why they are to observe just the properties of *homo oeconomicus* as being ‘essential’ for humanity in commerce, nor do they learn to reflect upon the conflicting human properties they are forced to erase as mere disturbing matters. In other words, students are neither given any explicit rules as to how they are supposed to think of humans nor why they should do so. Yet this doesn’t mean that such rules do not exist. Rather, what we see here is the binding force of “*tacit knowledge*” (Polanyi 1966). This is the kind of knowledge students assimilate in the course of their learning process, without ever growing capable of articulating it explicitly. In a sense, one can speak here of the development of a paradigm:

“Scientists work from models acquired through education and through subsequent exposure to the literature often without quite knowing or needing to know what characteristics have given these models the status of community paradigms. (...) Paradigms may be prior to, more binding, and more complete than any set of rules for research that could be unequivocally abstracted from them (...) While paradigms remain secure ... they can function without agreement over rationalization or without any attempt of rationalization at all” (Kuhn 1996, 46-49).

But what composes the economics paradigm in regard to the understanding of human beings? Let’s begin our search by tracing the “law of diminishing marginal utility”. This law is taken as a central assumption about consumer behavior by all standard microeconomics textbooks. “This law states, that the amount of extra or marginal utility declines as a person consumes more and more of a good” (Samuelson 2005, 85). What does this mean? “Marginal utility denotes the additional utility you get from consumption of an additional unit of a commodity (ibid). Thus, this additional utility is supposed to decline, the more units of the good are consumed altogether.⁸ It is never thought, however, to become equal to or less than zero.

Samuelson mentions, correctly, that this law of economics was formulated over a hundred years ago. Yet he suggests (2005, 85), that we can found this law by means of observing our own proper world of experience:

“What is the reason for this law? Utility tends to increase as you consume more of a good. However, *according to* the law of diminishing marginal utility, as you consume more and more, your total utility will grow at a slower and slower rate. Growth in total utility slows because *your* marginal utility ... diminishes as more of the good is consumed. The diminishing marginal utility *results from the fact* that your enjoyment of the good drops off as more and more of it its consumed” (my emphasis).

Samuelson calls upon the experience of the students in order to explain a major economic ‘law.’ At the same time, however, he instructs them to look at this experience through lenses already colored by this very law itself. Very clearly, this is an instance of circular logic, which in a careless manner mixes together method and empiricism, experience and theory. A similar case can be observed in regard to an even more important economic ‘law’ which postulates in principle the limitlessness of human needs, a non-satiation, as it is called by economists. In modern textbook economics this principle is hidden in the abstract concept of indifference curves, which Samuelson, for instance, introduces like this: “Start by assuming that you are a consumer who buys different combinations of two commodities, say, food and clothing, at a given set of prices. For each combination of these two goods, assume that you prefer one to the other or are indifferent between the pair”

⁸ Note that the concept of utility itself remains fairly obscure within some economic textbooks. Samuelson, for example, refers to it either as “satisfaction,” “subjective pleasure,” or “usefulness that a person derives from consuming a good or service” (2005, 84) And yet he warns: “But you should definitely resist the idea that utility is a psychological function or feeling that can be observed or measured”, advising the reader to think of it just as a “scientific concept” (ibid). Mankiw, however, is less bothered by such sophistry. He simply denotes utility as “a measure of happiness or satisfaction” (2001, 447).

(Samuelson, Nordhaus 2005, 101). Again, the perception of the reader is narrowed down from the outset with regard to his own possibilities of action. And once again, this is not made explicit. A sort of perception filter is installed, through which the world appears simply as an assembly of bundles of goods, between which people predictably choose according to their own utility: “If you offer the consumer two different bundles, he chooses the bundle that best suits his tastes. If the two bundles suit his tastes equally well, we say that the consumer is indifferent between the two bundles. (...) An indifference curves show the bundles of consumption that make the consumer equally happy” (Mankiw 2001, 466). Other bundles of goods are taken to grant lower or higher levels of satisfaction. Thus, they are arranged on higher or lower indifference curves respectively. In addition, the following is taken for given: “Because the consumer prefers more of a good, points on a higher indifference curve ... are preferred to points on a lower indifference curve” (ibid, 467). In this or a similar fashion all current economics textbooks construct in a few paragraphs a simple “indifference map” in which the total decision space of people is depicted as something like a “utility mountain” (see figure 1; quoted from Stocker 2002, 143):

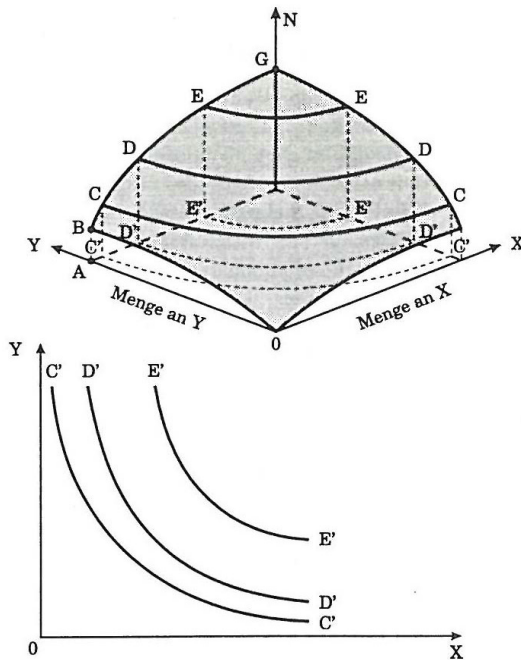
“This diagram is analogous to a geographic contour map. A person who walks along the path indicated by a particular height contour on such a map is neither climbing nor descending; similarly, the consumer who moves from one position to another along a single indifference curve enjoys neither increasing nor decreasing satisfaction from the change in consumption. (...) Note that as we increase both goods and thus move in a northeasterly direction across this map, we are crossing successive indifference curves; hence, we are reaching higher and higher levels of satisfaction (assuming that the consumer gets greater satisfaction from receiving increased quantities of both goods)” (Samuelson, Nordhaus 2005, 102-103).

Notice again that a highly crucial assumption about humans is introduced here in a by the way fashion: microeconomic textbooks unanimously assume that having more of a bundle of goods is always preferred to having less of it (e.g. Varian 2007, 85). “Consumers usually prefer more of something to less of it” (Mankiw 2001, 468). It appears as though people were, by internal necessity, always driven to climb up the “utility mountain” to ever dizzy heights, as if they were forced to continually chase after ever greater levels consumption. There seems to exist something deep within them that causes them to restlessly strive for ever greater bundles of goods. In other words, their peculiar journey across the mountain of utility recognizes no climax. It does not reference or account for any limitation of satisfaction.

This is the basic idea behind “indifference curves” and the “utility mountain” (see again figure 1): utility (i.e. happiness or satisfaction) increases as more of both goods are consumed. Indifference curves C', D' and E' are conceived analogous to height contours on a geographic contour map. Utility neither increases nor decreases along these curves. But the level of utility is higher along E' than on D', and higher on D than on C'. Note that textbooks economics, in contrast to this graph, usually does not assume a “summit” of the utility mountain to exist (point G). Rather, utility is thought to limitlessly

increase as consumption of both goods increases.

Figure 1



Samuelson explains this fundamental presupposition about human behavior and why he takes it for granted as little as do his colleagues. Such lack of explanation does not simply encumber the necessarily foreshortened forms of presentation normal to a textbook. Instead, it is deeply anchored in the tradition of economics research as such. A reference to one of the actual originators of the 'laws' of diminishing marginal utility and of non-satiation, the Prussian political economist Hermann Heinrich Gossen (1810-1858), can illustrate this: "Man arranges his actions so that the sum of his life enjoyments will be of the greatest amount," so Gossen already postulated in 1854 (4-5). We already know this from our economic textbooks. Yet the manner in which Gossen justifies this postulate is very illuminative:

"Not only is this maximization viewed by all men without exception as life's ultimate purpose, but it is undoubtedly the real purpose of man's life, willed by his Creator. We can explain the ineradicable and unceasing human desire to reach this objective only by the same procedure by which we seek to explain all other phenomena in nature, namely by assuming that the creator created in men a power whose effect intervenes as this wish in his existence, as we also all other phenomena in nature through the assumption of effective forces corresponding to certain specific laws. ... Its purpose, and thus the purpose of the creator by his creation, can thus not be anything other than willing this effect, that he wanted man to follow its promptings. Hence it would frustrate totally or in part the purpose of the Creator were we to attempt to neutralize this force in total or in part, as is the

intention of some moral codes promulgated by so many men. But how can a creation be more presumptuous than to want to frustrate the purpose of his creator in whole or in part!" (ibid, 2-3).

Here we see: Gossen does not truly ground the law of decreasing marginal utility. Rather, it intervenes at a point where reflection stops, beyond which we are told that any further explanation is superfluous, and even appears to be vicious: "For its genuineness or truth, this revelation needs no human testimony; it confirms itself in such an indubitable manner that any other proof seems superfluous" (ibid, 4). This kind of dead end is not an anomaly in the history of economics. It is the norm. It is already found for instance in Adam Smith, the originator of economics as a science. For he claimed the workings of his famous "invisible hand" to be located beyond the purlieu of all scientific explanation (see Ulrich 1991). These workings, according to the Scottish moral philosopher, were like the creative power of a watchmaker, owing themselves "in reality to the wisdom of God" and thus not being rationally explainable by human mortals. Like the cogs of the clockwork, the latter must believe in this working, but not seek to ground it in a strictly scientific sense (1759, II.II.19). But the standard economics textbooks don't say a word to draw the student's attention to the problematic of such fragmentary foundations. They only require that the existence of social regularities be taken as given, as if they ever had been correctly founded. They mislead, in other words, students to unconsciously put themselves on the shoulders of long dead economists without ensuring the credibility of these foundations, not to speak of seeking alternative standpoints.

Let's go a step further. Textbook economics does not only confront the students with the alleged laws of decreasing marginal utility and of non-satiation. It also introduces them to the supposedly hard reality of scarcity: "Let us ... give the consumer a fixed income. He has, say, \$6 per day to spend, and he is confronted with fixed prices for each food and clothing unit - \$1.50 for food, \$1.00 for clothing" (Samuelson, Nordhaus 2005, 103). People, so it is suggested, always prefer to select bigger bundles of goods; yet this can only happen in the framework of their command over a given income, and thus over money. The actual wandering in the mountains of utility can only unfold along an income gradient, as if every human decision were like a ball slotted into a specific track (see figure 2; quoted from Stocker 2002, 159): left of this gradient, bundles of goods are not preferred because they grant too low levels of satisfaction; on the right, they cannot be reached, because of the lack of income to back them. Thus, there remains only one choice: "The consumer chooses the point of his budget constraint that lies on the highest indifference curve" (Mankiw 2001, 471). This is what economists call the principle of *utility maximization*. Here is where we see: first, textbook economics offers the students only a single 'map' for orientation in the economy.⁹ Closer inspection reveals, second, that this map in truth is not even analogous to a terrain map as long as we think of the latter as an aid to real orientation. Its purpose is, rather, to describe a seemingly inexorable program of action, which inevitably limits

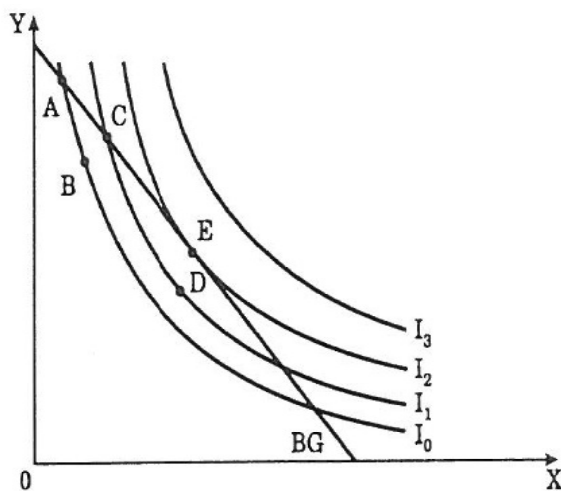
⁹ One might hold the idea that at least the action of the entrepreneur or firm is represented by textbook economics in a different manner. But this is systematically not the case, in as much as its theory of supply feeds back to the same way of representing human action as its demand theory. It only replaces "indifference curves" with "isoquants" and the "budget constraints" with "isocost lines" as a foundation for its theory of profit maximization. For the particularly abstruse assumptions that result from these presuppositions, see Mirowski 1989.

human freedom of choice to a single point in a pre-given commodity space. Economic textbooks certainly qualify students to calculate this program in all of its details. They also instruct them to make it the foundation for all further questions concerning economic theory and politics. But at the same time they systematically disempower students, or even force them to retreat from, becoming conscious of the image of man lying at the foundation of this program.

It escapes them, for instance, that textbook economics implicitly supposes that man can only choose between given goods whose price is dictated by the market. Man cannot create for himself his choices, neither can he create his own area of action, but must always choose between given things within a pre-fixed commodity space. This is the equivalent of saying: the actor does not have the choice when it comes down to the question of the rules that govern his choice" (Baurmann 1996, 325). Moreover, money is always preconceived as the entry ticket into the realm of satisfaction. One must possess it, if one wants to act at all, and one must always possess more of it, if one wants to experience an increase in one's happiness or satisfaction. Also, the reverse has to hold true: as soon as one controls more money, one's own utility *must* unhesitatingly mount: Every increase in income invariably shifts the budget line, i.e. the path through the utility mountain, outward, i.e. in such a way, that not only higher regions of utility mountains can be climbed, but also *must* be climbed.

This is the economic idea about "optimal choice:" Given the basic textbooks assumptions about individual behavior, individual choice must, by necessity, seek the highest possible indifference curve attainable within the pre-given boundaries of a fixed income. Invariably, it comes to rest at point E (see again figure 2).

Figure 2



We have yet to name a further assumption. Man must not only calculate all the action possibilities open to him individually. He also has to be able to compare them one to the other. Let us denominate three bundles of goods

A, B, and C, as economic textbooks usually do. When A is preferred to B, and B to C, so the economic mainstream teaches, one must inevitably prefer A to C, too. Otherwise one's behavior is considered "kinky," "irrational" or "inconsistent," and thus unworthy of further analysis. "What is usually assumed is that consumers are reasonably consistent in their tastes and actions – that they do not flail around in unpredictable ways and do not make themselves miserable by persistent error" (Samuelson, Nordhaus 2005, 89). What is praised here as "reasonable" shows itself, upon closer inspection, as clearly incompatible with fundamental human capacities. Microeconomics does not simply claim to map and calculate actions in the present moment, but pretends that it can prognosticate them. In order to do so, it must, at least implicitly, preclude "erratic changes" in choosing behavior over an, in principle, endless span of time. Whoever prefers A to B today, and B to C, must also prefer A to C *in the future*. In other words, the indifference curves and thus the whole of the utility mountain are presumed to be stable in time and space. Man is not supposed to ever alter his preferences from one moment to another (see for instance Becker 1990). Yet, an essential human property is thus negated and damned to meaninglessness: the capacity to reflect on one's own needs and tastes and from this background to rethink old decisions and to develop new predilections. Any idea of the human potential to change oneself is missing here, because this potential would shake the utility mountain as if an earthquake occurred from within. It would shove aside and bend the indifference curves, thus simply making any microeconomic calculations and prognoses of human action null and void – precisely those calculations and prognoses which are presumed in the textbooks without question (see Graupe 2007, 59-68). Also, the inventions of new goods and thus the development of new tastes and desires are completely cast into the dark.

But what actually allows textbook economics to ground its statements about human beings? And what consequences result on this basis for the image of man? Let us look again into the history of economics, about which the textbooks of economics are so abstinely silent. Beyond the religious grounding of the 'laws' of economics, as we have found with Smith and Gossen, we find this: "The full truth is that the teaching of political economics in the manner in which it is professionally practiced today, is in the strict sense a mechanistic science, like none other than classical physics" (Georgescu-Roegen 1971, 1). "One *must* study the laws of social cooperation in exactly the same way as the physicist studies the laws of mechanics" (Mises 1940, 2). Since the second half of the 19th century, mainstream economics has literally taken up this demand. Back then, economists like Irving Fisher, Léon Walras and W. Stanley Jevons began to transpose the formulas of mechanics, especially in regard to its notion of energy and the differential calculus, to the social world (see Mirowski 1989). In the course of this process, they more or less consciously pasted the previously named rigid assumptions about human beings in order to justify their own claims and standards of scientificity. They began to think in terms of utility mountains only to be able to describe human actions with the same formulas with which physicists calculate the motion of particles. In order to correspond to their own ideal of science, they simply translated the central concepts of mechanics into economic concepts. "Utility", as for instance Irving Fisher made clear, was equated with "energy," "marginal utility" with

“force,” the “commodity space” with (physical) “space,” and “negative utility” with (physical) “labor” (1925, 85). Neo-classical theory and thus the current crop of economics textbooks blindly absorbed this mechanistic frame of concepts, without ever thinking about its presuppositions.¹⁰ This also holds true for the concepts of utility and profit maximization, with which economists invariably describe all human activity, as though it were self evident (see for instance Becker 1990). These concepts have also nothing to do with a faithful observation of the social world, but instead with the imperative to manufacture a social physics:

“‘Mecanique Sociale’ may one day take her place along with ‘Mecanique Celeste,’ throned upon the double-sided height of one maximum principle, the supreme pinnacle of moral as of physical science. As the movements of each particle, constrained or loose, in a material cosmos are continually subordinated to one maximum sum-total of accumulated energy, so the movements of each soul whether selfishly isolated or linked sympathetically, may continually realising the maximum energy of pleasure. (...) The invisible energy of electricity is grasped by the marvelous methods of Lagrange, the invisible energy of pleasure may admit of a similar handling” (Edgeworth 1881, 9-13).

For the image of man, it follows that men are to be pictured as machines, because otherwise the economist would be incapable of carrying out his calculations:

“The conception of Man *as a pleasure machine* may justify and facilitate the employment of mechanical terms and Mathematical reasoning in social science” (ibid, 15, emphasis in the original).

We can see, here, that the economists’ image of man is simply not the result of a long search for truth or description of human action as realistic as possible, but just the by-product of a specific, if also mostly unconscious ideal of science. It exists only because it suits the economist and his scientific pretenses. According to Milton Friedman (1953, 14-15), who was a Nobel Prize winner for economics, such an instrumental understanding is basic to economic theory:

“Really important and significant hypotheses will be found to have ‘assumptions’ that are wildly inaccurate descriptive representations of reality, and in general, the more significant the theory, the more unrealistic the assumption (in this sense). (...) To be important, therefore, a hypothesis must be descriptively false in its assumptions (...) To put this point less paradoxically, the relevant question to ask about the ‘assumptions’ of a theory is not whether they are descriptively ‘realistic,’ for they never are, but whether *they are sufficiently good approximations for the purpose in hand*” (my

¹⁰ Clearly this accords with the fact that the early neo-classicals rarely were completely clear about the consequences of their theory for the image of man (see Mirowski 1989).

emphasis).

Walter Bagehot's perspective on the image of human beings is even more revealing (1885, 5):

"Of course we know that this is not so, that men are not like this; but we assume it for simplicity's sake, as a hypothesis. And this deceives many excellent people, for from deficient education they have very indistinct ideas what an abstract science is. More competent persons, indeed, have understood that English Political Economists are not speaking of real men, *but of imaginary ones*: not of men *as we see them*, but of men as it is *convenient to us* to suppose they are" (my emphasis).

Certainly, every scientific process of abstraction pursues a certain goal and, in this sense, can be seen as interested. The textbooks all agree here, either implicitly or explicitly: "the level of abstraction from reality depends on the purpose for which the model is built" (Koutsoyiannis 1975, 1). Yet the actual problem lies elsewhere. For the economic textbooks neither reflect the implications of this simple scientific-theoretical insight, nor do they reveal the purpose of their own highly specific abstractions. "Economic theory is a method to understand human behavior," said, for example, Robert Lucas, the 1995 Nobel Prize winner in Economics, "in which we investigate *artificial, fictional people - imitations of robots, one might say* - that are constructed in order to analyze the functionality of artificial economic orders that are constituted from these actors" (quoted in Brodbeck 2009, 97, my emphasis). Yet students do not learn to actively go through this imaginative procedure, but are instead pushed to merely accept the results of these procedures as seemingly irresistible 'facts.' They are not given the possibility of explaining the extent to which they are misled to imagine human beings as utility machines or robots; they simply learn to apply these images tacitly in their first or second semesters. Their further study then offers hardly any occasion to touch on this paradigmatic understanding ever again. Rather, this understanding's field of application is continuously extended. What students learn to consider as 'normal' behavior for instance in the regard to the choice between clothing and food, is, in higher courses, uncritically transferred to all the situations of life: "we can", it is taught, "never *have enough of everything*, and so must accept tradeoffs among the different things we value - including *life, love, and the most trivial pleasures*" (Friedman 1996, 33, my emphasis). In brief, textbook economics introduces students first to a highly selective picture of human beings, and then persuades them to blindly apply this picture to all human behavior. Said differently, it trains them into the already mentioned tradition of economic imperialism, of which Gary Becker says (1993): "The horizons of economics need to be expanded. Economists can talk not only about the demand for cars, but also about matters such as the family, discrimination, and religion, and about prejudice, guilt, and love."

It is in this way that economic textbooks lead to gradually imagining every individual social domain as a market in the sense of an aggregation of

individual utility machines. Whether we are dealing with marriage, church attendance, or the working environment: the theory of the “perfect market” always awakens the impression as if the multiplicity of these machines could be organized in a giant clockwork with hardly any friction. The consumers’ individual utility maximizing behaviors lead to aggregate economic demand, and the profit maximizing behaviors of individual firms to aggregate economic supply. But what moves both in common is not the will of any individual, but only and uniquely the “unconscious, automatic price *mechanism*” (Samuelson 1955, 39). “Who does the rationing? A planning board? Congress? The president? No. The marketplace” (Samuelson, Nordhaus 2005, 59). Students learn to imagine the whole world as if nothing else mattered but “the rationing of the purse.”

“The power of the purse dictates the distribution of income and consumption. Those with higher incomes end up with larger houses, more clothing, and longer vacations. *When backed up by cash*, the most urgently needs get fulfilled through the demand curve” (ibid, 60, my emphasis).

Thus, economic textbook science makes students to blindly accept an unjust distribution of income as the starting point of all scientific reflection. As such, it encourages them to systematically as well as uncritically deal with social inequality as an unquestionable fact. Yet this is not enough still. It also cements, below the radar of awareness, a further form of fundamental inequality. This form can be sussed out by asking one simple question: does the economist actually understand *himself* as a utility machine? Does he consider himself a *homo oeconomicus* or does he only utilize this concept in order to speak about other human beings? Actually, students learn to perceive free market competition – the “rationing of the purse” – not from an internal but from a kind of *external perspective* only. As though it were self-explanatory, from the very first semester they learn to look upon the economy with the help of graphs and formulas, as though they could, through some curious process, place themselves outside of it. It seems as if they were able to gain a ‘God’s eye’ perspective on people and markets. Certainly, Adam Smith already (1759, IV.I.11) prizes this kind of observation:

“The perfection of police, the extension of trade and manufactures, are noble and magnificent objects. The contemplation of them pleases us, and we are interested in whatever can tend to advance them. They make part of the great system of government, and the wheels of the political machine seem to move with more harmony and ease by means of them.”

At least, Smith still remarks that this distant observation is fundamentally nothing other than an illusion. Explicitly he names it a “deception of nature” impeding the true knowledge of commercial reality. For him, ultimate knowledge is gained out of immediate experience, out of a sympathetic position within human society, not from an outside observer’s standpoint. (cp. ibid, IV.I). Yet ultimately Smith dubs this deception good, in as much as

it promises to satisfy a goal: “And it is well that nature imposes upon us in this manner. It is this deception which rouses and keeps in continual motion the industry of mankind” (ibid). Only in the position of distant observation can the human spirit be formed into an instrument of unlimited striving for growth, and because of this Smith tells us to approve this speculative position. Economics textbooks blindly follow this command, without making this underlying instrumental understanding explicit or even critically thinking it through. Thus, the students are apprenticed, silently and without being presented any alternative, in a pitiless positioning outside of economic affairs. At the same time, they are trained to negate any kind of source of knowledge that may spring from conscious participation in these affairs. It is a matter of what Alfred Schütz (quoted in Brodbeck 2009, 102) observes without intending any critical undertone:

The social scientist “is not involved in the observed situation, which interests him not practically, but only cognitively. It is not the theater of his activities, but only the object of his contemplation. He does not operate in it and has no vital interest in the outcome of his actions; no hope and fear are bound together with the consequences of his acts. He looks at the social world with the same cool equilibrium with which the natural scientist follows the events in his laboratory.”

This is the background that allows us to explain why, for instance, Samuelson (1966, 64) conceives people simply as the “guinea-pigs” of his analysis. Yet in one essential point, Schütz’s remark still falls short. For his proper position outside of society does not simply serve the economist as a place of contemplation. Rather, his science offers him the opportunity to actively intervene in the sphere of economic affairs as if coming from the outside. Already, Adam Smith praises this in the direct continuation of the above cited passage (1759, IV.I.11):

“We take pleasure in beholding the perfection of so beautiful and grand a system, and we are uneasy *till we remove any obstruction* that can in the least disturb or encumber the regularity of its motions” (my emphasis).

“The purpose of theoretical science is ... to control the real world” (Menger 1883, 33). Even Mankiw (2006, 29) understands the economist, in truth, not as a disinterested researcher, but as a *social engineer*, who should guide the destiny of the economic machine:

“Economists like to strike the pose of a scientist. I know this, because I often do it myself. When I teach undergraduates, I very consciously describe the field of economics as a science, so no student would start the course thinking he was embarking on some squishy academic endeavor. (...) Having recently spent two years in Washington as an economic adviser [of Georg W. Bush – S.G] at a time when the U.S. economy was struggling to pull out of a recession, I am reminded that the subfield of macroeconomics *was born not as a*

science but more as a type of engineering. God put macroeconomists on earth not to propose and test elegant theories but to solve practical problems” (my emphasis).

“Cool heads at the service of warm hearts” (Samuelson, Nordhaus 2005, 7): Students are not only guided to the “dispassionate development and testing of theories” (Mankiw 2001, 20-21) but also attuned to the role of *experimenters*, who can manipulate other human beings, markets or even whole nations according to their own will. “The economy is a system without a steering wheel,” Samuelson claims (1948, 255). And the textbooks leave no doubt as to the fact that the economically educated elite not only have to put the steering wheel in place, but have to firmly grip it:

“However, with understanding usually *comes the ability to predict and to control*, and this has been the case in microeconomics. The concepts and relationships economists have developed ... *provide the basis for the design of policies by governments wishing to influence the outcome of this process*, or alternatively for the critique of the actions governments may take” (Gravelle, Rees 1981, 1, my emphasis).

To put this in terms of another economics metaphor: if we think of commerce as a game or play, whose rules are inalterably given to the actors (see for instance Friedman 1971), then it is merely a step to get to this conclusion: “The economists determine the rules of the play” (Kyrer 2005, 7). This shows the problematic of a twofold, and one could even say split image of man that the standard economics textbooks propagate, but do not reflect upon: on the one side most humans are considered utility machines, robots or guinea pigs. On the other side, a few other human beings exist, who, as part of the elite, can steer and control those utility machines, robots, and guinea pigs. The question of whether such elite can, at least, be entrusted with the common good may appear in any case as a subsequent question only. But basically, this question is posed as rarely in the framework of standard economics research as the question of whether the systematic difference between game strategies and game rules, players and referees makes any sense in the first place (see Graupe 2011). In contrast to pure textbook economics, a researcher like Patrick Gunning nevertheless puts into explicit words the basic logic of the science’s two-fold image of man (1988, 168):

“*Homo economicus* must always maximize his financial wealth in situations specified by the economist. The a priori being can create his own situations. He can even become an economist. To put this still differently, *Homo economicus* is a puppet or robot that is programmed by the economist. The a priori being is his own controller. It is the a priori being who encompasses the humanness in the human being. Economic models must be peopled by individuals who are programmed by the modelbuilder. They cannot be peopled

by a priori beings. The usefulness of models lies in the fact that they enable the modelbuilder to contrast (1) what he can, through reflection, come to know about the nature of the a priori being with (2) the puppet or robot that he employs in his model. In this way, he can isolate the inventive, creative, programming, controlling, alert aspects of human nature.”

5 A Prospective View

The economics curriculum, under the surface of awareness, shapes an image of man, which splits society into mere cogs in the ‘machine’ of the economy on the one side and omnipotent social engineers on the other side. The latter are portrayed as if they could steer this machine from the outside according to their own precepts. Thus, the curriculum gives the impression as if *homo oeconomicus*’ inexorable striving for utility and gain maximization could always be held within bounds by sensible managerial precepts. In generating this combination, it completely obscures one essential question: what kind of game is being played when the elite learns to recognize itself in the idea of striving for gain and personal utility, on the one side, while at the same time learning tacitly to locate themselves outside of the competitive order so as to perform as its judge and leader in the name of their own goals? An idea of such omnipotence contrasts with the danger that young people will only silently identify with *homo oeconomicus* and thus learn to count themselves among the impotent part of society only, who find delight merely in consumption, but have no ability to actively shape the world around them as well as their selves. It is possible, that the image of man of the economics curriculum misleads students into constantly wavering between these positions of omnipotence and impotence; unable to find a middle way between these extremes. It has been my concern to show and outline this fundamental problem, how it arose and against what background it stands. As for viable alternatives, I must leave this question open at this point. Yet let us go at least this far: a first step, in my own experience of teaching, consists in encouraging students to become conscious of the many ways in which the economic “missionaries” and their “bibles” can be disputed. A critical course through the history of economic ideas empowers them to be able to find their own actual point of view and the reasons for it. “The difficulty lies, not in the *new ideas*, but in escaping from the old ones, which ramify, for those brought up as most of us have been, into every corner of our minds” (Keynes cited in Keen 2010, xii). Yet this escape is only possible for those ideas that one really is aware of. At least we should (re)introduce the discipline’s intellectual history, as much as the explicit reflection on the economics image of man, into economics teaching. This could serve as a first step in order that young generations are no longer brought up as the slaves of dead economists and – lets add to the often cited image from Keynes – dead or living textbook authors.

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Civics Courses in the German Democratic Republic: A Case Study in the History of Curriculum and Educational Research

Civics courses in the German Democratic Republic (GDR, or East Germany) were intended to educate students to become socialist personalities. The didactical and ideological structure of the course, however, created internal contradictions that turned civics into an “impossible” course. This case study offers a model for conducting educational research into a single course curriculum using a multi-perspective analysis.

Keywords

Civics, indoctrination, German Democratic Republic (GDR), Marxism-Leninism, opposition, Scientific Communism, Staatsbürgerkunde

1 Research Hypothesis: Education for Indoctrination: A Myth?

Civics was an “impossible” course in the German Democratic Republic (GDR, or East Germany) that was nonetheless taught for decades. In this dual-purposed research study, we demonstrate the validity of this hypothesis through the use of multiple analytical perspectives. Connected with this contextual research question is the second part of this study on methodology. We argue that the analysis of a single course promises results beyond the hypothesis of the study at hand by creating a framework for further research on case studies of a single course. In this manner, our study both analyzes and theoreticizes our subject matter, thus contributing to methodological discourses in educational scholarship.

The GDR made a claim of political education for the entirety of its citizenry. Nowhere was this attempt to educate pupils as socialists more obvious than in civics courses (*Staatsbürgerkunde*), a mandatory part of the secondary school curriculum. From the founding of the GDR in 1949 to its collapse in 1989, students attended civics classes, the core of political-socialist-education.

Relative to other courses, civics courses did not occupy a major place in the school curriculum. Students in the GDR spent an average of 32-36 contact hours a week in school. Depending on only minor regional differences, students attended civics classes for no more than one to two hours a week. The number of hours spent on civics was thus a very small part of a student’s class schedule. How viable is an analysis of civics courses, given that they comprised a relatively small part of the GDR school curriculum? Did civics play a meaningful role in socialist political education? Civics focuses on the question of where to draw the line (if it is even possible) between “political education” – intended to create mature, socialist citizens

– and “political instruction and indoctrination” – intended to create mindless personalities who blindly accept socialist ideology.

Against this background, an explicit focus on what seems to have been no more than a course of little importance promises unique insight into the structure of the pedagogical profession in the GDR. The state’s objectives of civics courses extended beyond the classroom and into other aspects of school life and into all of society (Kreutzler 2001). The state functioned as an educator and treated its citizens like students. Ideologically, civics was more than a course. It was at the core of political education, intended to instrumentalize school in the larger socio-political creation of the ideal socialist personality.¹

Civics lessons, like other courses in GDR schools, came under the purview of the state. The course “was considered by the majority of the people, but especially in the view of the SED, up until the end as the most important instrument of political education in the unified socialist educational system” (Kuhn et al. 1993). The evolution of didactical methodology in civics courses reveals several questions about knowledge acquisition.²

Is the reduction of education to encyclopedic, rote learning a gateway for indoctrination? Or is a reflexive transmission of knowledge the only way to teach students to believe and be convinced of a worldview? Civics, a key course – at least from the state’s perspective – had to legitimize itself vis-à-vis the curriculum canon, and fight for its fair share of contact hours with other courses. Thus, it had to develop unique methods for teaching and learning practices.

2 Research Methodology: A Multi-Perspective Approach

Any qualitative study of a single course leads to questions about the validity of an analysis, particularly when drawing conclusions from normative, official sources or when using only one research methodology (Bradly 1993, 433). With our methodological approach to this case study, we have attempted to address these questions, allowing for a multi-layered analysis that, rather than present a one-sided, prosaic, and thus incomplete picture of the research subject, provides for multiple and even competing voices, written and spoken. We use a variety of perspectives on the teaching and learning of civics in the GDR to problematize both the results of our research and the theoretical underpinnings of conducting educational research in theory and in practice.

Our research material comes from a number of venues, necessitating different methodological approaches. Our findings, using these sources both with and against the grain, allow for a nuanced and differentiated understanding of the teaching and role of civics in the GDR. These sources include both extant and new research artifacts; we will present exemplary passages throughout this article.

¹ The translation “socialist personality” is used in the text for any references to educating or socializing a person within a certain socialist, GDR-specific habitus (see Brock 2009).

² The term “didactics” here loosely designates a “science” of teaching and learning as conceptualized by continental European scholars of education, often overlapping with the Anglo-Saxon use of the term “pedagogy.” In this article both terms are used as appropriate for the context. For a summary of didactics and pedagogy comparisons as terms within historical traditions see e.g. Hamilton 1999.

The extent and kinds of empirical evidence upon which we constructed our theoretical and methodological model include, but are not limited to, the following examples: Curricula, teaching supplements and educational policy documents (for example, protocols of educational conferences, statements and minutes from the Ministry for Education, regional guidelines); educational media such as teaching materials, lesson plans, the use of blackboards and other, similar material; analyses of textbooks by different parties, including not only the state but also institutions critical of the state, such as the Church; school observation findings; 300 videos of recorded classroom observations and their accompanying written minutes; interviews conducted with more than 30 teachers from different regions of the GDR about teaching principles and grading practices in civics courses; entire lessons plans from three teachers covering the material of civics courses in grades 8 (two of the teachers) and grade 10 (from the third teacher); interviews and group discussions with other relevant parties that allowed us to access parents, teacher, and student perspectives; and contemporary student sources, for example, binders from their civics courses.³

The second problem with regard to research methodology in the case study of one course, historiographically and hermeneutically, includes the presentation of a seemingly clear overview of a historical period that was, in fact, in flux. To ignore larger socio-cultural and political contexts, in the case of the history of civics in the GDR, is to assume an unfolding of historical events as if they were pre-determined, even scripted. The adoption of a “script” approach to conducting research in content and practice fails to recognize that history is based on contingencies. Yet, even in a single-party state, no such script exists to direct the roles of teachers and students either in or out of the classroom. Any working script would only become an official script after the actors in the classroom had performed their lines. Researchers cannot assume that the case study evolved according to plan, or a plan. The intention to find proof of an argument at the expense of competing arguments will inherently lead to a study that is neither academically sound nor capable of making a contribution to the literature on the subject.

Third, internal and external value-based perspectives overlap in a case study. Educational scholars and educators are thus faced with one of the main questions in didactics – the question of knowledge transmission. How can the “essence” and “regulation” of social development be taught in such a way that it does not “appear” in the learners’ lives? If teaching is not supposed to be rote indoctrination, though, how does the form of learning not follow an emancipatory model that would provide for contradictions in that which is being taught? To wit: how can a study that involves research on didactics not be a study solely about the efficacy of different pedagogical theories?

As we will demonstrate, the didactics of Marxism offer an exemplary study in terms of the paradox of knowledge transmission and acquisition – the ways in which something can be learned that is not immediately obvious (internal interpretation), or what is not actually “there” (external interpretation). In this light, civics in the GDR was conceived and practiced within an epistemologically aporetic framework. With this course, the state

³ Most of this material is available to scholars online at the “Virtual Educational Library” on the German Education Server. Videodatenbank Schulunterricht in der DDR (Virtual Educational Library): www.fachportal-paedagogik.de/filme/

created paradoxical, structurally impossible objectives: civics was an act in pedagogical futility. This failure of a course, though, reveals a unique intersection between teaching and learning (Gruschk 2002). The case study of civics is not a confirmation of assumptions about socialist education. Instead, it offers an important contribution to the theory of general didactics. The findings can serve as a whetstone of didactic thought, pedagogical ethics, and the foundations of educational policies.

3 Education Communication between Catechism and Dialectics

Communication, in its many articulations, is one of the most important questions in educational research – particularly as regards evaluating evidence obtained from classroom observations. This issue was one of interest for GDR scholars in the 1970s.⁴ The definition of an “authentic” example of classroom communication interested not only researchers, but also how teachers in the GDR perceived their own teaching (Breitkopf 1989, 350). By the end of the GDR, educators saw communication as “built on the construction of contradiction,”⁵ albeit one that could be the result of students perceiving the need agree with their teachers. Methodologically, this case study demonstrates an attempt to access communication in civics classes at the micro-didactic level.

The realm of communication in civics lessons was limited by the framework of Marxism-Leninism (ML), “Scientific Communism” (*Wissenschaftlicher Kommunismus*), and SED (Sozialistische Einheitspartei Deutschlands) policies. Any action outside of this framework disturbed a “normal” course and became, particularly in the eye of the state, a “special occurrence” to be dealt with. Within this framework, it is possible to identify educational communication structures and teaching styles. Civics teachers moved within two polar-opposite ideals that demarcated the communicative space (Klinberg 1982, 275): teaching to the course, or teaching heuristically.

Many of the video recordings and written protocols that we analyzed showed a tendency towards catechistic teaching practices, that is, the use of a “monologic, hegemonizing master discourse” (Richardson 1989, 856). Of course, teachers and students in our sources were aware that they were being recorded. The recording of a course that was central to political education in the GDR might reflect an ideal lesson as perceived by educators and possibly pupils, thus distorting the picture of what an “actual” lesson looked like.⁶ These distortions can never be entirely eliminated in the evaluation of classroom communication (Schluß, Crivellari 2007). Nonetheless, typical expectations of the structures and processes of communication became apparent in these supposedly exemplary courses. Attempts to present the perfect course ultimately led to failure. Instead, it

4 Symposium zu Fragen des authentischen Erfassens von Unterrichts- und Erziehungssituationen durch unbemerktes Filmen (Deschler 1974, 117).

5 Zur Gestaltung unterrichtlicher Kommunikation – theoretische und praktische Aspekte. Konferenz des Interdisziplinären Zentrums Unterrichtsforschung vom 9./10. November 1988. Protokollband, Teil I, Pädagogische Hochschule Leipzig, ed. 1989. Leipzig.

6 The issue of student and teacher behavior during a variety of observation techniques is not limited to education in the GDR (Aptekar 1982).

was the many moments of missteps and mistakes in our source base, and the obvious attempts to act appropriately that allowed for a tenable analysis of the recordings.

The conditions required for dialectical education include participation in a course that is not “difficult” and that encourages students “without shame or timidity” and “without taboos” to say what they think, thereby binding what and how they think into a Marxist-Leninist interpretive framework. The materialist dialectic thus becomes the mode of thinking. The tension between catechism and dialectics points to the Marxist-didactical question concerning the way to knowledge, and not a fundamentally oppositional attitude towards the subject in question. The expected controversy thus remained within the framework of Marxist-Leninism, that is, it was about an “opposing cooperation.”

It is difficult to measure the degree to which civics courses can be considered “successful” within this framework of Marxist-Leninist dialectical teaching. Some students might have developed an “immunization” strategy against lessons that were not part of their worldviews, resulting in a false positive outcome for the civics course. Teaching methodologies in civics courses might also have led to a student’s long-term use of a reflexive thinking mode, independent of whether or not a belief system proved itself to be tenable. Even in a state committed to the socialist education of its citizens, methodological obstacles presented themselves when analyzing pedagogical and socio-political objectives; the state’s ability to understand and reconcile the intersection between theoretical foundations of basic principles and actual practice was at best only partly realizable.

Regardless of the issues raised by the question of short- and long-term successful civics lessons in the construction of a socialist individual, our analysis demonstrates a relationship between teachers’ own belief systems and their teaching methodologies. Based on numerous points of reference from contemporaries, teachers who allowed controversial discussion or even encouraged such an atmosphere pedagogically were not necessarily politically “liberal.” In general, it was those teachers who believed in socialism, who fundamentally remained true to their convictions, who consciously dared to allow problem-centered discussions in class with little, or more often no recrimination.

4 Teachers: Teaching in Lockstep?

Tempting though it may be to assume that a single, national curriculum produces nearly identical teaching practices in any given course, no teacher has the exact teaching method and style as another teacher. Not even the SED, which attempted to tightly control how and what teachers taught, could ensure that every civics course followed the same pattern. Civics teachers in the GDR did not replicate each other’s courses. If teachers did not teach “in lockstep” in the GDR, then research that presumes the existence of strict homogeneity in any context of teaching must be re-assessed (Renner 1965).

To recognize the absence of homogeneity in teaching practices is not to

ignore the presence of differences. To what degree did civics teachers in the GDR differ in their teaching practices, in terms of both content and pedagogy? Civics provides an ideal example of the need to understand the spectrums of teaching practices in educational research, and highlights the methodological challenges of analyzing teachers' classroom practices for any given course. Can national, centralized didactical objectives ever be realized, whether from teachers' perspectives or in the eyes of the state? This question is particularly important for larger theoretical questions about education. After all, state's attempts to control national education through prescribed didactical methodology are not a new phenomenon in educational history (Clark 1984).

No one methodology exists to draw conclusions about how closely teachers followed official lesson plans. It is a combination of sources produced by and about teachers, written and oral, which helps researchers measure the spectrum of didactical practices in classrooms (Lawn et al. 1999). In the course of our research, the interaction of these sources brought out multiple reasons for differences in didactical practices. Some differences resulted from teachers' own conscious and unconscious pedagogical decisions; other differences were based in the nature of the state's expectations of didactical practices.

A consistent variable in our sources was the designation of civics as a "difficult course." Teachers did not have to be informed of any such label; they lived the realities of teaching a "difficult course" every day. Comparative analyses of lesson plans demonstrate the consistent inability of teachers to adhere to the regulations regarding civics courses. Teachers strayed from both the content of lesson plans and showed different teaching practices than those laid out in the official methodological-didactical instructional materials. Indeed, some teachers' notes about their courses suggest that they did not always even comprehend the objectives of the curriculum and instructional aids in terms of content or teaching methodology – an unintentional, meta-didactic outcome.

Some educational observers addressed this issue in positive terms. As one author writing for a journal devoted to history and civics education put it: "There will always be differences between the planned hour and actual events. It would be terrible if life was dearer than a plan." (Drefenstedt 1972). Nonetheless, even in this light, a lesson plan for civics, intended to create a socialist personality committed to the state and its ideology, and "life" are hard to separate. This statement does not suggest, however, that teachers taught whatever they wanted or with any intention of anarchy. Lesson plans and oral history interviews demonstrate that teachers did generally attempt to keep to the curriculum thematically; also evident in some of these plans and interviews is the degree of pressure upon teachers to remain within the prescribed boundaries.

The female teacher M. explained one aspect of the "difficulty" of civics and how it influenced her own attitude about teaching civics. Her perspective on the course came from the interplay between her own lesson plans for civics – an entire year's worth for grade 8 – and oral history interviews. When asked to explain why civics was difficult, she replied:

"Because it was just primarily about politics – or it primarily dealt with

politics, and because by the 1980s a big discrepancy existed between the politics that the media published, and how it [politics] was talked about in reality, there was just a big discrepancy there. And because the students were of the opinion that the course was just not that important. And you didn't need to bother doing anything in that course, you can also get a good grade when you say what the teacher wanted to hear. But that was not that I wanted." (Interview with [Female] Teacher M.).

This description of the course must also be considered within the context of teachers who "believed" in socialism and how civics should be taught, versus those teachers who either taught the course rote or perhaps with criticism. That is, it is not clear from this statement whether Teacher M. believed in the didactical or content objectives of civics. The point here is not to evaluate whether Teacher M. embraced socialism; rather, Teacher M. was confronted with what "should" have been taught and "could" be taught in a course that could not be decoupled from students' lives outside the classroom. Such evidence points again to the nature of a "difficult" course.

When asked about their experiences as teachers and confronted with these questions, none of the interview partners saw themselves as subjects of the criticisms aimed at teachers who blindly accepted and taught civics lessons. Neither did they see themselves reflected in the examples of catechistic teaching demonstrated in the course protocols. Rather, most of the interview partners repeatedly emphasized their reflective student-oriented pedagogical approach within the given framework. Moreover, many of these interview partners added that what they had taught was not all wrong – without necessarily articulating a definition of "wrong." Numerous strategies for justification could be observed, for example externalization: any critical remarks or suggestions about the course that teachers would have been ignored by their superiors.⁷ Such beliefs about their own agency or lack thereof did not cause the interview partners to question whether they had truly practiced student-oriented teaching.

Ultimately, the very infrastructure of the state's attempt to control the teaching of civics courses explains the reasons for variations in pedagogical practices within the teaching profession. To put it pointedly: the paradigm of a perfect, centrally controlled teaching system inherently includes the possibility of variations within this seemingly closed circle (Burchell et al. 1991). Additionally, our analysis of the documents and interviews suggest that "the" civics course as such did not exist. Given the multitude of teachers, students, courses, and other contexts, no single civics teacher could stand for all civics teachers. The illusion of vertical or lineal control of instruction "in lockstep" evaporates from all perspectives about how teachers taught civics.

⁷ Teachers switched between personal and general pronouns depending on the subject matter. When discussing their own teaching, interview partners used the first-person singular; they used the third-person singular "one" for critical or negative topics.

5 Students: Learning to Believe, or Lip Service?

In the first half of the 1990s, multiple interviews were conducted with former students who were now university students. These interviews provided insight into how students perceived civics, and how the state concerned itself with these attitudes. Students noted that civics had been their least favorite course. This problem had worried the state, in particular, the Stasi (*Ministerium für Staatssicherheit*, the East German secret police, referred to “Stasi”). It seemed that socialist attitudes were not being adequately internalized, and were only a product of rote learning that turned into “verbalism” – that is, students repeating what they heard from their teacher without reflexive thought as to the lessons’ meaning or credibility (Wiegmann 2007).

Civics did not help educate students to become socialist personalities, since civics lessons did not play any role in students’ everyday lives. It might have been nothing more than a practice in lip service.

Interviews with students about teaching and learning processes in civics courses also included interview partners’ memory reconstructions of their time in school. Material for this aspect of the project included asking interview partners to discuss examples of their homework assignments as well as notes that they took during class. The student Thomas K., for instance, looked through his entire binders from his civics courses from the 7th through the 10th grades. Reflecting on these documents, he interpreted them to demonstrate that students learned how to form their own ideas about civics lessons in various ways: “Yes, this is that “leadership and cumminist parties,” and “u” instead of an “o,” terrible spelling. That was somehow my credo, my personal therapy, always consciously not writing something correctly. Others looked for other ways, like whispering about the class.” Thomas K. then looked at two newspaper pictures he had pasted into his notebook:

“A couple of us really messed around with newspaper articles. And since he [the teacher] was always saying “the latest news”, I would put in newspaper articles about earthquakes or people who died from gas leaks, and things like that, and then they were looked at [by the teacher], [who gave] a nod, and ‘nicely done’, and then [he] moved on.”

Thomas had entitled the photograph of the earthquake “Declaration of the Memorial to the Victims of the Fascist Terror in the Berlin Lustgarten, September 22, 1946.” The photograph of the victims of the gas leaks was entitled “Will Lammert’s ‘Statues of The Mourners’” next to the mass grave next to the [concentration] camp wall of the former Women’s KZ [concentration camp] – Ravensbrück.”

Thomas described doing things “between the lines.” By putting in headers about actual memorials and events from the Nazi period, he had “managed to smuggle in the photographs of the people who died from gas leaks and earth quake victims – “since they didn’t belong to civics” (Thomas K., SBÜ, 235).

Interview partners consistently tried emphatically to construct oppositional identities for themselves. In this case, Thomas K. described his 13-year old self as having used a sophisticated method of opposition by purposely misspelling the word “communist.” The student body is described as a system of criticism that showed its unwillingness to believe what they were being taught by such acts as spelling mistakes.

That description raises some doubts, including “feedback loops” in memory research. Interview partners’ own biographies themselves retroactively become a means of resistance. This action is subjectively understandable; yet the (re-)construction of one’s own history must be thematized. Here, the interview partners’ age at the time of the civics courses in question – 13-16 years old – must be brought into the calculation of any research findings. To return to Thomas K., a teacher who did not take off points for his misspelling of the word “communist” might have been showing solidarity with Thomas’s skepticism about the civics lessons, or the teacher might have understood the misspelling to be a normal part of the learning process. The question here is not whether Thomas has created a false memory about his attitude towards socialism. Instead, this example underlines the need to use autobiographical documents, whether written or oral, with the same critical analysis accorded any evidence – including respecting the evidence as a valuable document in the attempt to draw conclusions about a given research undertaking.

Similarly, in the group interviews with university students, narratives of resistance and opposition came up regularly. The phenomenon repeatedly showed that the interview partners evaluated the civics teachers who believed in what they were teaching far more positively than those teachers who were opportunists, teaching what was required of them in order to avoid trouble. It seems possible that “believing” teachers could teach the problematic course with the most ease and, practicing the dialectic methodology, allow for a certain level of discussion. As these interviews confirmed, a teacher’s credibility is an important factor for young people in their assessment of what they were learning in class (Alpert 1991).

On the whole, it becomes clear that, in terms of dealing with the course at the micro level, some students learned something “positive” from the course. Civics is thus a prime example of unintentional consequences and limitations to pedagogical intentions. Students understood that civics courses could result in the paradox of lip service, “hypocrisy” and “saying one thing and meaning another.” Students recognized double-speak as the hidden curriculum (Le Compte 1978). In some cases, students had demonstrated forms of reflexive behavior in civics courses, including protest. Nonetheless, the documents and interviews relativizes any generalization about students’ seditious socialization through pathological interactions- and communication patterns. Students’ behavior in civics courses is another example of the uneven experiences and quality of teaching and learning in a course that was part of the canon of socialist education.

6 Parents and Media: "It was sort of like a balancing act"

Parents are always part of a classroom, directly and indirectly; this situation was no different in civics courses. Parents sometimes interacted with teachers personally; more often, parents entered the classroom through conversations with their children. This presence of parents in civics classes could be positive, encouraging cooperation between the school and the family in a child's education. At the same time, parents' potentially negative opinions about their children's teachers affected how teachers decided to teach (Anderson-Levitt 1989).

The possibility of parental criticism became an object of concern and even fear for civics teachers when they taught students who had access to media from western sources, such as radio or television from West Germany. Parents thus became part of the communication process in the classroom. One example from an interview is telling. In answer to the question "What role did West [German] TV play in the classroom?" the female teacher M. stated:

"Yes, a big [one]... It was noticeable in the ways that students with their experiences that they had with Western TV, which showed contradictions that there were in politics, the conveying of politics. Well, the thing that you could use positively was maybe when things about unemployment came up, that a person who is unemployed, who no longer has an apartment, when it was about homelessness and those sorts of things, that the person simply felt that he was no longer valued in society. Those were definitely positive things. Well, but when it was about consumerism and those sorts of things, then it was of course negative. It was just that way around Leipzig, you could get it, and see it, and so it wasn't really an issue if somebody watched or didn't watch."

The interaction between teacher and student was, on the other hand, judged to see if it was motivated by the family or demonstrated one's own opinion. Parents played a key role in a civic teacher's use of Marxist-dialectic practices, especially with the possibility that they might complain about a teacher to school administrators.

Another female teacher O. described her memories of teaching civics:

"Well, and then sometimes I stood in front of the class in the morning and was somehow actually scared. What is going to happen, what will the students say, because I too – sometimes I actually wanted to say something different than what I had to say. But I knew that we were in a State Security [Stasi] area, so that sometimes questions that students asked, you could really tell that they really came from parents, that they were also provocative questions, just to see how she [the female teacher] is going to act, what she will say. So that made the whole thing pretty difficult.... It was a sort of balancing act, I have to say, so, yes, I also had to weigh exactly which questions, which questions you could – where you could tell that they were trying to get at something, really consider what you could say, what you could be candid about and what

you couldn't" (Emphasis added, interview with the female teacher O., SBÜ, 362)

One medium of communication, television, thus influenced, even censored, communication in civics instruction. This example of media furthers our argument that civics courses did not achieve their objectives because they could not. The presence of parents and media in a classroom were not part of the official regulations for the content or objectives of civics, and yet teachers had to bring these (un)-invisible/visible members of the class into account on a daily basis. The structural foundation of an ideal civics course crumbles when the conditions under which a course is taught do not correspond with official expectations.

7 Research on Teaching: Reflexive Methodology for Civics Courses

Even the topic of reflective civics methodology was not a monolithic block. Numerous examples of controversy about "difficult courses" took place throughout the GDR, influenced in part by competing schools of thought in different teacher training and educational theory institutions, for instance at the universities of Halle ever Berlin, or Leipzig. These debates about the appropriate methodology of method of "discussion" can be followed through changes in the publications from the years 1961, 1975, and then 1988/89 (the latter was not published).

The dominant form of the catechistic educational methodology, however, was not criticized as ineffective in its ability to "teach to believe." The reflexive pedagogy of the GDR fought against attempts to standardize methodological approaches. Yet no true alternative to a normalized methodology could be offered: any open criticism could put the transmission of the truth of Marxist-Leninism in to danger. Thus, even within the GDR, civics courses were always recognized problematic, and without an established place within the curriculum. "The teacher cannot adequately prepare his course if he doesn't understand the thoughts and feelings of his students" (Neuner et al. 1967).

By the mid-1970s, it was clear that students in civics classes were increasingly distancing themselves from the course content, questioning what they were being taught. This sort of concern was both an impetus for the creation of new centers of research on young people, such as the Central Institute for Research on Youth in Leipzig (*Zentralinstitut für Jugendforschung*), as well as the result of those groups' findings (Schäfer 1974).

Educational authorities noted increasing discrepancies between the curriculum and students' classroom experiences. This phenomenon seemed to be the result of a new generation of students, and it became a teaching dilemma, particularly in terms of educational policies. The acting director of the department of national education in the GDR, for instance, noted in 1972 that "we must teach socialism to those who were born into to it, who

grew up in socialism” (Parr 1972, 394). It was not enough to just give students information about socialism; any differences between lesson plans and actual classroom teaching would not bring about the desired learner outcome objectives. Authorities primarily worried that this new generation of students did not know how to confront capitalism and “imperialism” with the right attitude. As an anonymous speaker at the tenth plenum of the SED stated: “Sometimes people say that young people don’t know anything about capitalism from their own experiences. That’s true, but it’s also not.”⁸ The speaker went on to argue that the assumption that young people could not understand socialism because they had no opportunity to experience capitalism and imperialism as incorrect and undesirable political systems was false. He noted that students learned about capitalism in history classes, from media, and even by reading.

Interestingly, the speaker – perhaps unintentionally – resolved some of the concerns about generational differences by suggesting that young people also knew about capitalism and its evils from talking with their parents and grandparents. He then named concrete sources for information about capitalism and imperialism. “I am thinking here about the three television and twenty radio programs that make their way daily in to the land of the GDR with about 10,000 minutes of transmission.” There could thus be no question that youth in the GDR were very familiar with the competing ideologies of capitalism and imperialism. Clearly, claims made by scholars after 1989 that there had been no interest by the State to hear blunt analysis and criticism of any kind do not present, at least in the case of young people and socialist education, the entire picture. At the same time, however, official statements about young people claimed that they remained true to socialism.

8 Intended Pedagogical Outcomes: Controlling Civics Education

Within the educational system of the GDR, continuing education for teachers was organized within the District Cabinet for Pedagogy, the Regional Cabinet for Continuing Education for Teachers and the “Teacher’s House” in Berlin. Educational “consultants,” or advisors, were the instructors for the various courses that student teachers would later teach. These advisors also worked with continuing education for teachers. Their role, if initially conceived as a means of supporting teachers in their ability to teach effectively, changed over time. Education in the initial postwar period had been primarily concerned with recruiting and retaining teachers in the wake of massive dismissal of teachers with Nazi backgrounds (Sander 1998). As the education system professionalized, educational advisors saw the bureaucratization of their work and role within the centralized oversight of teachers in the GDR.

Much of this professionalization resulted from demographical changes

⁸ “Der X. Parteitag der SED über die Aufgaben der Volksbildung und die kommunistische Erziehung der Jugend”. (Referat an der Parteischule “Karl Liebknecht” Kleinmachnow vor Agitprop-Sekretären der Kreisleitungen am 8.12.1982). Unpublished ms. SAPMO/BArch (Stiftung Archiv der Parteien und Massenorganisationen der DDR im Bundesarchiv): 34978/1.

within a post-industrial, socialist state (Kreutzler 2001). The 1970s saw a new generation of teachers in the GDR. Many teachers of the immediate postwar period retired – both the so-called “new teachers” (*Neulehrer*) and their older colleagues, many of whom had taught before the war (*Altlehrer*) (Gruner 2000). A new generation of educators entered classrooms, teachers who had been socialized within the specific context of the GDR. This sea-change implied that it was necessary for civics education to prove that political-ideological convictions regarding Marxist-Leninism and the socialist state be taught in a manner that was not affected by teachers’ personal histories or beliefs. This situation led to an explicit mandate to employ course-specific didactic methodologies instead of relying upon civics teachers’ own political convictions. The mandate, as in so many other areas of the regulation of civics courses, did not succeed in major changes in pedagogical practices.

Within the GDR’s extensive system of surveillance, the Stasi concerned itself with its perceptions of young people’s seditious educational – and thus societal –opposition (Wiegmann 2007). The inability of the state to control all aspects of education did not deter the SED from creating new modes of observation of teaching and, implicitly, control of educational practices. In this vein, educational advisors became an integral part of a centralized system that practiced regulation with district-level bureaucracy. One major source about the role of educational consultants comes from approximately 50 advisors’ reports in the Brandenburg district from the mid-1980s. The reports, usually two pages in length and hand-written, summarized classroom observations of approximately 100 teachers and included brief suggestions for instructional improvement.

Methodologically, the question arises of how and with what intentions the consultants wrote these works. Reports with harsh criticisms might have been an attempt for advisors to legitimize their work: consistent suggestions for improvement necessitated the consistent employment of educational advisors. Likewise, advisors might have portrayed their colleagues positively in order to keep their colleagues out of trouble, or to ensure job security: a teaching cohort with a grudge against an educational advisor could jeopardize that person’s career. Evaluations of teaching were not a one-way street (Koschitzki 1983).

Despite the potentially different motivations involved in the writing of these reports, they were consistently based upon numerous modes of evaluation, lending credibility to the overall picture they portrayed of civics courses. Advisors used such evaluation methods as classroom observations and interviews with teachers and administrators. Based on teachers’ lesson plans, advisors also tested students’ comprehension of the course content and objectives. Educational and political authorities regarded these reports as providing valuable insight into civics courses. Based on these reports, authorities took corrective measures to improve the teaching of civics where they perceived problems. It is therefore possible to trace the didactical changes for civics teachers and the rationale for them.

9 Civics Courses and Opposition

Responsible and ethical research practices mandate the need to look for documentation on educational practices regarding civics that did not remain within the framework of Marxist-Leninism, or at least problematize it (Kowalczyk, Sello 2006). We were able to find many instances of individual behavior. Nowhere, however, there was any documentation of actual opposition in our study of civics courses. This lack of documentation of opposition, within the context of the GDR's attempts to monitor and control all aspects of political and social realms, is in part a result of how opposition was treated and reported. Any action that fell outside of acceptable behavior immediately became the object of the Stasi's scrutiny, and treated – at least publically – as an isolated case of asocial behavior and actions (Wiegmann 2001).

Indeed, opposition, however conceived, was only possible in extremely difficult conditions. Institutions and organizations were more or less directly under the control and direction of the State or the SED (Betts 2010). This situation was not entirely the case for church organizations, which enjoyed a certain degree of autonomy. The Protestant Church (*Evangelische Kirche*) in the GDR, for example, was actively engaged in the teaching and learning of civics – which did not translate into having an effect on civics courses necessarily (Wegner 1996).

Since the GDR did not permit religious instruction in schools, the Protestant Church had no meaningful influence within general school policymaking (Koschitzki 1983). Nonetheless, the Church organized congregational discussions of education, modeled on the anti-Nazi Protestant group, the “Confessing Church.” Within the context of its own research and work on education, the Protestant Church considered the question of the socialist educational system and its relation to the Church. Of importance here is the motivation of Church investigations into civics courses. Authors of reports, for instance, were not motivated by an attempt to bring down the state, but rather to consider the question of the role of the Church within a socialist society.

Church commissions examined civics textbooks, for example, and questioned what children from Christian homes learned in school.⁹ One finding was the absence of meaningful discussions about the family. Civics textbooks and methodologies treated the family as a social good, rather than as a place of care and acceptance. Moreover, civics courses ignored fundamental questions about the individual and society beyond ideological platitudes.

Civics lessons did not include discussions, for example about how a family should function within a society based on Marxist-Leninist principles. Real-life questions about family life found no answers in civics textbooks, not least because such questions – ethical behavior, life-altering events, positive and negative, such as marriage, pregnancy, loss of loved ones – were not asked in the teaching and learning of civics. Single mothers, for example, despite claims of the GDR to have ended gender discrimination, had needs specific to their situation that went unaddressed in public spheres.

9 Analyse der Schulbücher für Heimatkunde, Geschichte, Staatsbürger-Kunde, Deutsch (Literatur) an den allgemeinbildenden polytechnischen Oberschulen in der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik nach dem Stand Schuljahr 1986/87 für kirchliche Arbeit mit Kindern, Jugendlichen, Familien – Nicht zur Veröffentlichung bestimmt. In: Personal Archive of Henning Schluß. 1998. Berlin [East].

Civics treated the citizenry as a single body; the Church brought individuals in as individuals. This discrepancy revealed civics as a marker of a state that wanted only to homogenize its many parts. The Church, because it did not permit itself to become part of the continued attempts of the State to eliminate or ignore institutions that remained outside its hegemonic realm, recognized civics as a course with no content relative to individual lives, and made these evaluations known. No state reaction to these analyses, which were available to anyone within church communities, was forthcoming.

10 The Failure of Civics: An Impossible Course? A Contribution to Educational Theory

On October 31, 1989, the Ministry for Education eliminated the civics curriculum that had been in place since 1988 and eliminated the teaching military training from schools. Consequently, in numerous schools, civics courses were taught from a different methodological practice, or else disappeared entirely from the school curriculum.

Klaus Beyer, civics methodology theorist at the MLU in Halle, asked himself the “self-critical question:”

“Why did I allow that? Why did I not oppose anything? I won’t try and justify it by not having been given any power or because of the resulting personal consequences. Rather, I acknowledge: I generally agreed with the policies for the objectives and contents of the curricula and saw enough methodological leeway for the construction of an attractive course that would be guided by an attitude of focusing on difficult questions, relevant to everyday life, ... I blindly trusted SED politics ... Today I know whom I trusted, and what the consequences were” (Beyer 1990, 134).

In the June 1989 academic journal *Geschichtsunterricht und Staatsbürgerkunde (History Teaching and Civics)*, the director of the Institute for the Social Science Education of the APW in the GDR, Horst Riecher, wrote an article entitled “*What Should, What Can Civics Courses Do?*”

“Civics courses is also a course like many others. It involves systematic education about societal information and facts, about societal connections and processes; it is learning with a determined and necessary carefulness. It is about fundamental theoretical and political knowledge, a knowledge that “takes”, that can be built up, that can be built upon... In her novel *Vertrauen* [Trust], Anna Seghers wrote more or less: Trust, complete trust, can only be won once you understand something entirely” (Riechert 1989, 469).

- *Micro-didactics*. Didactics, as part of a humanistic-educational theory,

implies student autonomy and the transparency of teaching and learning rationale; it rejects the use of manipulative teaching practices. For civics teachers, this foundation of didactics presented a professionally ethical paradox: civics was supposed to be an element in the socialist education of a society, although “civics” remained a moving target. Teachers who wanted to teach the framework of Marxism-Leninism convincingly needed their students’ trust.

In hindsight, this situation created – perhaps necessarily – a breach of trust in the hindering of students’ opportunity of self-development and – awareness. Only a few teachers demonstrated a critical assessment of their role in this part of the GDR’s educational system. Other teachers retreated in to the safety of remembering themselves as “good” teachers who worked well and effectively in the teaching and learning of civics, basing this claim on their excellent teaching skills, which included a rich variety of highly interactive and student-oriented teaching methods.

Civics methodology had to fail on a string of self-contradictions, based in part on the participation of students in the learning process, who were not made aware of the inherent misuse of their development of critical thinking in civics classes. In terms of pedagogical ethics and the underlying theories that inform professional conduct, it becomes clear that a course-specific methodological teaching practice, mandated by the course’s didactical paradigm that restricts the selection and rationale of the course’s curricular content, produces a course that makes its participants blind to the dangers of indoctrination. Claims of general educational reform of pedagogical principles such as autonomy and self-responsibility lose all credibility for teaching practices and beliefs under these conditions. This, then, is the professional, political moral to be taken from the case study of civics.

– *Macro-educational policies.* The “case study civics” demonstrates the possibilities and limits as well as the resulting consequences of a centralized, institutionalized state pedagogy, especially as regards its play for legitimacy. Civics, and with it the State and its pretension of the socialist education of its citizens, failed. The GDR remained ignorant, perhaps consciously, of the pressure of modernity on the individual and society towards ever-increasing realms of self-actualization and independency. A course that aimed towards the homogenization of society ultimately helped bring about the same state’s failure that had created the course. The SED’s institutionalized monopoly of power led to the absence of differentiation amongst and within institutions and thus to a narrowing of diversity, so that bureaucratic decisions became routine decisions – and the state collapsed under the weight of its own system (Lepsius 1994).

Are there, and were there, limits to indoctrination, since every form of knowledge transmission contains the possibility of a reflexive moment? A “good” teacher-student community can at any time be misused to introduce a societal ideology into the consciousness of the learner. Disciplinary methods without disciplinary didactics can at any point become a technique for the manipulation of students, a didactical fundamentalism.

With our analysis of a wide variety of sources in breadth and depth, the case study of civics courses also becomes a case study in conducting educational research of a single course subject. Clearly, the literature on educational theory and philosophy is enriched by new and evolving models of research

into the role of didactics and teaching practices in macro and micro contexts. Our case study has demonstrated that there is no such thing as a course that is taught within a vacuum; the socio-political contexts must always inform the research into any aspect of education.

We have suggested several means of accessing these contexts, starting with a broad methodological approach that is rooted in multiple perspectives, in terms of sources and in terms of multi-disciplinary applications of other methodologies. Many questions remain to be examined, including the limitations of this case study. What other perspective, or voices, might be found, and how? The absence of our interview partners' discussions of some subjects, including gender and religion, underline the need to develop methods of delving into absences as presences. Finally, this case study has had its own "balancing act" of approaching a topic with as little pre-existing moral judgments as possible. We have argued that the failure of civics was also an ethical and moral failure of an educational system vis-à-vis a society's citizens, a conclusion that is most credibly drawn from careful use of evidence, and not of hindsight.

Abbreviations

GuS Geschichte und Staatsbürgerkunde

DLZ Deutsche Lehrerzeitung

ELH English Literary History

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Ingo Lokies

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

1 Introduction

Basically, if I refer to the Chestnut Case in this article, I will not describe a typical project held at school. Moreover, I will focus on a personal experience, on an almost coincidental situation of actuality which leads into a substantial learning atmosphere in which the students become attached to politics. On the one hand, the Chestnut Case not only shows aspects of ecological education by preserving a tree from dying, on the other hand, it also openly displays how a political issue may change every day life at school and its political culture.

The center of the Chestnut Case is the Friedrich-Schiller-Gymnasium (high school), one of five Gymnasiums, in Weimar, Germany. Its history is long and deeply rooted in the ideal of traditional schools that are committed to higher education. Immediately after its foundation, the school had placed a scientific emphasis in its curriculum which is still valid. In the former GDR the school had been the only Erweiterte Oberschule (high school) in Weimar. Since 1927 it has been situated in a building of Weimarian Bauhaus style which was built by architect Lehrmann. While the school building is known as the oldest high rise in the city, the surrounding houses were built by the end of the 19th century, the years of Germany's foundation.

Until 1995 the corpus delicti – an old chestnut tree – had then characterized a free property in the school's direct neighborhood. The tree provided a lot of shade to the school grounds. It was also a natural clock which modestly reminded the students of the time of the year by its flowering times such as its buds, its blossoms and its chestnuts until it finally casted its leaves. This terrain was the city's property and was sold to a private investor without any constructional conditions – although the school had put an effort to buy the property, too. In retrospect this sale triggers the following pedagogical and political events because the new owner seems not to care for the specific grown constructional surrounding scenery:

The new owner plans to build an apartment house with an underground car park for 27 cars. Therefore, the almost 100 year old chestnut tree, which is part of the property, becomes the source of conflict and the center of the following campaign.

2 An Anonymous Appeal

On Thursday, May 11th, 1995 the students are surprised: A letter is hooked at the front door of their school. Nobody who wanted to raise his voice for the chestnut tree, signed it.

SOS ... SOS ... SOS

Dear students!

I am the big, old chestnut tree on the north of your school grounds – on the opposite of the Schwanseebad (public swimming pool) – and I have seen lots of generations of you come and go! Soon I shall be cut down in order to pave the way for building a car park! I urge you to come and help me, please, in order to save my life!

Those who want to help will meet next to me at the railing during the break.

- Call Dr. Folger, Vice Mayor, and Mr. Meyer, head of the Department for Environmental Affairs
- Write to the newspapers
- Prepare signs and present opinion on this case in public

I will always thank you for that by my blossoms.

Your unhappy chestnut tree

This appeal is heard. The youngsters are upset and want to take action. “This is our tree!” – calls Franziska angry. “It provides shadow, protects us from the Schwanseestraße (Schwanseestreet), and we can throw chestnuts at the boys.”¹ At the same day a couple of students start to take single and at first uncoordinated actions independently. Some write texts and copy leaflets: “In order to produce as much oxygen as this old tree does, you have to plant thousand young little trees.” Others start to collect signatures. Another group prepares signs in order to present their protest in public: “Why should this tree die? – Grown in 100 years and cut down in 20 minutes! This is the way how loads of trees are treated in the world.” Several other activities start: the student’s council holds a meeting, an extra edition of the students’ newspaper is prepared, and the 5th and 6th graders discuss the case in their ethics lessons. As a result, political actions rise slowly. In order to raise awareness, the students get in touch with the decision makers: they write letters to the Vice Mayor (stellvertretender Bürgermeister), to the Mayor (Oberbürgermeister), and to the head of Department for Municipal and Environmental Affairs (Bau- und Umweltdezernent). After that they inform the media. They even write to the

¹ Thüringer Landeszeitung, May, 13th, 1997.

new owner of the property – although it is very naïve to believe that they could stop the construction project.

3 Public Relations and Talks to Politicians

At the following Friday the students spread leaflets in the city center. While the media report live, the students hand over signature lists and their petition to the Vice Mayor Dr. Folger. The participating journalists promise to report about this case and by doing so, support it. However, there are no other reactions to this. Moreover, the youngsters seem to get the impression that their point-of-view does not find any attention of both – the citizens' council and the public. The tree is still to be cut down. Because of the fact that these politicians do not seem to support the students' campaign, they discuss further actions and a new idea is born: at the weekend the property shall be protected and observed. "We will mobilize everyone to the best of one's ability," – Florian, an 8th grader, promises. "Our tree is not dead yet."²

4 The Cutting Down of the Chestnut Tree

During the last week, the investor from Erfurt, Thuringia, has closely observed the protests. Since the preparation works on the site are carried on at the weekend, the signs of protest are put aside ruthlessly. There are short dialogues between the youngsters and the construction workers. On Saturday the latter emphasize that the chestnut tree is not going to be cut down. However, on Sunday they take the chain saw. Obviously everybody should face the facts. Around 4 pm workers start to cut down single branches and pretend to purely strip off the tree in full blossom. The group of young 5th graders is not able to protect the tree any longer. The following action deeply shocks these children: while screaming and crying, they have to watch how the chestnut tree is being cut down in no time at all in despair. Finally, the tree falls. Other children and teenagers join the 5th graders at the building site; the workers leave in a hurry. The children become furious. At the same evening the Mayor of Weimar, Dr. Germer, visits the school. In order to calm down the crowd, he tries to explain the situation and says that the town denied cutting down the tree. This might be the reason what apparently caused the students loss of confidence in city's politics: the students will discover later on that the Department for Municipal Affairs (Stadtverwaltung) has given an approval to cut down the tree – although the Department for Environmental Affairs (Grünflächenamt) disapproved it. Then the Vice Mayor will call it a wrong decision and the Mayor will admit "compromises to the investor." In this situation, the cutting down of the tree was connected to a fee of 37,000 Deutsche Mark (DM). In retrospect the students get the impression that the cut down of the chestnut tree was never an object of negotiation even after they had started their activities.

² Thüringer Landeszeitung, May, 13th, 1997.

Considering this case from the current perspective, neither the government nor the investor has been able to turn this decision to their advantage. Even today – two years after these incidents – the property is still empty. Now the teenagers might think: have our massive demonstrations stopped the building project?

5 The Demonstration: Students Articulate the School's Interest

Let us get back to the current incidents. On Monday the situation seems to get out of control. Students block the school's entries in order to inform others about what happened at the weekend. Every student, 800 in total, participates in the rallies and even a couple of teachers join them. The demonstrations are held in front of the school and in its surrounding area. Several activities are organized to support their protest, for instance they design posters and a huge SOS-sign with protest slogans, a part of the tree trunk says "I lived", and on another poster students write the famous Cree Indian Prophecy: "Only after the last tree has been cut down, only then will you find that money cannot be eaten." Then they stop every single passing car on a transit road for two hours in order to explain the incident and to fix little branches and leaves to their wipers.

However, this campaign has a direct impact on the school: lessons are not held and the school is more or less paralyzed. Therefore the principle needs to take actions in order to forbid further demonstrations, as a part of his teachers require. Eventually the principle and the students reach a compromise: half of them go back to school, the other half of them carry on with their rallies on the school grounds. In the morning, the head of the Department for Building and Environmental affairs gives a full explanation of his behavior to the students and teachers. In his eyes, only the former owner was able to protect the tree. Then a female student objects that the town had been the owner itself. According to the politician it becomes obvious that this is a difficult situation for finding a solution, because of the actions taken. He advises them to file a petition for the citizen's council in Thuringia, Germany, and for the federal parliament. However, in relation to their discussed political aims this proposal does not seem reasonable; not only to the students. "It is crap to cut down a healthy tree," says Janett, 6th grader. "I didn't understand that. This man, who was sent to us today, couldn't even explain it. He always referred to the law."³ "We notice" – write Florian and Michael (13 years old) in a school's brochure – "that the officials failed when they approved to the cutting down of the tree. Moreover, we claim that we cannot trust the so-called *Greenies* and Departments of Environmental Affairs. Even the Mayor, who we informed, did anything to prevent the tree to be cut down."

³ Thüringer Landeszeitung, May, 16th, 1995.

6 Public Approval

Now the actions and its report in the media have raised the public's interest: A large number of citizens show their solidarity with the students. Letters to the editor appear in the daily newspapers, a great deal of complaints are made against the Mayor and sent to the school, as well as protest declarations are presented. By the way, one aspect is very delicate: because of the fact that the chestnut tree was cut down during the statutory dormant season, an honorary citizen brought a charge against the town. Finally, the parties are having a political dispute on this incident. In the course of this case, two of the students want to present this incident to the citizen's council – but a debate is not taking place. These two students are only able to talk shortly, then a new item of the agenda is discussed. Of course, this bad experience with institutionalized politics is disappointing, too. However, although there have been loads of setbacks in terms of *nature* there is starting a public re-thinking in Weimar. The Green Party (Bündnis 90/Die Grünen) writes to the students: "According to your protest, we take this occasion to order the municipal authority to protect our tree population more consequently in future than it has been done until now. Furthermore, we require them to handle specific laws and statutes more restrictive."⁴ In comparison to 1995, when healthy trees were cut down, today the municipal authority has protected several trees, yes; the tree population has even increased. In 1996 this fact was approved by the Mayor on a meeting with the *Gymnasium's* students: "Your protest movement could not prevent the chestnut tree from cutting down, but it has saved more than twenty other trees in Weimar so far."

7 Back to the Activities at School – New Projects are Founded

Step by step, the *Chestnut Case* vanished from the headlines. Does the *Schiller-Gymnasium* stay the same? Or, has the students' resistance changed the school? In fact, the students do not only react to incidences - they proactively cause change.

The first step: The the youngsters cut off branches from their chestnut tree and try to raise new trees. However, the stems of the old tree do not bud. The students do not give up. They start to raise money for a new tree on their school grounds as well as in the city center and in the end they are successful: They they collect over 300 DM on a single day and in total, inhabitants, teachers, and students, donate approximately 2,000 DM. Additionally, the municipal authority (Stadtverwaltung) offers 2,800 DM for new trees and a DIY-store gives them a young tree for free. An own and new planting project on the school grounds starts. In connection with a fundraiser, 5th graders write letters to different local politicians and to the building owner, too.

⁴ Letter from the town's faction *Bündnis 90/Grüne* (Green Party) to the students of the *Schiller-Gymnasium* on May 16th, 1995.

Dear Mister,

We, the students of the *Schiller-Gymnasium*, miss our tree very much. It provided shadow and protected us from the traffic noise. Moreover, our school grounds appeared to be more natural. Therefore, we would like to ask you politely, if you could buy a couple of new trees for us. This would not only please us, but also your renters will appreciate, it because these trees would improve the scenery. We will always thank you for that.

Yours sincerely,
Students of the *Schiller-Gymnasium*

8 The Tree Group – A Campaign is Launched

The newly planted trees are the basis of a new plantation project. Students launch an initiative called *The Tree Group*, which has been working on the redesign of the school grounds until today. This group does not only react, moreover, it presents several concepts such as to turn the school grounds into a place to play, to relax and to learn. Open-Air lessons are planned to be given in a *green classroom*. Furthermore, for instance they plan table tennis, hedges, elements to provide visual protection, a huge pergola and to flower one of the building fronts. Well, a redesign of school grounds is nothing new. In a great amount of schools in Germany, the concrete floor is removed from the school grounds and everywhere else good ideas are developed. However, the activities of the *Schiller-Gymnasium* have a special meaning. They do not look for money, but for knowledge and partners among the parents and the city's traders. The reason for that is given on a message board at school: "Are your parents in wood processing or work in the building branch? Are they able to drive construction machines or, are they in a management position of a construction company, or even in a DIY-store?" Further on, *The Tree Group* asks all parents for six tons of grit (0, 2 - 0, 3 cm grain size), six sacks of cement, ca. thirty pieces of squared timber (new, boiler pressure proved, exact measurements), and loads of other things. The youngsters do not wait for adults to take action; likewise they seek support for their own ideas. *The Tree Group* received several recognitions. Even the Mayor plants a new chestnut tree, which he himself brought to their school, at the school grounds together with the students. By doing so, will he be able to regain their trustworthiness in politics?

9 A School Becomes Attached to Politics

The active involvement of students, parents, and teachers to gain a new gym with three sections proved their grown courage to become more engaged in politics. Concerning to this case, the current situation is difficult: At Weimar's biggest *Gymnasium*, sports classes are given in five different gyms. Among these is the *Wimaria-Gym*, which is in a bad state. According to the students and teachers, it is only a question of time when doing sports becomes dangerous. However, they do not care for their own interests only. "In general, there is a modern gym missing in our European Capital of Culture to be," says Denis Taubert, student of the 11th grade, during a round table discussion with the Mayor at their *Gymnasium*.⁵ In order to reinforce their issue, over 400 students take part in a protest march from their school to the town hall on June 6th, 1996. In addition, they collected over 3,000 signatures from Weimar's inhabitants that supported their referendum to build a new gym. The Mayor agreed to their request: "You've got my vote," – states Dr. Germer to the young protesters in front of the town hall.⁶

A second project is launched: The the youngsters weigh the first-graders satchels in order to show the heavy weight that they have to carry day by day. They notice that the new class books are heavier in comparison to the years before and therefore the satchels' weight has increased. Keeping these results in mind, the project's participants visit the Frankfurt book fair in 1996 in order to talk to several publishing houses.

The above-mentioned examples clearly display that since the *Chestnut Case*, the students have continued to assert their claims firmly. In retrospect, Helmut Wuntke, the principle, draws the following conclusion: "Our students' standing as well as the reputation of our *Gymnasium* in public profited from the whole campaign. Everyday life at school has changed because our students know their right to a say. The students actively intervene. In the end, they want to have an influence on their environment and change the social climate of both our school and our town."

Source: Pädagogik. 1997. Vol. 7-8, 46 – 49

⁵ Thüringer Landeszeitung, May, 30th, 1996.

⁶ Thüringer Landeszeitung, June, 7th, 1996.

Ingo Lokies

Der Fall Kastanie: Von der Aktion zum Projekt

1 Einführung

Wenn im folgenden vom "Fall Kastanie" die Rede sein wird, dann beschreiben wir hier nicht ein im klassischen Sinne projektähnliches Handeln an der Schule. Vielmehr wird es darum gehen, wie aus einer unmittelbaren Erfahrung, einer aktuellen, fast zufälligen Situation sich politisch gehaltvolles Lernen und Handeln entwickelt. Der Fall Kastanie zeigt nicht nur ökologisches Lernen und das Sterben eines Baumes, sondern auch, wie ein Politikum das Schulleben und die politische Kultur an einer Schule verändern kann.

Das Friedrich-Schiller-Gymnasium ist eines von fünf Gymnasien in Weimar. Als ehemaliges Oberrealgymnasium gehört es zu den traditionsreichen Schulen der Stadt, die sich dem Anspruch höherer Bildung verpflichtet sehen. Unmittelbar nach ihrer Gründung hat sich die Schule mit naturwissenschaftlichem Schwerpunkt profiliert. An diese Profilierung schließt das Gymnasium heute wieder an. In der Zeit der DDR war die Schiller-Schule die einzige Erweiterte Oberschule Weimars. Die Schule wird seit 1927 von einem Gebäude beherbergt, das vom Stil der Weimarer Bauhauszeit – Baumeister war der Bauhaus-Architekt Lehrmann – gekennzeichnet ist, ein architektonischer Solitär inmitten eines gründerzeitlichen Wohngebietes. Das Gebäude gilt als ältestes Hochhaus der Stadt.

Direkt neben dem Schulgelände liegt ein bis heute unbebautes Grundstück, das ehemals von einer großen Kastanie geprägt worden war. Der Baum war nicht nur dem benachbarten Schulhof ein Schattenspender, sondern auch eine natürliche Jahresuhr, die von den Knospen über die Blüte und die Kastanien bis zur bunten Herbstbelaubung die Schüler unauffällig an den Jahresrhythmus gemahnt hat. Dieses Gelände war Eigentum der Stadt und wird, obwohl sich auch die Schule um das Grundstück bemüht hat, ohne bauliche Auflagen an einen privaten Investor verkauft. In diesem Verkauf liegt – rückblickend betrachtet – der Auslöser für das folgende pädagogische und politische Geschehen: Denn der neue Besitzer scheint wenig auf die gewachsene bauliche Struktur des Umfeldes achten zu wollen. Geplant wird der Bau eines Apartmenthauses mit einer Tiefgarage für 27 Stellplätze. Der fast 100 Jahre alte Kastanienbaum, der auf diesem Grundstück steht, stört dieses Vorhaben und wird zum Mittelpunkt und Symbol für das, was nun passiert.

2 Ein Anonymer Appell

Am 11. Mai 1995, einem Donnerstag, sind die Schülerinnen und Schüler überrascht: an der Eingangstür der Schule hängt ein Brief, von keinem Verfasser gekennzeichnet, der dem Kastanienbaum eine Stimme leihen will.

SOS ... SOS ... SOS

Liebe Schüler!

Ich bin der grosse alte Kastanienbaum an der Nordseite eures Schulhofes – gegenüber dem Schwanseebad – und habe viele Generationen von euch kommen und gehen sehen! In Kürze soll ich gefällt werden; um Platz für Parkplätze zu machen! Ich bitte euch dringend um Hilfe, damit ich weiterleben kann!

Wer mir helfen will, trifft sich in der Hofpause bei mir am Geländer.

-Ruft beim Dezernenten Dr. Folger und Meyer an –
Stadtverwaltung / Grünflächenamt

-Schreibt an die Zeitung

-Stellt Schilder auf und macht eure Meinung öffentlich

Ich will es euch mit meinem Blatt und Blütenschmuck noch lange Zeit danken.

Eure unglückliche Kastanie

Dieser Appell zeigt Wirkung. Die Jugendlichen sind empört und wollen eingreifen. "Das ist unser Baum!," – ruft Franziska voll Wut. "Er bietet Schatten, schützt uns vor der Schwanseestraße, und wir können die Jungs mit Kastanien bewerfen." Schülerinnen und Schüler beginnen am gleichen Tag unabhängig voneinander mit einzelnen und noch unkoordinierten Aktionen. Einige schreiben und kopieren Flugblätter: "Um so viel Sauerstoff zu produzieren, wie dieser alte Baum, müßten tausend junge Bäumchen gepflanzt werden." Andere beginnen damit, Unterschriften zu sammeln. Auf Tafeln und auf ein großes Leinentuch werden Proteste gesprüht: "Warum soll der Baum sterben? – In 100 Jahren gewachsen und in 20 Minuten gefällt! So geht es vielen Bäumen auf dieser Welt." Der Schülerrat tagt, und eine Sonderausgabe der Schülerzeitung wird vorbereitet. Im Ethikunterricht der 5. und 6. Klassen wird das Problem diskutiert. Ein erstes Ergebnis politischen Handelns wird sichtbar. Briefe an den stellvertretenden Bürgermeister, den Oberbürgermeister und an den Bau- und Umweltdezernenten der Stadt werden verfaßt. Die Presse wird informiert. Im zweifelsohne naiven Glauben, das Bauvorhaben noch stoppen zu können, schreiben die Jugendlichen sogar an den neuen Besitzer des Grundstückes.

3 Öffentlichkeit und Politikergespräche

Am darauffolgenden Freitag verteilen Schüler in der Stadt Flugblätter. Unterschriften und Petitionen werden dem stellvertretenden Bürgermeister Dr. Folger übergeben. Die Presse ist dabei. Journalisten versprechen den jungen Leuten, durch ihre Berichterstattung zu unterstützen. Doch sonst gibt es noch keine Reaktionen. Die Jugendlichen scheinen den Eindruck zu gewinnen, daß ihre Sicht der Dinge bei den verantwortlichen Stadtpolitikern und der Öffentlichkeit keine Bedeutung hat. Immer noch besteht die Gefahr, daß der Kastanienbaum gefällt wird. Da die Schüler sich nicht darauf verlassen wollen, daß die Politiker sich für ihre Interessen einsetzen, diskutieren sie weitere Vorgehensweisen. Eine neue Idee entsteht: Das Baugrundstück soll über das folgende Wochenende geschützt und bewacht werden. "Wir werden alles mobilisieren, was in unseren Kräften steht", verspricht Florian, ein Schüler der 8. Klasse. "Unser Baum ist noch lange nicht tot."²

4 Der Fall der Kastanie

Dem Erfurter Investor sind die Proteste indes nicht verborgen geblieben. Denn die Vorbereitungsarbeiten auf der Baustelle werden auch am Wochenende fortgesetzt. Ohne Rücksicht werden die Plakate und Transparente beiseite geschoben. Kurze Dialoge entspinnen sich zwischen Jugendlichen und Bauarbeitern. Diese betonen, daß der Kastanienbaum nicht gefällt werden soll. Das war am Sonnabend. Am Sonntag greifen sie aber doch zur Kettensäge. Offensichtlich sollen vollendete Tatsachen geschaffen werden. Gegen 16.00 Uhr fangen Arbeiter damit an, einzelne Äste abzusägen. Die nächste Beschönigung folgt: Die Arbeiter geben vor, den blühenden Baum lediglich ausästen zu wollen. Die Gruppe junger Schüler der 5. Klasse, die zu dieser Zeit den Baum bewacht, ist machtlos. Für diese Kinder ist das, was nun folgt, ein Schock: verzweifelt, schreiend und weinend müssen sie mit ansehen, wie handstreichartig die Kastanie gefällt wird. Schließlich liegt der Baum flach. Nach und nach erscheinen immer mehr Kinder und Jugendliche, so daß sogar die Arbeiter die Baustelle verlassen. Eine riesengroße Wut ist zu spüren. Noch am Abend kommt der Weimarer Oberbürgermeister Dr. Germer in die Schule. Er versucht, die Lage zu klären, die Situation in ruhigere Bahnen zu lenken und sagt, daß die Stadt es abgelehnt habe, den Baum zu fällen. An dieser Stelle geschieht etwas, was offensichtlich den folgenden Vertrauensverlust der Schüler in das Handeln der städtischen Politik verursacht. Denn die Schüler werden später herausfinden, daß – zwar gegen den Willen des Grünflächenamtes – aber dennoch von der Stadtverwaltung eine Genehmigung erteilt worden war. Der stellvertretende Bürgermeister wird von einer Fehlentscheidung sprechen, der OB von "Kompromissen an den Investor." Dabei wurde die Beseitigung des Baumes mit der Zahlung von 37.000,- DM verbunden. Für die Schüler stellt es sich rückblickend so dar, daß der Fall der Kastanie schon während der ganzen Zeit ihres Handelns eine bereits beschlossene Sache war. Wenn

² Thüringer Landeszeitung vom 13.05.1997.

man nun heute auf die Lage schaut, zeigt sich überdies, daß dieses Handeln weder der Stadt noch dem Investor einen Vorteil gebracht hat. Denn jetzt – zwei Jahre nach diesen Ereignissen – liegt das Grundstück immer noch brach. Nun ist für die Jugendlichen folgende Frage erlaubt: Haben unsere massiven Proteste das Bauvorhaben verhindert?

5 Die Demonstration: Schüler artikulieren Schulinteressen

Doch zurück zu den laufenden Ereignissen. Am Montag ist die Situation kaum noch zu beherrschen. Die Eingänge der Schule werden mit Schülerposten besetzt, die ihre Mitschüler über die Vorfälle informieren. Alle 800 Schüler beteiligen sich an den Kundgebungen, und auch einige Lehrer schließen sich den Aktionen an. Vor der Schule und im Wohngebiet wird demonstriert. Man besprüht Plakate und ein großes SOS-Schild mit Protestparolen. Auf einer Baumscheibe steht mit roter Farbe: "Ich habe gelebt," und auf ein Spruchband schreiben Schüler die bekannte Sentenz aus der Prophezeiung der Cree-Indianer: "Erst wenn der letzte Baum gerodet ist, werdet Ihr feststellen, daß man Geld nicht atmen kann". Auf einer nahe gelegenen Durchfahrtsstraße stoppen die Jugendlichen zwei Stunden lang alle vorbeifahrenden Autos, erklären den Fahrern das Schicksal ihrer Kastanie und klemmen Blätter und Zweige des Baumes hinter die Scheibenwischer. Dieses Tun hat eine schulische Kehrseite: Der Unterricht fällt aus, die Schule ist lahm gelegt. Aus Kollegenkreisen sieht sich der Schulleiter der Forderung gegenüber, weiteres Protesthandeln zu unterbinden. Schließlich finden Schulleiter und Schüler einen Kompromiss. Ein Teil der Schülerschaft kehrt zum Unterricht zurück, ein anderer Teil setzt die Kundgebungen auf dem Schulgelände fort. Im Laufe des Vormittags kommt der städtische Bau- und Umweltdezernent in das Schillergymnasium und steht Schülern und Lehrern Rede und Antwort. Er vertritt in der Diskussion die These, daß nur der frühere Eigentümer den Baum hätte schützen können. Darauf wendet eine Schülerin ein, daß ja die Stadt selbst Vorbesitzer war. Die Ratlosigkeit der Politik zeigt sich in den Handlungshinweisen, die der Politiker den Jugendlichen nun gibt. Sie mögen sich an die Petitionsausschüsse des Thüringer Landtages und des Bundestages wenden. Das Verhältnis vorgeschlagener politischer Mittel zu den diskutierten politischen Zielen leuchtet nicht nur den Schülern kaum ein. "Es ist echt Mist, einen gesunden Baum einfach wegzumachen," – sagt Janett aus der 6. Klasse. "Ich habe das überhaupt nicht verstanden. Der Mann, den sie heute hierhergeschickt haben, konnte das auch nicht erklären. Der hat immer nur von Paragraphen geredet."³ "Wir stellten fest," – schreiben Florian und Michael (13 Jahre) in einer Schulbroschüre – "daß die Ämter versagt hatten, indem sie die Fällgenehmigung erteilt hatten, und daß man in angeblich "Grüne" und Umweltämter kein Vertrauen setzen kann. Nicht einmal der Oberbürgermeister, durch uns informiert, tat etwas, um die Fällung zu verhindern."

³ Thüringer Landeszeitung vom 16.05.1995.

6 Öffentliche Zustimmung

Nun zeigt sich, daß das bisherige Geschehen und die Berichterstattung in der Presse in der Öffentlichkeit Spuren hinterläßt: Viele Bürger solidarisieren sich mit den Schülern. Leserbriefe erscheinen in der Tagespresse, zahlreiche Beschwerdebriefe erreichen den Oberbürgermeister und die Schule, Protesterkärung werden formuliert. Eine Pikanterie am Rande: Da die Kastanie während der gesetzlich vorgeschriebenen Ruhezeit gefällt wurde, stellt ein Ehrenbürger der Stadt Strafanzeige. Der Vorfall wird schließlich zum Gegenstand der Auseinandersetzungen innerhalb der Parteien. Zwei Gymnasiasten wollen die Angelegenheit im Stadtparlament zur Sprache bringen, doch eine Debatte findet nicht statt. Die beiden Schüler kommen nur kurz zu Wort, dann wird ein neuer Tagesordnungspunkt aufgerufen. Auch diese Erfahrung mit der institutionalisierten Politik enttäuscht die Jugendlichen. Dennoch: Trotz aller Rückschläge beginnt in Sachen Natur ein öffentliches Umdenken in Weimar. Die Fraktion Bündnis 90 / Die Grünen schreibt an die Schüler des Gymnasiums: "Euren Protest nehmen wir zum Anlaß, die Verwaltung zu beauftragen, den Baumbestand künftig wesentlich konsequenter als bisher zu schützen und die entsprechenden Gesetze und Satzungen restriktiv zu handhaben."⁴ Wurden 1995 auch anderswo kerngesunde Bäume gefällt, so hat die Stadtverwaltung seitdem Bäume geschützt, ja der Baumbestand hat sich sogar vergrößert. Diese Tatsache bestätigt der Oberbürgermeister 1996 bei einem Treffen mit Schülern im Gymnasium: "Eure Protestbewegung konnte nicht verhindern, daß die Kastanie gefällt wurde, aber sie hat über 20 weitere Bäume in Weimar vor dem gleichen Schicksal bewahrt."

7 Zurück zum Handeln in der Schule – Neue Projekte entstehen

Nach und nach gerät der "Fall Kastanie" aus den Schlagzeilen. Bleibt das Schillergymnasium, was es vordem war? Oder hat der Schülerwiderstand die Schule verändert? Die Schüler gehen jetzt den Weg vom Protestieren, von der Reaktion auf vorgefundene Situationen, zum Handeln im Sinne des offensiven und zielbezogenen Gestaltens. Der erste Schritt: die Jugendliche schneiden von der gefällten Kastanie Äste ab und versuchen, mit den Stecklingen neue Bäume heranzuziehen. Doch die Sprößlinge des alten Baumes schlagen nicht aus. Die Schüler geben nicht auf. Eine Spendenaktion für neue Bäume auf dem Schulhof läuft an. Im Zentrum Weimars sammeln die Jugendlichen Geld. Über 300 DM kommen so an einem einzigen Tag zusammen. Insgesamt spenden Einwohner, Lehrer und Schüler etwa 2000 DM, die Stadt stellt für neue Bäume 2800 DM zur Verfügung, und auch ein Baumarkt gibt kostenlos einen jungen Baum an die Schüler. Einer eigenen und neuen Bepflanzung auf dem Schulgelände steht nun nichts mehr im Wege. Im Rahmen der Sammelaktion schreibt eine 5. Klasse Briefe an verschiedene Kommunalpolitiker und auch an den Bauherrn.

⁴ Brief der Stadtratsfraktion Bündnis 90/Grüne an die Schülerschaft des Schiller-Gymnasiums vom 16.5.95.

Sehr geehrter Herr,

Wir, die Schüler des Schiller-Gymnasiums sind über das Fehlen des Baumes sehr traurig. Er bot uns Schutz gegen Sonne und Strassenlärm: Außerdem war unser Schulhof natürlicher. Daher möchten wir Sie bitten, dass Sie uns eventuell einige Bäume ersetzen könnten. Das würde nicht nur uns, sondern auch ihren Mietern gefallen, denn sie wären ebenfalls ein gutes Bild für das Auge. Es wäre wirklich sehr nett.

Die Schüler des Schiller-Gymnasium

8 Die Baumgruppe

Die neu gepflanzten Bäume werden zum Grundstein für ein Begrünungsprojekt. Eine Schülerinitiative "Baumgruppe" gründet sich, die bis heute an der Umgestaltung des Schulhofes arbeitet. Hier wird nicht nur reagiert, vielmehr werden Konzepte vorgelegt. Der Schulhof soll in einen Spiel-, Ruhe-, und Unterrichtsplatz verwandelt werden. Den Unterricht im Freien soll ein "grünes Klassenzimmer" ermöglichen. Geplant sind unter anderem Tischtennisplatten, Hecken, Sichtschutzelemente, eine große Pergola und die Begrünung einer Fassade. Nun ist eine Schulhofumgestaltung nichts Neues. In vielen Schulen Deutschlands wird der Beton der Pausenhöfe entsiegelt, und auch anderenorts werden gute Ideen entwickelt. Doch hat das Handeln im Schillergymnasium eine besondere Qualität. Nicht Geld wird gesucht, sondern Kenntnisse und Partner in der Elternschaft und im städtischen Handel werden gefordert. So ist auf den Aushängen im Flur der Schule zum Beispiel zu lesen: "Sind Eure Eltern in der Holzverarbeitungs- oder Baubranche beschäftigt? Können sie Baumaschinen führen oder haben eine leitende Funktion im Baubetrieb, gar in einem Baumarkt?" Auch bittet die "Baumgruppe" die Eltern um 6 Tonnen Kies (0,2-0,3 cm Korngröße), 6 Sack Zement, um 30 Kanthölzer (neu, kesseldruckimprägniert, genaue Angabe verschiedener Maße) und vieles andere mehr. Die Jugendlichen warten nicht mehr darauf, daß Erwachsene tätig werden, sondern suchen Unterstützung für die eigenen Ideen. Die "Baumgruppe" erhielt zahlreiche Anerkennungen. Selbst der Oberbürgermeister pflanzt mit Schülern eine neue Kastanie, die er selbst zur Schule bringt. Ob es ihm gelingt, auf diese Weise ein Stück Glaubwürdigkeit von Politik bei den Weimarer Gymnasiasten zurückzugewinnen?

9 Eine Politisch Bewegte Schule

Ein weiteres Beispiel für den gewachsenen Mut, politisch zu handeln zeigt das Engagement der Schüler, Eltern und Lehrer für eine neue Sportstätte, die "Dreifelderhalle." Die aktuelle Lage ist problematisch: Der Sportunterricht am größten Gymnasium Weimars wird in fünf fremden Hallen erteilt, unter anderem in der Wimaria-Halle, deren schlechter Zustand die Sportstunden aus Schüler- und aus Lehrersicht zu einer gefährlichen Angelegenheit werden läßt. Es geht den Schülern aber nicht nur um eigene Interessen. "Es fehlt der künftigen Kulturstadt Europas generell an einer modernen Sportstätte," – sagt Denis Taubert, Schüler der 11. Klasse, in einer Diskussionsrunde mit dem Oberbürgermeister im Gymnasiums. Um der Angelegenheit Nachdruck zu verleihen, ziehen über 400 Schüler am 6. Juni '96 in einem Demonstrationmarsch von der Schule zum Rathaus. Auch die über 3000 Unterschriften, mit denen die Bürger Weimars den Bau der Sporthalle befürworten, verleihen dem Schülerbegehren Gewicht. Den OB haben die Gymnasiasten bereits gewonnen. "Meine Stimme habt ihr," – erklärt Dr. Germer den jugendlichen Demonstranten vor dem Rathaus.⁵ In einem anderen Projekt geht es den Jugendlichen um die viel zu schweren Schultaschen. Junge ABC-Schützen und ihre Schulranzen werden von Mitschülern gewogen. Es wird festgestellt, daß die neuen Schulbücher schwerer sind und daß sich das Gewicht der Schultaschen in den letzten Jahren erhöht hat. Mit den Ergebnissen reisen die Projektteilnehmer 1996 zur Frankfurter Buchmesse und sprechen dort mit mehreren Verlagen.⁶

Wie die Beispiele zeigen, treten die Schülerinnen und Schüler seit dem "Fall Kastanie" ausdauernd und konsequent für ihre Forderungen ein. Der Schulleiter, Helmut Wuntke, kommt rückblickend zu folgender Einschätzung: "Die ganze Aktion hat dem Ansehen unserer Schüler und damit dem Ruf des Gymnasiums in der Öffentlichkeit sehr genützt. Der Schulalltag hat sich seitdem verändert, denn unsere Schüler nehmen heute ihr Mitspracherecht wahr. Die Schüler mischen sich ein. Sie gestalten die Umwelt und verändern das gesellschaftliche Klima in unserer Schule und in unserer Stadt."

Quelle: Pädagogik. 1997. Vol. 7-8, 46 – 49

⁵ Thüringer Landeszeitung vom 30.05.1996.

⁶ Thüringer Landeszeitung vom 07.06.1996.

Julia Sammoray, Christian Welniak

Kommentar: Demokratielernen durch Empowerment? Die Kontroverse um das Projekt „Der Fall Kastanie“

1 Politische Bildung und Demokratielernen nach der „Wende.“ Der Projektbericht

Nach der friedlichen Revolution in der DDR vereinigten sich 1990 beide deutsche Staaten. Die politische Bildung in Deutschland wurde schnell mit den Schattenseiten des rasanten politischen Einigungsprozesses konfrontiert. Viele Menschen zeigten sich, insbesondere in den fünf „Neuen Bundesländern,“ enttäuscht über nicht verwirklichte politische Versprechungen sowie private und ökonomische Hoffnungen. Die „Politikverdrossenheit“ der BürgerInnen und insbesondere von Jugendlichen prägte wie kaum ein anderer Begriff die politische, pädagogische und politikwissenschaftliche Diskussion der 1990er Jahre in Deutschland (vgl. die Kritik am Begriff bei Arzheimer 2002).

Die Wut auf vergangene Hoffnungen richtete sich rasch gegen MigrantInnen. Auch von der Politik wurden „Ausländer“ parteiübergreifend als Ursache von Fehlern und Misserfolgen im Vereinigungsprozess instrumentalisiert. Rostock-Lichtenhagen, Mölln und Hoyerswerda – rechtsextreme Pogrome erschütterten schon kurz nach der Vereinigung die Zivilgesellschaft. Der Vereinigungsprozess nährte einen neuen „Nationalchauvinismus,“ der auch international befürchtet und nun besorgt wahrgenommen wurde.

Weimar ist eine deutsche Kleinstadt in Thüringen, einem der fünf „Neuen Bundesländer“. 1919 wurde hier die erste deutsche Demokratie, die „Weimarer Republik“ gegründet. Als Stadt der „Deutschen Klassik“ und „Klassischen Moderne“ ist sie international bekannt.¹

Die SchülerInnen des Friedrich Schiller Gymnasiums lernen, so lesen wir im Projektbericht, in einem Gebäude der „Weimarer Bauhauszeit.“ Ihre Schule ist umgeben von einem Park und gründerzeitlichen Bauten, die das Stadtbild prägen. Als „traditionsreiche Schule der Stadt“ sieht sich das Gymnasium einer „höherer Bildung verpflichtet.“ Seit 1927 profiliert es einen naturwissenschaftlichen Schwerpunkt. In dieser kleinstädtischen Umgebung und bildungsbürgerlich gymnasialen (Schul-) Kultur beginnen SchülerInnen am 11. Mai 1995 damit, sich für den Erhalt eines Kastanienbaumes zu engagieren.

¹ Im 18. Jahrhundert lebten und wirkten u.a. Johann Gottfried Herder, Friedrich Schiller und Johann Wolfgang von Goethe in Weimar. 1919 gründete Walter Gropius hier das Bauhaus. Die Europäische Union zeichnete Weimar 1999 als „Kulturhauptstadt Europas“ aus.

Abb. 1. Das Friedrich Schiller Gymnasium in Weimar²



Bis heute diskutiert die politische Bildung Deutschlands ihr Engagement, die sich entwickelnde Projektdynamik – „von der Aktion zum Projekt“ – und deren Bedeutung für das Demokratieverständnis von Kindern und Jugendlichen. Fünf Dokumentationen des Projekts sind bislang publiziert worden (Lokies 1997; Beutel, Lokies 1999 a,b; Beutel, Lokies 2001 sowie online in der Projektdatenbank des Förderwettbewerbs „Demokratisch Handeln,³“); vier fachdidaktische und demokratiepädagogische Kommentare setzen sich kritisch mit diesen auseinander (Breit 2005 a,b; Grammes 2010; Petrik 2010).

Wir dokumentieren die vorliegende, ursprüngliche Fassung des Projektberichtes aus dem Jahre 1997. Sie beschreibt den Projektverlauf detailliert und ist ein besonders lebendiges Beispiel dafür, wie Projektdynamiken und Lernprozesse dargestellt werden können:

Der Projektbericht zeigt, wie ein emphatischer Hinweis („anonymer Apell“) dazu beiträgt, dass sich SchülerInnen beherzt zu engagieren beginnen: „Das ist unser Baum!“, ruft Franziska voller Wut. „Er bietet Schatten, schützt uns vor der Schwanseestraße, und wir können die Jungs mit Kastanien bewerfen.“ Der Projektbericht lebt von Schüleräußerungen. Wir lernen ihre Gründe kennen, sich zu engagieren. So werden auch Vorstellungen sowie Enttäuschungen über die Politik deutlich: „Da die Schüler sich nicht darauf verlassen wollen, dass die Politiker sich für ihre Interessen einsetzen, diskutieren sie weitere Vorgehensweisen. Eine neue Idee entsteht.“ Die Kreativität des vielfältigen Engagements wird gewürdigt. Der Projektbericht zeigt sensibel, wie die SchülerInnen in emotionalen Krisen neue Strategien entwickeln und politische Handlungsfelder entdecken. Von „unkoordinierten

² Quelle: Schul-Homepage 2012: http://www.schiller-gymnasium-weimar.de/uploads/pics/FSG-Gebäude_01.jpg

³ <http://www.demokratisch-handeln.de/dh-data/show.php?id=2302>

Aktionen“ im Umfeld der Schule, öffentlichkeitswirksamen Kampagnen in der Stadt bis hin zu Gesprächen mit den verantwortlichen Politikern. Das Engagement zur Rettung der eigenen Kastanie bewirkt umfassendere kommunalpolitische Entscheidungen: „Eure Protestbewegung konnte nicht verhindern, dass die Kastanie gefällt wurde, aber sie hat über 20 weitere Bäume in Weimar vor dem gleichen Schicksal bewahrt,“ resümiert der Oberbürgermeister der Stadt. Das Projekt Kastanie führt zu Folgeprojekten an der Schule, einer „Baumgruppe“ und Sporthalle. Ein Zwischenfazit im Projektbericht diagnostiziert, dass sich die Kinder und Jugendlichen eine veränderte politische Strategie angeeignet haben: „Die Schüler gehen jetzt den Weg vom Protestieren, von der Reaktion auf vorgefundene Situationen, zum Handeln im Sinne eines offensiven und zielbezogenen Gestaltens.“

Dennoch erzählt der Projektbericht keine unreflektierte und widerspruchsfreie Erfolgsgeschichte. Auswirkungen des Engagements auf den Schulalltag werden problematisiert: „Dies Tun hat eine schulische Kehrseite: der Unterricht fällt aus, die Schule ist lahmgelegt.“ Frustrierende Erfahrungen im Verlauf des Engagements und auch bedrohlich emotionale Dynamiken werden beschrieben: „Für diese Kinder ist das, was nun folgt, ein Schock: verzweifelt, schreiend und weinend müssen sie mit ansehen, wie handstreichartig die Kastanie gefällt wird. [...] Nach und nach erscheinen immer mehr Kinder und Jugendliche, so dass sogar die Arbeiter die Baustelle verlassen. Eine riesengroße Wut ist zu spüren.“ Vertrauensverluste und ein fehlendes Verständnis der SchülerInnen für das politische Handeln der Verantwortlichen werden eindringlich dargestellt. Welche Bedeutung diese für das Demokratielernen der SchülerInnen haben, bleibt jedoch offen. Das Verhältnis von Moral und Recht ist im Projektbericht ungeklärt: „Es ist echt Mist, einen gesunden Baum einfach wegzumachen,“ sagt Jeanette aus der 6. Klasse. „Ich habe das überhaupt nicht verstanden. Der Mann, den sie heute hier hergeschickt haben, konnte das auch nicht erklären. Der hat immer nur von Paragraphen geredet.“ „Wir stellten fest“, schreiben Florian und Michael (13 Jahre) in einer Schulbroschüre, „dass die Ämter versagt hatten, indem sie die Fällgenehmigung erteilt hatten, und dass man in angeblich ‘Grüne’ und Umweltämter kein Vertrauen setzen kann.“

Die intensive und kontroverse Beachtung eines einzelnen schulischen Projektes stellt in der politischen Bildung Deutschlands eine Ausnahme dar. Seit dem über die Grenzen Deutschlands hinaus bekannten „Beutelsbacher Konsens“⁴ (1976) waren Kontroversen insbesondere über die Ziele politischer Bildung selten geworden.

Die skizzierten gesellschaftlichen Krisenphänomene im vereinigten Deutschland führten dazu, dass „Demokratie“ als normativer Bezugspunkt der politischen Bildung im Verlauf der 1990er Jahre wieder entdeckt und neu diskutiert wurde. Zahlreiche pädagogische Förderprogramme, Initiativen und Organisationen sind seitdem entstanden, die Rechtsextremismus verhindern und das Demokratielernen von Kindern und Jugendlichen unterstützen möchten.

1997 wird das Projekt Kastanie im Rahmen des 1989 entstandenen Förderwettbewerbs „Demokratisch Handeln“ ausgezeichnet. „Demokratisch Handeln“ hat sich bis heute als einer der größten deutschen

⁴ <http://www.lpb-bw.de/beutelsbacher-konsens.html>

Schulwettbewerbe etabliert. Er nimmt viele reformpädagogische Traditionen auf: Projekte sollen die Verbindung von Demokratie und Pädagogik, von Schule und Polis entwickeln und stärken. Sein Wettbewerbscharakter gleicht US-amerikanischen Programmen wie „We the People“ des Center for Civic Education.⁵ Er ist in Deutschland nicht unumstritten: Werden gesellschaftliche Gestaltungswünsche Jugendlicher innerhalb eines Verwertungszusammenhangs vereinnahmt? Oder fördern solche Prämierungen, dass soziales und politisches Engagement anerkannt wird?

Das Förderprogramm folgt einer pragmatischen Lerntheorie: In der Schule soll demokratische Erziehung mit praktischem Lernen verbunden werden. SchülerInnen sollen nicht nur Wissen über Politik erwerben, sondern selbst politische und demokratische Erfahrungen machen können (vgl. Beutel, Fauser 2001). Für solche erfahrungs- und handlungsorientierten Lernformen hat sich in Deutschland der Begriff Demokratiepädagogik etabliert. Demokratiepädagogik avanciert zunehmend zum Dachbegriff für all jene pädagogischen Aufgaben, die mit dem Erhalt und der Erneuerung der Demokratie verbunden sind. Demokratiepädagogisches Engagement zielt darauf, die Bereitschaft junger Menschen zu fördern, an der Zivilgesellschaft mitzuwirken. In den Jahren 2002–2007 hat in 13 von 16 deutschen Bundesländern das Schulentwicklungsprogramm „Demokratie lernen und leben“⁶ stattgefunden. Die Demokratiepädagogik löste so den schärfsten konzeptionellen Streit in der politischen Bildung seit den ideologischen Debatten der 1970er Jahre aus.

Abb. 2. Vergleich Politikdidaktik / Demokratiepädagogik [vgl. Fauser 2007]

Politikdidaktik	Demokratiepädagogik
politikwissenschaftlich zentriert	erziehungswissenschaftlich zentriert
Fachunterricht	Fächerübergreifend / Schulkultur / außerschulische Kooperationen
Auf Wissen angelegt	Auf Können und Handeln (Empowerment) angelegt
Ausrichtung auf die staatliche Ebene, auf Regierung und Herrschaft	Ausrichtung auf Menschenrechts - Universalismus Demokratie als Lebens-, Gesellschafts- und Herrschaftsform

Die Politikdidaktik kritisiert einen demokratietheoretisch verengten Politikbegriff der Demokratiepädagogik („Demokratie als Lebensform“). Dieser provoziere „Parallelisierungsfallen,“ die zu lerntheoretischen Kurzschlüssen zwischen Mikro- und Makrowelt führen. Demokratiepädagogik versuche, Erfahrungen gelebter Harmonie innerhalb der Lebenswelt und mikropolitische Entscheidungsstrukturen auf die institutionelle Politik zu übertragen. Dies müsse zwangsläufig dazu führen,

⁵ www.civiced.org/wethepeople.php

⁶ www.blk-demokratie.de

dass sich Heranwachsende von der Demokratie als Herrschaftsform abwenden. Die Entwicklung eines Verständnisses für die Funktionslogiken des Politischen werde so verunmöglicht. Letztlich werde Politik – entgegen der Intention – Entscheidungseliten überlassen (post-democracy).

Im Folgenden rekapitulieren wir die fachdidaktische und demokratiepädagogische Kontroverse um das Projekt Kastanie. Hierzu fassen wir die vier vorliegenden Auseinandersetzungen von Gotthard Breit (Universität Magdeburg), Tilman Grammes (Universität Hamburg) und Andreas Petrik (Universität Halle) zusammen. Dies lohnt sich: Am Projekt Kastanie kann exemplarisch studiert werden, welche unterschiedlichen demokratie- und lerntheoretischen Positionen innerhalb der politischen Bildung in Deutschland diskutiert werden.

2 „Politikverdrossenheit“ - Politikdidaktische Skepsis

Gotthard Breit (2005a, 54ff.) unterscheidet drei Ebenen, auf die sich die Aktionen im Projekt beziehen. Dies entspricht der pragmatischen Vorstellung, Demokratielernen auf den Ebenen der Lebens-, Gesellschafts- und Herrschaftsform zu operationalisieren und miteinander in Beziehung zu setzen.

Abb. 3. Aktionsformen im Projekt Kastanie (Breit 2005a, 55)

Schulische Aktionen	Diskussionen im Ethikunterricht; Tagungen des Schülerrates; Dokumentation in einer Schulbroschüre
Politische Aktionen	Brief an den Besitzer des Grundstückes, an die Stadtverwaltung und an den Bau- und Umweltdezernenten; Bewachung des Baumes über das Wochenende
Gesellschaftliche Aktionen	Sammlung von Unterschriften; Anfertigung von Plakaten; Verteilung von Flugblättern; Durchführung von Kundgebungen und Demonstrationen; Information der Presse; Übergabe von Petitionen

Während der schulischen Aktionen können die SchülerInnen die Vorgänge durchdenken, gesellschaftliche und politische Aktivitäten entwickeln sowie den Verlauf und die Ergebnisse des Projektes beurteilen. Im Rahmen ihres gesellschaftlichen Handelns veröffentlichen die SchülerInnen ihr Interesse am Erhalt des Baumes und versuchen dieses durchzusetzen. Die Bewachung des Baumes durch einige SchülerInnen stellt für Breit eine Form des gewaltlosen Widerstandes oder des bürgerlichen Ungehorsams dar. Wie die

zweistündige Blockierung der Durchfahrtsstraße, die als rechtswidriges Verhalten kommentiert wird, subsumiert er diese unter politischen Aktionen.

Gotthard Breit problematisiert grundsätzlich, dass im deutschen Politikunterricht das gesellschaftliche Lernen vernachlässigt wird (vgl. hierzu auch JSSE 4-2009⁷). Das Projekt Kastanie wird deshalb als ein Referenzbeispiel gewürdigt: Es ermöglicht, über Ziele, Inhalte und Methoden gesellschaftlichen Lernens nachzudenken. Demokratie als Gesellschaftsform zu lernen, bedeute insbesondere Möglichkeiten der Konfliktregelung aufzuzeigen. Als Gesellschaftsform wird Demokratie gelebt, wenn Bürgerinnen und Bürger Auseinandersetzungen untereinander gewaltfrei austragen und auf eine für beide Seiten annehmbare Weise beilegen. In den Reflexionsphasen des Projektes müsse deshalb auch darauf hingewiesen werden, dass der Rechtsstaat rechtliche Klärungen des Konfliktes ermöglicht. Dann kann das Projekt dazu führen, dass sich die Schülerinnen auseinander setzen mit:

- dem Verhältnis zwischen Bürgern und Verwaltung;
- der Bedeutung von gesellschaftlicher Ordnung für ein Leben in Freiheit;
- der Forderung des Grundgesetzes nach dem Gebrauch von Eigentum zum Wohle der Allgemeinheit.

Die Skepsis der Politikdidaktiker konzentriert sich zum einen darauf, dass in dem Projekt Politik und Verwaltung kein gutes Zeugnis ausgestellt wird. Die Begegnungen mit dem Oberbürgermeister sowie dem Bau- und Umweltdezernenten haben einen Glaubwürdigkeitsverlust gegenüber der Politik verursacht. Die SchülerInnen erfahren, von Repräsentanten der Politik nicht zielführend unterstützt zu werden. Diese Erlebnisse können dazu führen, die Einstellungen der Jugendlichen zur Demokratie als Herrschaftsform negativ zu beeinflussen.

Zum anderen sind die Jugendlichen – trotz ihres langfristigen politischen Erfolges – zunächst über den Fall der Kastanie enttäuscht. Diese Frustration hätte vermieden werden können, wenn die SchülerInnen über ein größeres Politikverständnis verfügten. Um die Vorgänge angemessen einschätzen zu können, brauchen die Jugendlichen Kenntnisse über:

- Aussagen des Grundgesetzes, der deutschen Verfassung, zum Eigentum;
- die Aufgaben und Kompetenzen des Oberbürgermeisters bzw. des Rats der Stadt und der städtischen Verwaltung;
- das Mehrheits- und Repräsentationsprinzip der Demokratie;
- sowie Möglichkeiten der BürgerInnen zur politischen Beteiligung.

Der Projektbericht wird deshalb als ein Beleg der politikdidaktischen These angesehen, dass Erfahrungen alleine nicht ausreichen, um einen Vorgang politisch analysieren und angemessen beurteilen zu können (Breit 2005b, 53ff.). Den SchülerInnen ist der politische Handlungsrahmen nicht bekannt, in dem ihr Engagement stattfindet: Der Investor besaß die Fällgenehmigung bereits vor Beginn ihrer Aktionen. In einem Rechtsstaat kann diese nicht ohne weiteres zurückgenommen werden. Die SchülerInnen urteilen über die Politik, ohne Interessen, Handlungsspielräume und Zwänge ihrer Konfliktpartner zu berücksichtigen. Im Projektbericht bleibt ungeklärt, wie

⁷ <http://www.jsse.org/2009/2009-4>

durch Begriffe Erfahrungen verstehbar und theoretisch überschritten werden können. Gotthard Breit plädiert deshalb für eine Vermittlung von Wissen und die Anbahnung von Denkfähigkeiten.

Das politikdidaktische Fazit: Ohne Rechtsstaatlichkeit lässt sich Demokratie als Herrschaftsform nicht verwirklichen. Das Projekt führt zu dem „denkbar schlechtesten Ergebnis aller Bemühungen um politische Bildung:“ Die Begegnung mit Demokratie als Herrschaftsform frustriert, Politikverdrossenheit wächst. Die Möglichkeiten und Grenzen der Demokratiepädagogik werden deutlich: Die Projektarbeit ermöglicht zwar Erfahrungen durch Handeln. Sie bietet den SchülerInnen jedoch keine Möglichkeit zur Reflexion an. Sie werden „hilflos allein gelassen“ und können ihre „Wunsch- und Traumvorstellung von Demokratie“ nicht korrigieren. Letztlich lernen sie die gegenwärtige Politik als ein Gebiet kennen, „von dem sich ein guter Demokrat abwendet.“

3 „Mikro- und Makrowelt“ - eine lerntheoretische Synthese aus Demokratiepädagogik und politischer Kategorialdidaktik

Andreas Petrik (2010) rekapituliert die unterschiedlichen Perspektiven von Politikdidaktik und Demokratiepädagogik auf das Projekt Kastanie aus einem lerntheoretischen Interesse.

Die SchülerInnen werden nicht enttäuscht, weil PolitikerInnen falsch handeln, so die politikdidaktische Perspektive. Ursache ihrer Frustration sind vielmehr alltagstheoretische Fehinterpretationen. Um dieses alltagstheoretische Defizit zu beheben, müssten PolitiklehrerInnen dabei unterstützen, das Ausgangsproblem gründlich zu definieren. Die Interessenlagen und Argumentationsstrategien all jener müssen geklärt werden, die am Konflikt beteiligt sind. Zudem muss der rechtliche Rahmen ausgelotet werden, um Handlungsmöglichkeiten zu prüfen. Dann können die SchülerInnen nicht mehr nur als Betroffene agieren. Sie können den Konflikt im Rahmen eines zyklischen Problemlösungsprozesses (Politikzyklus) begreifen lernen. Diese Einsicht ermöglicht ihnen dann, zentrale politische Kategorien wie Macht, Interesse, Recht und Entscheidung inhaltlich zu füllen.

Aus demokratiepädagogischer Perspektive zeigt das Projekt, dass Politikverdrossenheit durch die Handlungen professioneller PolitikerInnen erzeugt oder verstärkt wird. Das politische Lernen soll deshalb „vom politischen Kopf auf demokratische Füße“ (Gerhard Himmelmann) gestellt werden. Die Spannung zwischen Prinzipien der Demokratie und den tatsächlichen politischen Verhältnissen müsse wach gehalten werden. Im Projektbericht wird der eigentliche Erfolg der SchülerInnen nicht darin gesehen, dass sie sich mit der Demokratie als Herrschaftsform auseinandergesetzt haben. Vielmehr wird gewürdigt, dass sie sich für die demokratische Öffentlichkeit (Demokratie als Gesellschaftsform) und ihre eigene Schule (Demokratie als Lebensform) eingesetzt haben. Die instabile Demokratie muss an ihrer Basis kontinuierlich deliberativ gefestigt werden – gerade auch in der Schule als „embryonic society“ (John Dewey). Der von

den Weimarer SchülerInnen gebaute Schulhofgarten kann deshalb dazu beitragen, Demokratie von Innen heraus zu stabilisieren. Er ist durch zivilgesellschaftliches Engagement entstanden und verkörpert eine Haltung gesellschaftlicher, ökologischer Verantwortung. Das Engagement der SchülerInnen löst zudem ein öffentliches und ökologisches Umdenken in Weimar aus.

Die demokratiepädagogische Kritik am herkömmlichen Konzept des kategorialen Politikunterrichts (vgl. Engelhardt 1964, sowie Leps 2010⁸) richtet sich darauf, dass die begriffsgeleitete Analyse makropolitische Fälle von SchülerInnen als abstrakt empfunden wird. Das Dilemma des kategorialen Politikunterrichts besteht darin, komplexe Wirklichkeit mit komplexen Kategorien erschließen zu wollen, die selbst einer elementaren Erschließung bedürfen. Der Analyse lebensweltferner politischer Konflikte fehlt zudem eine Anbindung an die Werteorientierungen und die gesellschaftlichen Alltagstheorien der SchülerInnen. Der kognitiven Analyse soll deshalb eine propädeutisch-experimentelle Phase eigenen demokratischen Handelns im mikropolitischen Nahraum vorausgehen. Erfahrungen der Selbstwirksamkeit im mikropolitischen Handeln sollen zu längerfristigem politischen Engagement ermutigen und befähigen.

Andreas Petrik kritisiert allerdings, dass die Demokratiepädagogik zwar am Individuum und seinem gesellschaftlichen Erleben anknüpfen möchte. Sie operiert jedoch häufig mit dem harmonischen Bild einer lebensweltlichen Konsensdemokratie. Dies werde dem Charakter des Politischen nicht gerecht. So ist im Projekt fraglich, ob wirklich alle SchülerInnen gleichermaßen das Überleben der Kastanie als dringlicher eingeschätzt haben als die ökonomischen Interessen des Investors sowie der Stadt. In Projekten, die von einer persönlichen Betroffenheit ausgehen, kann ein Gruppendruck entstehen. Er kann Kontroversität und Urteilsbildung verhindern.

Nahräumliche gesellschaftliche Konflikte wie der Fall Kastanie können fruchtbare Zugänge zum Politischen ermöglichen. In der Mikrowelt sind empirische Zusammenhänge zur Politik, insbesondere der Macht- und Reichumsverteilung, sinnlich zugänglich oder zumindest überschaubar. In der Demokratie als Lebensform können Deutungskrisen und Handlungsschwierigkeiten entstehen. Sie können SchülerInnen dazu verleiten, selbständig und mit Lehrerhilfe nach elementaren demokratischen Prinzipien und Verfahren zu suchen. Das Projekt Kastanie zeigt aber: Bleibt eine Phase politischer Analyse aus, so kann die Komplexität demokratischer Prozesse und Institutionen frustrierend undeutlich bleiben.

Das lerntheoretische Fazit: Sowohl Politikdidaktik als auch Demokratiepädagogik sind ratlos angesichts der Transferprobleme zwischen Mikrowelt und Makrowelt. Andreas Petrik plädiert deshalb für eine didaktische Synthese aus Demokratiepädagogik und politischer Kategorialdidaktik. Diese sieht er in der Konzeption einer „Genetischen Politikdidaktik“ verwirklicht, die sich an „Elementarphänomenen“ (Eduard Spranger) orientiert (Petrik 2011; Petrik 2004).

⁸ <http://www.jsse.org/2010/2010-3/engelhardt-en-jsse-3-2010> und <http://www.jsse.org/2010/2010-3/leps-en-jesse-3-2010>

4 „Deliberieren und Regieren“ - Eine kriteriengeleitete sozialwissenschaftliche Analyse

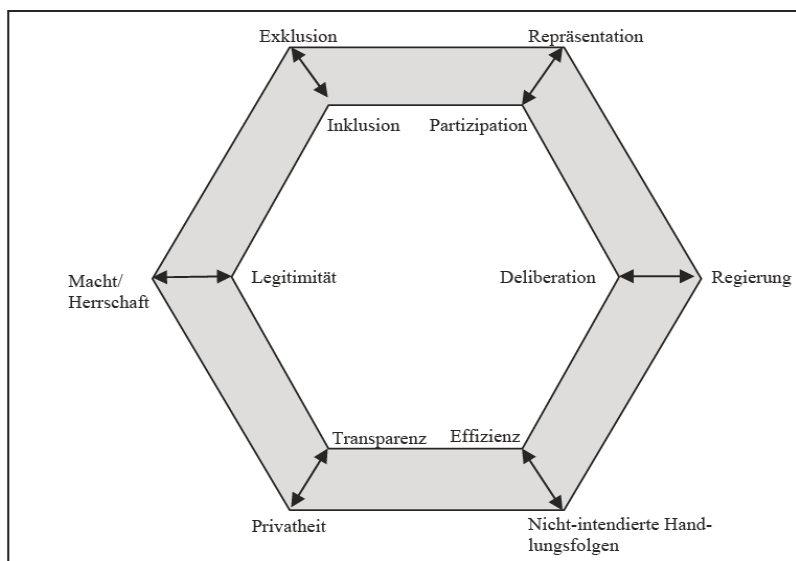
Eine kriteriengeleitete Analyse des Projektes kann sich zunächst an den regulativen Ideen des „Beutelsbacher Konsens“ orientieren. Mit dem Überwältigungsverbot, Kontroversgebot und der Interessensorientierung formuliert dieser eine Ethik pädagogischen Handelns, die nicht nur die Politische Bildung betrifft.

Das „Magdeburger Manifest der Demokratiepädagogik“⁹ wurde 2005 auf der Halbzeitkonferenz des Schulentwicklungsprogrammes „Demokratie lernen und leben“ verabschiedet. Es beinhaltet einen Kriterienkatalog demokratiepädagogischer Professionalität.¹⁰

„Politisch wie pädagogisch beruht der demokratische Weg auf dem entschiedenen und gemeinsam geteilten Willen, alle Betroffenen einzubeziehen (Inklusion und Partizipation), eine abwägende, am Prinzip der Gerechtigkeit orientierte Entscheidungspraxis zu ermöglichen (Deliberation), Mittel zweckdienlich und sparsam einzusetzen (Effizienz), Öffentlichkeit herzustellen (Transparenz) und eine kritische Prüfung des Handelns und der Institutionen nach Maßstäben von Recht und Moral zu sichern (Legitimität).“

Dieser Kriterienkatalog verdeutlicht, dass sich die Demokratiepädagogik überwiegend an partizipatorischen und deliberativen Demokratietheorien orientiert. Politikdidaktisch wird kritisiert, dass parlamentarisch-repräsentative Demokratietheorien ignoriert werden. Tilman Grammes schlägt eine „dialektisch-polare“ Ausformulierung der genannten Kriterien vor (Abb. 4).

Abb. 4. Kriterien demokratiepädagogischer Professionalität (Grammes 2010)



⁹ <http://degede.de/fileadmin/DeGeDe/Grundlagen/magdeburgermanifest.pdf>

¹⁰ Die politikwissenschaftliche empirisch-vergleichende Demokratieforschung verwendet ähnliche Kriterien zur Demokratie-Messung.

Diese Kriterien tragen dazu bei, die Qualität demokratiepädagogischen Handeln zu beurteilen. Dies kann exemplarisch an den Kategorien „Deliberation und Regieren“ gezeigt werden.

Im Institutionengeflecht einer Demokratie wird die Spannung von Engagement und Reflexion pädagogischer Projekte systematisch und differenztheoretisch gelöst. Der Vergleich des Projekts Kastanie mit einer prominenten Projektvorlage kann dies verdeutlichen: der deutschen Adaption des amerikanischen Curriculums „We the People“ des Center für Civic Education (Koopmann 2005). Junge Menschen schlüpfen in die Rolle von „kleinen SozialwissenschaftlerInnen,“ die kommunalpolitische Probleme in zehn Schritten untersuchen.

Abb. 5. Phasen des Projekte „Aktive Bürger“ / „We the People“

Projekt Aktive Bürger: Phasen	Inhalte / Herausforderungen
1	Probleme sammeln
2	Ein Projekt bestimmen [gemeinsame Planung]
3	Informationen sammeln
4	Andere Lösungsansätze prüfen
5	Einen Lösungsweg entwickeln
6	Aktionsplan erstellen
7	Eine Ausstellung vorbereiten
8	Die Ausstellung präsentieren
9	Das Problem „anpacken“
10	Erfahrungen reflektieren [Meta-Lernphase]

Diese Lern-Schritte sind arbeitsanaloge „natürliche“ Lernschritte, die bspw. typischen Phasen politischer Problemlöseprozesse (Politikzyklus) entsprechen.

Die zehn Schritte des Projektes „Aktive Bürger“ lassen sich aus pädagogischer Perspektive idealtypisch in eine legislative Phase (Schritt 1-2) und eine exekutive Phase (Schritt 3-10) unterteilen. In der idealtypischen Schrittfolge sind Phase 2 und Phase 4 die zu markierenden, neuralgischen Gelenkstellen:

a) Legislativer Modus/Willensbildung (Schritt 1-2): Der Begriff Willensbildung an der Schnittstelle von Politik und Pädagogik bezeichnet sowohl die innere Verfassung der Person als auch die äußere Verfassung des Gemeinwesens. Nach spontanem Projektbeginn bedeutet „ein Problem bestimmen“ (2. Phase) ein Innehalten. Es findet eine Willensbildung statt,

- ob bzw. welches von mehreren alternativen Projektthemen angegangen werden soll. Kommt die Kastanie überhaupt auf die Agenda?
- Wollen wir uns für den Erhalt des Baumes mit allen Mitteln einsetzen?

Das Engagement im Projekt Kastanie entwickelt sich zunächst aus einer fast zufälligen Situation heraus. Zu Beginn handeln die Akteure noch nicht im klassischen Sinne eines projektförmig geplanten Vorhabens. Dann entwickeln sich mehrere zielgerichtete Planungsphasen mit

Strategiedebatten. Eine mögliche alternative Lerndynamik wäre, dass eine Gruppe für den Bau von Wohnungen eintritt. Sollen jetzt zwei Projekte in Konkurrenz zueinander laufen? Ist das praktikabel? Die Minderheit darf nicht zu Mitläufern des Mehrheitsprojekts gemacht werden. Das Überwältigungsverbot und Oppositionsprinzip muss systematisch in demokratiepädagogische Bauformen eingebaut sein.

b) Exekutiver Modus/Regieren (Schritt 3-10): Die Lerngruppe hat sich für ein Problem und die Grundrichtung seiner Bearbeitung entschieden. Das Projekt wechselt vom legislativen in den exekutiven Modus. Es geht nun um die kluge Ausführung des beschlossenen Anliegens: Wie das Projekt managen, die Policy umsetzen? Auch innerhalb des exekutiven Modus wird es wieder deliberative Phasen geben. Dem 5. Schritt „einen Lösungsweg entwickeln“ mit anschließendem Aktionsplan ist daher als 4. Schritt vorgeschaltet: „andere Lösungsansätze prüfen.“

Mit dieser Ablauflogik sind kontroverses Debattieren (Deliberation) und entschlossenes Ausführen (Governance) in eine realitätsbezogene, politikanaloge Form gebracht.

Die politikdidaktische Kritik am Projekt Kastanie kann diese Differenz nicht markieren. Der Projektbericht setzt dort ein, wo ein Wille bereits gebildet scheint. Das Projekt spielt im exekutiven Modus und ist daher mit guten Gründen nur bedingt kontrovers.

Im Wechsel von Debattieren und Regieren ermöglichen Projekte eine rhythmisierte Erfahrung eines anspruchsvollen Bürgermodells. Richard Rorty hat dieses als „liberale Ironikerin“ beschrieben: Sie besitzt die Fähigkeit, für ein gesellschaftliches Projekt eintreten zu wollen („regieren“) und zugleich dessen Kontingenz und begründungsmäßige Relativität akzeptieren zu können („debattieren“). Mit diesem Bürgermodell sind die Prinzipien des Beutelsbacher Konsens, Meinungspluralität (debattieren) und Interessenorientierung (regieren), in ein polares Spannungsverhältnis gesetzt.

Das kriterienorientierte Fazit: Das Projekt Kastanie ist ein demokratiepädagogisches Referenzprojekt, weil seine Grundfigur zwischen Regieren und Deliberieren exemplarisch ist. Sie lässt sich in anderen curricularen Vorlagen und Praxisberichten wiederfinden. Bei didaktischen Entscheidungen geht es meist nicht um ein eindeutiges ob oder ob nicht. Auf dieser Ebene wird die Kontroverse zwischen Politikdidaktik und Demokratiepädagogik jedoch vorwiegend ausgetragen. Es geht vielmehr um die Frage nach dem „wann“, dem rechten Augenblick und pädagogischen Takt.

5 Das Projekt Kastanie in der Lehrerbildung

Die Konfrontation mit dem Projekt in Lehrerfortbildungen und universitären Seminaren zeigt nach unseren Erfahrungen drei Reaktionsmuster und Lehrertypen:

Die „*Aktionisten*“ begrüßen das Projekt euphorisch. Es wird als Prototyp gesellschaftlichen und ökologischen Engagements von SchülerInnen

gewürdigt. Sie empfinden den kategorialen und institutionenbezogenen Unterricht als weltfremd, unlebendig und verstaubt. Das Projekt Kastanie wird ungebrochen als Vorbild für eine Erziehung zum „Aktivbürger“ betrachtet. Als normativer Bezugspunkt pädagogischen Handelns wird ein subjektives Unrechtsempfinden legitimiert.

Die „*Fürsorglichen*“ sind alarmiert angesichts der Aktionsformen im Projekt (insbesondere Blockierung der Straße). Die Fürsorgepflicht und mögliche rechtliche Konsequenzen als LehrerIn werden problematisiert. Es wird als Zumutung für die Kinder und Jugendlichen empfunden, dass diese ein Scheitern erfahren und Frustrationen erleben müssen. Projekte, die auf Öffentlichkeit zielen sowie reale gesellschaftliche und politische Veränderung beabsichtigen, überfordern und gefährden. Stattdessen wird für handlungsorientierte Methoden innerhalb des geschützten Lebensraums und Lernorts Schule plädiert. Normativer Bezugspunkt pädagogischen Handelns ist der „orientierende Erwachsene,“ der der jüngeren Generation beim „vernünftigen“ Aufwachsen hilft.

Die „*Staatstragenden*“ problematisieren den zivilen Ungehorsam, der von der Schule ausgeht. Sie kritisieren, dass die durch Verfahren des Rechtsstaats legitimierten Entscheidungen von den SchülerInnen und LehrerInnen nicht akzeptiert werden. Die politikdidaktische These von der provozierten Politikverdrossenheit wird unterstützt. Gruppendynamiken und Emotionalität in politischen Lernprozessen werden abgelehnt und an massenpsychologische Phänomene erinnert. Plädiert wird für rationale Auseinandersetzungen mit dem Institutionengeflecht und der „Legitimation durch Verfahren“ (Niklas Luhmann). Normativer Bezugspunkt pädagogischen Handelns ist das geltende Recht und das politische System.

Im Seminar und in der Lehrerbildung kann das Projekt Kastanie eine kollegiale Debatte provozieren, die zunächst dem Schema des Entweder-Oder folgt. Dabei können LehrerInnen und Studierenden sich über folgende Fragen verständigen:

- Welche politischen Deutungsmuster und welches Professionsverständnis leiten mein/unser pädagogisches Handeln (Lehrerpersönlichkeit)?
- Welche Ziele verfolge ich: Soll politische Bildung den Status Quo des demokratischen Rechtsstaates sichern? Und/oder „demokratischen Experimentalismus“ (Hauke Brunkhorst) durch Partizipation ermöglichen? Was ist und wie funktioniert Demokratie?

Unterschiedliche demokratiethoretische Vorstellungen können erarbeitet werden; insbesondere das Verhältnis von Repräsentation und Partizipation. Das Projekt problematisiert die Antinomie von Legitimation und Emanzipation innerhalb politischer Bildungsprozesse (vgl. hierzu auch eine Projektanalyse in Welniak 2011).

Eine detaillierte Auseinandersetzung fragt, in welchem Verhältnis Erfahrung, Handeln und Empowerment sowie Wissen im Projektverlauf zueinander stehen – Rhythmisierung, pädagogischer Takt. Das für politische Bildungsprozesse obligatorische „Brückenproblem“ kann thematisiert werden: Wie können Erfahrungen in der lebensweltlichen Mikrowelt, der Demokratie als Lebensform dazu beitragen, die politische Makrowelt, die Demokratie als Gesellschafts- und Herrschaftsform verstehen zu lernen? Zudem stellt das Projekt die Frage, wie in einer handlungsorientierten Lernform Erfahrung systematisch und begrifflich reflektiert werden kann

(Bildung). Politikdidaktische und demokratiepädagogische Kriterien (Beutelsbacher Konsens / Magdeburger Manifest) können dazu beitragen, die kollegiale Beratung zu strukturieren, inhaltlich zu vertiefen und Ambivalenzen in der Beurteilung zuzulassen. Mit ihnen kann die eigene pädagogische Praxis kontinuierlich reflektiert werden.

6 Fazit

Der Projektbericht zeichnet sich dadurch aus, dass er keine unreflektierte Erfolgsstory erzählt – aufgehübscht für die Wettbewerbskultur. Er beschreibt auch chaotische Anfänge, engagierte Irrwege und Enttäuschungen der SchülerInnen. Deshalb ermöglicht er jene konstruktive professionelle Kontroverse, die wir dargestellt haben. Sie verdeutlicht, wie ergiebig eine *didaktische* Detailanalyse von Bauformen des Demokratielernens sein kann.

Demokratiepädagogische Kreativität konnte den Bestand der Bauformen und Grundfiguren politisch-sozialer Bildungsarbeit in Deutschland auf erstaunliche Weise revitalisieren und auch um einige Neuentwicklungen bereichern (vgl. die Materialdatenbank auf der Homepage des Schulentwicklungsprogrammes „Demokratie lernen und leben“¹¹). Sie orientiert sich dabei insbesondere auch an anglo-amerikanische Vorstellungen einer „Civic Education“ (vgl. Sliwka 2008).

Uns erscheint es nun ratsam, in und nach einer Zeit der „Aktion“ inne zu halten – wie die SchülerInnen im Projekt Kastanie. Die Entwicklung neuer Bauformen und Projektideen muss begleitet werden durch kriterienorientierte und lerntheoretische Reflexionen sowie vergleichende Curriculum-Analysen. Die Projektdatenbank des Förderwettbewerbes „Demokratisch Handeln“¹² ist bspw. eine erstaunliche Fundgrube pädagogischer und politischer Kreativität. Ihre systematische erziehungswissenschaftliche und didaktische Auswertung steht jedoch weitgehend aus. Was erreichen wir wozu mit wem wie und wo?

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¹¹ <http://blk-demokratie.de/index.php?id=82>

¹² <http://www.demokratisch-handeln.de/dh-data/index.php>

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Julia Sammoray, Christian Welniak

Commentary: Learning Democracy by Empowerment? A Controversial View on the Project “The Chestnut Case”

Frequently used basic terms

Acting Democratically (contest)	Demokratisch Handeln (Wettbewerb)
citizenship education / civics	Politische Bildung
education for democratic citizenship	Demokratiepädagogik
German Democratic Republic (GDR)	Deutsche Demokratische Republik (DDR)
Learning and Living Democracy (contest)	Demokratie leben und lernen (Wettbewerb)

1 Citizenship Education and Learning Democracy after the Fall of the Berlin Wall (“Wende”). The Project’s Report

In 1990, after the peaceful revolution in the former GDR, both German countries were reunited. However, citizenship education in Germany was quickly confronted with certain difficulties due to this rapid political unification process. The reason for that was that the majority of those people who lived in the former GDR, were disappointed with political promises as well as with their personal and economic hopes which had not become true. This resulted in a disenchantment with politics - “Politikverdrossenheit” - of these citizens and especially of adolescents, which had a huge impact on German-wide discussions in the fields of politics, education, and political science in the 1990s (see also critics on the term “Politikverdrossenheit” by Arzheimer 2002).

Due to the anger of unfulfilled hopes, the rage aroused quickly against immigrants. Even politicians, regardless of which party they belonged to, identified *foreigners* as the cause of faults and failure within the unification process. Shortly after the unification, right wing extremists organized pogroms in different German cities – Rostock-Lichtenhagen (Mecklenburg-West Pomerania), Mölln (Schleswig-Holstein) and Hoyerswerda (Saxony) – and with these shocked civil society. Germany’s unification process seemed to foster a new *national chauvinism*, which was then internationally observed with fear and worry.

Let us now have a look at our case: Weimar is a German small town in Thuringia, one of the so-called new federal states. There, in 1919, the first German democracy, the *Weimar Republic*, was founded. Today, the town is internationally well-known due to the *Weimar Classic* and the *Classical*

*Modernism.*¹ The students of the Friedrich-Schiller-Gymnasium – a German high school – attend their lessons in a *Bauhaus* building which is surrounded by a park and Weimar-typical “houses which were built by the end of the 19th century, the years of Germany’s foundation”. The school’s “history is long and deeply rooted in the ideal of traditional schools” that “are committed to higher education.” In 1927, immediately after its foundation, the school placed a scientific emphasis in its curriculum which is still valid. Here, in this small-town atmosphere and culture that is committed to higher education, students start to get involved with protecting a chestnut tree from being cut down on May 11th, 1995.

Figure 1. Friedrich Schiller Gymnasium in Weimar²



Until today, citizenship education in Germany has been debating the students’ involvement, the developing project’s dynamic – “from a single action to a broad campaign” – and its impact on the understanding of democracy of children and adolescents. Five documentations of this project have been published so far (Lokies 1997; Beutel, Lokies 1999 a, Beutel, Lokies 1999 b; Beutel, Lokies 2001 as well as online in the project data base of the contest Acting Democratically “Demokratisch Handeln”³). Four commentaries discuss the case critically from the perspective of subject-didactics and the education for democratic citizenship – “Demokratiepädagogik” (Breit 2005 a; Breit 2005 b; Grammes 2010; Petrik 2010).

¹ In the 18th century among others, Johann Gottfried Herder, Friedrich Schiller and Johann Wolfgang von Goethe lived and worked in Weimar. In 1919, Walter Gropius founded the *Bauhaus* there. The European Union designated Weimar as the European Capital of Culture in 1999.

² http://www.schiller-gymnasium-weimar.de/uploads/pics/FSG-Gebäude_01.jpg

³ <http://www.demokratisch-handeln.de/dh-data/show.php?id=2302>

We refer to the original version of the project's report in the year 1997. This report follows the course of the project in detail and proves to be a lively example on how projects' dynamics and processes of learning could be illustrated:

The project's report shows how an emphatic note – “An anonymous appeal”– leads to the students' involvement with the case: “This is our tree!” – calls Franziska angrily. “It provides shadow, protects us from the Schwanseestraße – local street –, and we can throw chestnuts at the boys.” The project's report offers loads of student's comments such as the above mentioned. We get to know their reasons for becoming involved. By this, their ideas of politics, as well as their disappointments with it become clear: “Because of the fact that these politicians do not seem to support the students' campaign, they discuss further actions and a new idea is born.” The creativity of their involvement is rewarded. Moreover, the report sensitively reveals how the students develop new strategies in emotionally critical situations and how they discover political spheres of activity, such as “uncoordinated actions” in the school's area, PR-campaigns in the city center, and getting in touch with responsible politicians. The involvement to protect their own chestnut tree influences broad decisions on a local political level: “Your protest movement could not prevent the chestnut tree from cutting down, but it has saved more than twenty other trees in Weimar so far”, sums up the Mayor of the town. Finally, the project The Chestnut Case leads to a number of follow-up projects, for instance the foundation of a tree group and building a new sports gym. According to the preliminary conclusion of the project's report, the children and adolescents seem to have acquired a new political strategy: “In fact, the students do not only react to incidences – they proactively cause change.”

Nevertheless, the project's report does not lack reflection or tell a repugnant success story. Moreover, the involvement's impacts on everyday school life are openly presented: “However, this campaign has a direct impact on the school: lessons are not held and the school is more or less paralyzed.” Frustrating experiences in the course of the involvement as well as even threatening emotional dynamics are also described: “The following action deeply shocks these children: while screaming and crying, they have to watch how the chestnut tree is being cut down in no time at all in despair. [...] Other children and teenagers join the 5th graders at the building site; the workers leave in a hurry. The children become furious.” In addition, loss of trust and a lack of understanding of the students for the politicians' action are intensively displayed. However, determining which impact these experiences have on the students' process of learning democracy is left to the reader. The project's report does not explain the relationship between morality and justice: “It is crap to cut down a healthy tree,” says Jeanette, 6th grader. “I didn't understand that. This man, who was sent to us today, couldn't even explain it. He always referred to the law.” “We notice” – write Florian and Michael (13 years old) in a school's brochure – “that the officials failed when they approved to the cutting down of the tree. Moreover, we claim that we cannot trust the so-called Greenies and Departments of Environmental Affairs. Even the Mayor, who we informed, did anything to prevent the tree to be cut down.”

It is unusual in citizenship education that a single school project is

discussed in such an intensive and controversial detail. Since the widely-known *Beutelsbach Consensus*⁴ was founded in 1976, serious controversies, in particular concerning the aims of citizenship education, have not taken place.

The above-mentioned phenomena of crisis in united Germany lead to the situation that *democracy* as a normative reference point in citizenship education was rediscovered and newly discussed within the 1990s. Therefore, a number of educating programs, initiatives and organizations have been founded since then, in order to stop right wing extremism on the one hand and to support learning democracy with children and adolescents on the other.

In 1997, the project *The Chestnut Case* is awarded by the supporting competition *Acting Democratically*. *Acting Democratically* is established as one of the major school competitions in Germany so far. It refers to a number of traditions of pedagogical reforms: projects should develop and strengthen the relationship between democracy and education, from school to polis. Its competitive character could be compared to US programs such as *We the People* of the Center for Civic Education.⁵ In Germany, *Acting Democratically* is not without controversy: Do adults only take advantage of the adolescents' societal and political involvement because of contests? Or, do such awards lead to more recognition of societal and political involvement?

The program is related to a pragmatic learning theory: at school democratic education and practical learning should be intertwined. Students should not only gain knowledge of politics, in fact, they should be able to experience politics and democracy by themselves (see also Beutel, Fauser 2001). These experience-based and action-oriented forms of learning are now established as education for democratic citizenship in Germany. More and more, education for democratic citizenship is promoted to become a generic term for all of those pedagogical tasks that are connected to preserve and renew democracy. In fact, democratic education aims at supporting the adolescents' willingness to participate in our civil society. In the years 2002-2007, the schools development program Learning and Living Democracy [Demokratie leben und lernen⁶], took place in 13 out of 16 German federal states. By this, education for democratic citizenship has provoked the harshest conceptual dispute in civic education since the ideological debates in the 1970s.

4 <http://www.lpb-bw.de/beutelsbacher-konsens.html>

5 www.civiced.org/wethepeople.php

6 www.blk-demokratie.de

Figure 2. Comparison of didactics of politics / education for democratic citizenship [see also Fauser 2007]

Didactics of Politics	Education for Democratic Citizenship
focused on political science	Focused science of pedagogy
subject teaching	Interdisciplinary / school culture / cooperations with extracurricular partners
knowledge-based	ability and empowerment
aimed at state level, at government and at power	aimed at human rights-universalism democracy as a mode of private life, a mode of public life and a mode a power

With regard to this dispute, didactics of politics criticizes that education for democratic citizenship reduces – in terms of thinking democracy theoretically – politics to democracy as a mode of private life. For that reason, adolescents do not learn to make a difference between social, societal, and political involvement. Education for democratic citizenship tries to transfer experiences of harmony within the personal environment on the one hand, and micro-political structures of decision-making to institutionalized politics on the other. This, from a didactical perspective, has to lead to rejecting democracy as the optimal mode of government in the eyes of adolescents. Therefore, they are not able to develop a full understanding of the functions and logics of politics. In fact, political decisions – towards the intention – will be left to so-called elites and no longer to the citizens; this is known as post-democracy which Colin Crouch introduced recently.

In the course of this article, we will recap the case’s controversy regarding subject-related didactics and democratic education. Therefore, we summarize published discussions from Gotthard Breit (University of Magdeburg), Tilman Grammes (University of Hamburg) und Andreas Petrik (University of Halle). This is worth doing: The project The Chestnut Case offers the opportunity to study which different conceptions in terms of citizenship education are currently discussed in Germany.

2 Disenchantment with Politics – Didactics of Politics’ Scepticism

Gotthard Breit (2005a, 54ff) differentiates three levels to which the activities of the project are related. This corresponds to the pragmatic conception that learning democracy is operationalized on the intertwined levels of a mode of private life, mode of public life, and mode of government.

Figure 3. Forms of activities in the project *The Chestnut Case* (Breit 2005a, 55)

School activities	Discussion in ethics lessons; meetings of the students council; documentation in a school's brochure
Political activities	Letters to the property's owner, to the towns administration and to the head of the department for environmental affairs; protection of the tree over the weekend
Social activities	Collecting signatures; creating posters; distribution of flyers; organization of rallies and demonstrations; Information of the media; delivery of petitions

While these school's activities take place the students are able to re-think their activities, develop societal and political actions and judge the course as well as the results of the project. In line with their societal action the students publish their interest on saving the life of the tree and try to enforce this. According to Breit, the protection of the tree by some students illustrates a form of non-violent resistance or civil disobedience. Further, the two-hours long blocking of a main road, which is considered to be illegal, is subsumed under political actions.

In general, Gotthard Breit exposes that German lessons of politics lack societal learning (see JSSE 4-2009⁷). The following will show why the project *The Chestnut Case* is recognized as a reference for learning democracy: It empowers people to think about aims, contents and methods of societal learning. Learning democracy as a mode of public life is supposed to illustrate opportunities of solving conflicts. As a mode of public life, democracy will be a way of living if citizens are able to solve disputes peacefully and end these in a satisfactory way for both sides. Therefore, it is vital to point out in the reflecting phases of the project that a constitutional state enables legal regulations of conflicts. Then, the project might lead to attach students to the following:

- relationship between citizen and administration;
- meaning of society's organization for a life in freedom;
- Basic Law's claim for use of ownership in order to protect common welfare.

On the one hand, there is scepticism of those who favour the position of the didactics of politics focused on the fact that the project does not offer a positive perspective of politics and administration. The meeting with the Vice Mayor as well as with the head of Department for Municipal and Environmental Affairs are responsible for the loss of trust in politics. According to the students' interest, they get the impression of not being adequately supported by the politicians. These experiences might have a negative influence on the adolescents' attitude towards democracy as a form of government.

⁷ <http://www.jsse.org/2009/2009-4>

On the other hand, the adolescents are at first deeply disappointed with the cutting down of the chestnut tree – regardless of their long-term political success. This frustration could have been avoided if the students had had a broader knowledge of politics. In order to assess the events adequately, the adolescents need knowledge of:

- positions of the Basic Law, the German constitution, ownership;
- the tasks and responsibilities of the Vice Mayor and, respectively of the City Council and the city's administration;
- majority principle and representative principle of democracy;
- as well as the citizen's opportunities to participate in politics.

Furthermore, the project's report is considered to be a proof for the politics didactics' thesis to make experiences purely is not sufficient to analyze and judge the incident adequately (Breit 2005b, 53ff). The students do not know their scope of action in which they take action: The investor, for example, had the license to cut down the tree long before the activities started. According to the boundaries of a constitutional state, this cannot be called off easily. Hence, the students judge politics although they are not able to consider all interests, freedom of action, and (legal) compulsion of their opponents. As far as the help of terminologies is concerned, the project's report does not clarify how these experiences could broaden their knowledge and theorize the whole case. Consequently, Breit favors acquisition of knowledge and development of thought patterns.

In terms of didactics of politics it is pointed out: Without the constitutional state, democracy as a mode of government will not be put into practice. The project leads to "the worst result of all efforts of citizenship education:" Facing democracy as a mode of government frustrates, moreover, disenchantment of politics increases. Here, chances and limits of an education for democratic citizenship are openly displayed: The project work offers to make experiences by action; however, it does not give students the chance to reflect on their taken actions. They are "left alone helplessly" and cannot develop their former "desires and visions of democracy". In the end, they get to know current politics as a field "which good democrats will no longer step on."

3 "Micro- and Macro-World" – A Synthesis of Learning Theory, Education for Democratic Citizenship and Categorical Conflict-Based Teaching Methodology in Politics

Andreas Petrik (2010) recaps the different perspectives of didactics of politics and education for democratic citizenship on the project *The Chestnut Case* from a learning theory's point of view.

According to the view of didactics of politics, the students will not be disappointed because politicians fail. Moreover, misinterpretations concerning their ideas of everyday life are the cause of their frustration. In order to overcome this difficulty, teachers of civic education should support their students in defining the heart of the problem in detail firstly. By this,

the conflict's parties' interests and argumentation strategies have to become clear. In addition, it is necessary to be aware of the legal situation in order to think of actions to take. Then, the students are able to proactively take actions themselves. They are able to deeply understand the whole conflict in the so-called circular problem-solving process (circle of politics). This point of view empowers them to grasp the central political categories such as power, interest, justice and decision.

From the perspective of education for democratic citizenship the project shows that enchantment with politics is produced or even enforced by the actions of professional politicians. Therefore, citizenship education should be put from "a political head to democratic feet" (Gerhard Himmelmann). Tensions between principles of democracy and political reality always have to be kept in mind. According to the project's report the true success of the students is not seen in their way of deep thinking about democracy as a mode of government; in fact, it is rewarded that they campaign for democratic public – democracy as a mode of public life – and for their own school – democracy as a mode of private life. Instable democracy has to be consolidated at its basis in a continuous and deliberative way – especially at school as an "embryonic society" (John Dewey). Therefore, the follow-up project by students to build a school's garden could contribute to stabilize inner democracy. This garden has been founded by the involvement of civil society and represents the elements of societal and ecological responsibility. Furthermore, the students' involvement caused a public and ecological re-thinking in Weimar.

The criticism of education for democratic citizenship on the former concept of categorial civic education lessons (see Engelhardt 1964; Leps 2010-8⁸) aims at the term-based analysis of macro-political cases which students consider to be too abstract. The Dilemma of the above-mentioned lesson principle seems to be that complex categories should mirror complex reality which on its own needs to be cleared up elementary. Moreover, the analysis of unrealistic political conflicts lacks a connection to the students' value orientation and their theories of everyday life. That is why a cognitive analysis needs to have a propaedeutic experimental phase of its own democratic actions in a micro-political environment first. Experiences of self-efficacy by taking actions in a micro-political environment should encourage and empower students to long-term political involvement.

In fact, Andreas Petrik criticizes that an education for democratic citizenship refers to the individual and his or her societal experiences. However, the approach frequently operates with a harmonic picture of a consensus-based everyday reality in democratic questions. This cannot be compared to the character of politics itself. Therefore, the project does not show if all students solely thought of saving the life of the chestnut tree is equally important as the economic interests of the investor and the town. Projects, initiated by a personal indignation, might develop a negative group dynamics. This could prevent controversy and forming an opinion.

Societal conflicts in a personal environment such as *The Chestnut Case* could offer worth access to politics. In this micro-world, theoretical approaches to politics, in particular in terms of distribution of power and wealth, can be personally experienced, or, at least become manageable.

⁸ <http://www.jsse.org/2010/2010-3/engelhardt-en-jsse-3-2010> und <http://www.jsse.org/2010/2010-3/leps-en-jesse-3-2010>

Concerning democracy as a mode of private life there could arise misinterpretations or difficulties to act adequately. These could lead students to look after elementary democratic principles and processes – autonomously or with the help of their teachers. However, *The Chestnut Case* shows: If we miss one of the phases of the political analysis, then complexity of democratic processes and institutions can remain frustratingly vague.

Summarized from a learning theory's perspective it can be concluded that didactics of politics as well as an education for democratic citizenship have not found sufficient answers to the transfer-problem from micro- to macro-world. Andreas Petrik favors therefore a didactical synthesis between an education for democratic citizenship on the one hand and categorial conflict-based teaching methodology in politics on the other. This synthesis is brought to reality by the conception of a “genetic didactics of politics”, which is oriented on “elementary phenomena” (Eduard Spranger; see Petrik 2011; Petrik 2004).

4 “Deliberation and Governance” – A Criteria-Based Societal-Scientific Analysis

A criteria-based analysis of the project could be referred to the regulative ideas of the *Beutelsbach Consensus*. By its three guidelines, it has established an ethical background for pedagogic actions, which does not only affect citizenship education: Prohibition against Overwhelming the Pupil, Treating Controversial Subjects as Controversial and Giving Weight to the Personal Interests of Pupils.

In 2005, the so-called Magdeburg Manifest of the Education for Democratic Citizenship⁹ was founded. This manifest contains a criteria collection of proficiency concerning the education for democratic citizenship.¹⁰

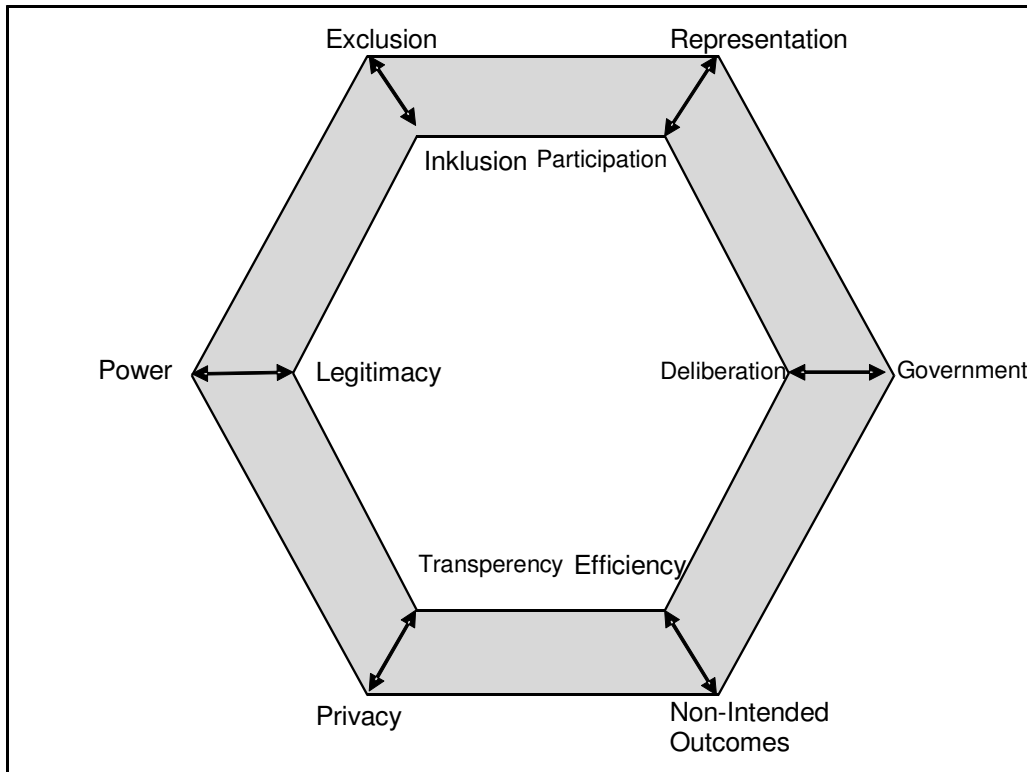
“The democratic way is political- and pedagogical-wise based on a common and shared intention to include all affected people (inclusion and participation), to enable a balanced and on the principle of justice oriented practice of decision-making (deliberation), to adopt appropriate and economical ways and means (efficiency), to bring the case to public (transparency) and to ensure critical examination of acting and to ensure that institutions are based on the guidelines of justice and morality (legitimation).”

This collection of criteria points out that an education for democratic citizenship is mainly based on participatory and deliberative theories of democracy. From the didactics of politics point of view it is criticized that parliamentary-representative theories of democracy are ignored. Tilman Grammes suggests a “dialectic-polar” formulation of the above-mentioned criteria.

9 <http://degede.de/fileadmin/DeGeDe/Grundlagen/magdeburgermanifest.pdf>

10 In order to measure democracy, political-scientific and empirical-comparative research use similar criteria.

Figure 4. Criteria of Proficiency Concerning the Education for Democratic Citizenship [Grammes 2010]



These criteria help to judge the quality of acting in the means of democratic citizenship. For instance, this is explained by the categories “deliberation and government.”

Concerning the intertwined institutions in a democracy, the tensions of involvement and reflexion of educational projects are systematically solved. This is illustrated by comparing the project *The Chestnut Case* with a prominent project model: the German adaptation of the American curriculum *We the People* of the Center for Civic Education (Koopmann 2005). Young people adapt roles of little social scientists who explore local political problems in ten steps.

Figure 5. Project phases “Active Citizens” / “We the People”

Project active citizens: phases	content / challenges
1	collect problems
2	chose a project [cooperative planning]
3	collect information
4	check different ways of solution
5	develop one way of solution
6	compile an action plan
7	prepare an exhibition
8	present an exhibition
9	start to solve the problem
10	reflect experiences [meta-phase of learning]

Following these phases step by step, the students are on the line, they take even “natural” steps of learning according to, for instance, typical phases of a political problem-solving process (circle of politics).

Idealistically, the ten steps of the project *Active Citizens* can be divided into two phases: a legislative phase – steps 1-2 – and an executive phase – steps 3-10. By this, phases 2 and 4 are the important, neuralgic gateways:

a) legislative modus / forming the political will (steps 1-2): In order to define the formation of a political will at the gateway of politics and education it describes the inner state of a person as well as the outer state of the community. After a spontaneous start of the project, “defining a problem” (2nd phase) means to pause for a moment. The students will form their political will,

- whether respectively, which of the different alternative topics of the project is discussed first. Does the chestnut tree even appear on the agenda?

- Do we really want to advocate the tree?

At first, the involvement of the project *The Chestnut Case* starts coincidentally. In the beginning, the students do not carry out a planned project according to project theory. In the course of the project, purposeful planning phases with strategic debates develop. Alternatively, one group could have opted for building houses. Should there be two parallel projects competing with each other? Is that feasible? However, the majority must not suppress the minority. Therefore, Prohibition *Against Overwhelming The Pupil And The Principle Of Opposition* has to be obligatory in models of learning democratic citizenship.

b) Executive modus / governance (steps 3-10): the group of learners decides on a problem and the basic way of coping with it. The project moves on from the legislative to the executive modus. Now, it is important to find a smart way of handling the problem: How should we manage the project, how should we implement policy? Even in the executive modus there are

deliberative phases. Therefore, the fourth step is to analyze other solutions before the fifth step “to develop an approach” and an action plan is taken.

By this, we can ensure a logical process which contains controversial debates (deliberation) and determined action-taking (governance) in order to meet a realistic political form.

On the contrary, the didactics of politics is not able to point out this difference on the project *The Chestnut Case*. The project’s report starts after the political will seem to have already been formed. The project takes place in the executive modus and therefore lacks controversy – for good reason.

By the constant oscillation of debating and governing, projects are able to offer an experience to explore a sophisticated model of citizenship. According to Richard Rorty, this is described as the so-called *liberal ironist*: she is able to become attached to a community project (“govern”) and, at the same time, to accept its contingency and grounded relativism (“debate”). Concerning this model of citizenship, all principles of the *Beutelsbach Consensus* – treating controversial subjects as controversial and giving weight to the personal interests of pupils – are brought into a polar and energetic relationship.

The criteria-based conclusion: The project *The Chestnut Case* is a reference project in terms of education for democratic citizenship, because it states an example of governance and deliberation. This can be found in other curricular examples and lesson reports, too. In terms of didactic decisions, it is not a question of “if” or “if not”. However, didactics of politics and education for democratic citizenship seem to focus on this controversy too often. In fact, it is more a question of time, the right moment and the pedagogical tact.

5 The Project *The Chestnut Case* in Professional Education of Teachers

According to our experience, the confrontation with this project in teachers’ professional education and university seminars reveal three ways of reaction and types of teachers:

The *activists* become euphoric concerning the project. It is appreciated as a prototype of societal and ecological involvement of students. They oppose to categorial and institution-based teaching; it is supposed to be boring and outmoded. The project *The Chestnut Case* is seen as a prototype to educate students to active citizens. From a normative point of view, the subjective feeling of injustice legitimates all pedagogic action-taking.

The *carers* fear legal consequences concerning the form of action taking of the project – in particular the blocking of the road. Due to the fiduciary duty teachers are afraid of facing possible legal consequences. In their eyes it is an unreasonable demand for the students that they have to experience failure and frustration. Projects that are aimed at the public and intend societal and political change are overwhelming and dangerous. Instead of true experiences these teachers prefer activity-oriented methods within a protected environment and within school. Their normative point of reference

is the “adult as a role model” who helps the younger generation growing up “wisely.”

The *supportive of the state* criticize the school’s civil disobedience. They condemn that students and teachers do not accept the legitimized decisions that have been reached by legal action of the state. This supports the thesis of the didactics of politics to provoke enchantment with politics. Furthermore, this group refuses group dynamics and emotions in political learning processes because of the memory of psychological phenomena of the masses in the past. They prefer a rational examination of the system of institution and its “legitimation by proceeding action” (Niklas Luhmann). Their normative point of reference is asserted law and the political system.

The project *The Chestnut Case* might provoke an either-or-debate at university and in further education for teachers. Then, teachers and students might discuss the following questions:

- Which political pattern of thinking and which idea of proficiency is mine / our pedagogic acting based on (teacher’s personality)?
- Which objectives do I try to achieve: Should citizenship education ensure the status quo of a democratic constitutional state? And /or should it enable “democratic experimentalism” (Hauke Brunkhorst) by participation? What is democracy and how does it take place?

Different theoretical conceptions of democracy could be worked on; in particular the relationship between representation and participation. The project condemns antinomy of legitimation and emancipation within political education processes (see also a project’s analysis in Welniak 2011).

A detailed analysis asks in which relationship experience, action and empowerment as well as knowledge are referred to each other in the course of the project – rhythm, pedagogic tact. The project allows taking the obligatory “bridging problem” – which is typical of political education processes – into account: How could experiences of the surrounding micro-world, i.e. of democracy as a way of living, support students in learning to understand the political macro-world, i.e. democracy as mode of public life and a mode of government? In addition, the project challenges how experiences can be systematically and term-based reflected in action-oriented forms of learning (education). The above-mentioned criteria of didactics of politics and education for democratic citizenship (*Beutelsbach Consensus, Magdeburg Manifest*) may contribute to structure, to give content-wise cooperative advice and to allow ambivalences in diagnostics. By this, everyone’s own pedagogical practice can be continuously reflected.

6 Conclusion

In fact, the project’s report does not tell any superficial success story – styled for being awarded in a contest. On the contrary, it describes chaotic beginnings, wrong paths and students’ disappointments, too. For that reason, it enables this constructive professional controversy, which we have illustrated. The latter demonstrates how beneficial detailed didactic analysis of forms of democratic citizenship education can be.

In the eyes of education for democratic citizenship, creativity could completely revitalize forms and basic figures of political-societal education in Germany and could also enrich these with new developments (see also the database of the school's development program Learning and Living democracy for more material¹¹). It is also oriented in particular on Anglo-American visions of a "Civic Education" (see Sliwka 2008).

In conclusion, we want to emphasize the importance of pausing for a moment within and after an "action"- like the students did during their project. The development of new forms of teaching and project ideas needs to be guided by criteria-oriented and learning theory's reflexions as well as comparative curriculum's analyses. For instance, the above-mentioned project database *Acting Democratically*¹² is a valuable treasure chest of pedagogic and political creativity. However, its systematic, education-scientific and didactic evaluation is still to be completed. In sum, what do we achieve why, with whom, how and where?

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¹¹ <http://blk-demokratie.de/index.php?id=82>

¹² <http://www.demokratisch-handeln.de/dh-data/index.php>

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Liu Changqing

Chinese Democracy Ideal and Reality Revealed in *Please Vote for Me*

Please Vote for Me is a film produced in China, but provoking hot discussion all over the world. Because bare-knuckled threats, outright lies, well-placed bribes, and well-resourced lobbyists happen among eight-year-olds without a savvy politician's script. To any Chinese, this is the best material to review Chinese democracy. However, electoral politics is the system, but not the democracy itself. Similarly, the Chinese Electoral Law is the foundation of the Chinese political system, which does not mean democracy in reality. Therefore, it can be reviewed and adjusted to be more suitable for a better democracy.

Keywords

Democracy, election, electoral system, *Please Vote for Me*, documentary, democratic awareness, political reform

1 Introduction

According to the majority of westerns, most of the Chinese are still wondering whether democracy is a universal value that suits human nature or elections lead inevitably to manipulation. China has never had national elections. But democratic processes have been tried on the local level, mainly in the countryside.¹ Sometimes even pop idols are voted in this way.² Because the economic changes occurred first in the countryside, many speculate that this is the Chinese government's way of instating gradual political change. The purpose of the director Weijun Chen³ has conducted an experiment in election; attempting to find what democracy would be like if it came to China.

The film *Please Vote for Me* was produced in Wuhan, China, which is a big and modern city, just a little inferior to Shanghai in terms of economics. Third-graders at Evergreen Primary School first encounter democracy by electing a class monitor.⁴ Eight-year-olds compete against each other for

¹ Chinese Grassroots democracy is a tendency towards designing political processes where as much decision-making authority as practical is shifted to the organization's lowest geographic level of organization. See Grassroots Democracy Taking Roots in Rural China.

² For details see Super Voice Girls' challenges China's TV culture: http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/english/doc/2005-08/12/content_468543.htm; Super Girl (contest): [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Super_Girl_\(contest\)](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Super_Girl_(contest))

³ Weijun Chen is a documentary director and producer living in Wuhan, China. After graduating from the journalism program at Sichuan University in 1992, he joined the documentary production department of the Wuhan regional TV station. His first film *My Life is My Philosophy* was nominated for the best documentary of the year by the Chinese National Association of Broadcasters. In 2003, he completed *To Live is Better Than to Die*, which was awarded a Peabody and Grierson award, as well as the Rudolf Vrba Award at the One World Festival. Major works: *Law of the Dragon* (2011), *The Biggest Chinese Restaurant in the World* (2008), *Please Vote for Me* (2007), *To Live is Better than to Die* (2003). For details see <http://pleasevoteforme.org/director.html>.

⁴ In Asian countries, every class has a class monitor, whose duties are to help keep fellow students in line during the school day, help teacher maintain a neat and organized classroom and assist the teacher with special projects, help create a class telephone and email list and may use an attendance list to take daily attendance. Most important of all, class monitor help the teacher to promote discipline and peace in the classroom, who may be given the power to send students to the principal, to detention or to another authority within

the coveted position, abetted and egged on by teachers and doting parents. It is supposed to mirror urban Chinese society in a school, its children and families. The film has been selected as a part of the “*Why Democracy?*”⁵ project which interprets democracy by 10 films from around the world and which broadcasted on 42 television networks to an audience of more than 300 million all over the world in 2007. The film also got the top prize on 2007 Silverdocs Documentary Film Festival. The festival's director, Patricia Finneran, said “the prize went to a nail-biting political drama...about 7-year-olds.” “It's a film about the idea of democracy, and a window into modern China, It's also about the shady politicking that goes on with third-graders”(Hesse 2007).

2 Content of the Film

The film's director Weijun Chen asks a wiggly eight-year-old: “What is democracy?”. No reply. “What is a vote?” – the next little girl squirms instead of answering. The film begins with these two questions and then the class teacher, Mrs. Zhang, writes the word “democracy” on the blackboard on the first day of the semester, and says: “Democracy. Isn't this new? You will choose your own class monitor.” Then she tells the class the three candidates who are selected by teachers' close-door discussion: a tough and skinny boy Luo Lei with a reputation as a classroom leader and bully; another boy – Cheng Cheng, who is somewhat pudgy and aggressively political in nature, seems to plan out every step he takes, and is constantly gauging his own support; the third candidate is a shy, well-behaved but ambitious little girl named Xia Fei whose single mother is a teacher at this school.

The election process involves song-and-dance talent show, class planning and a healthy dose of tear-shedding. There are lies, betrayal, and bribery, parents even arrange field trips for the class in order to win votes. Support is bought and sold. Assistants change sides. The candidates criticize one another for eating too slowly, being picky, and not paying sufficient attention in class. Most striking are those dialogues between the candidates and their parents which lead up to the election. They speak truths about the nature of freedom and liberty. They grasp the idea of liberty as something inborn. One of the candidates Cheng Cheng gets home and asks his father: “What kind of thing is democracy?” His father's response is concise, but powerful: “Democracy is when people are their own masters.” The second candidate, Luo Lei, is shown describing the election process to his parents, who are both police officers, and surprisingly, they attempt to brainstorm for ways to coerce the other classmates into voting for him. The father says:

school when students misbehave.

In Chinese primary schools, power is wielded by the class monitor, whose authority over his peers is almost absolute. Usually the one with good academic performances and capable student can be appointed by teachers as class monitor. Sometimes class monitors may volunteer for the position or may be elected. The term *class monitor* is used primarily in Asia and in a number of European countries. Schools in the United States prefer the term *hall monitor* which is primarily used to ensure that students arrive safely at their class.

⁵ *Why Democracy?* is a documentary project using film to start a global conversation about democracy. In October 2007, ten one-hour films focused on contemporary democracy were broadcast in the world's largest ever factual media event. More than 48 broadcasters on all continents participated, airing the films in over 180 countries. That is not all. 17 thought-provoking short films deal with personal, political and legal issues around the theme “What does democracy mean to me?”. Their ambitions have extended well beyond the broadcast media. In a groundbreaking collaboration *Why Democracy?* has teamed up with Metro Newspapers worldwide to ask everyone – from political leaders to athletes, celebrities to religious figures – 10 questions about democracy. The answers appear online, in the press and in a collection of short films. For details see <http://www.whydemocracy.net/>

“You must have a trick. Luo is adamant in rejecting such help. His father says: “You need some tricks to let you win.” Luo responds with: “No! I don't want to control others. I think they should think for themselves.” In the course of the election campaign Luo even want to give up because the campaign is not like what he thought before, of course the other candidates spread the news in great pleasure. At last Lou had to listen to his parents who arrange field trip for the class and give a powerful speech at the final secession. The film ends with class's cheer about Luo's winning and the other two candidates weeping.

3 Typical Comments All Over the World

The film has been on show all over the world, and also got rewarded various times. Why does this film attract so many people's attention all over the world? Actually, it is hard to find the reason in academic research, but it is easy to find it in the audiences' blogs. So, I have searched in “The Internet Movie Database” (IMDb) comments from the audiences' blogs all over the world, from democracy point of view, to help you to understand this film and learn something about Chinese democratic ideal and reality.

- “They may require the candidate to make commitment to ask teachers to reduce the homework load, call for the improvement of school meals, etc, if the students know their votes actually have so much power, by which they can participate in the improvement and management of classes, the democratic power of democracy have been explored and everyone will seriously consider which one to choose. However, why children do not realize these rights? Because no one knows the magic of democracy so much, the shadow of a dictator has been around, that person is the teacher. Teachers directly selected three candidates, then let you play with democracy, when the election is over, the teacher also regain the power...” (Web nickname: Lost in the Summer Wild, 2008, China).

- “Drawbacks of democracy can be improved in many ways, such as raising citizens' knowledge standard, which can be achieved from the universal of education. Technology also can be applied to increase transparency, reduce the spreading rumors. Monitoring mechanism can be set up, so improper means cannot succeed. We may disappoint at democracy, but we must not give up” (Weiwen Li, Taiwan, 2010, China).

- “Promoting democratic politics is the task that Chinese government and people have been doing currently. But everything must have a process, which can't be achieved overnight. To achieve the ideal democratic society, generations or even dozens of generations' effort should be taken. But I think that the most fundamental is to train democratic awareness and cultivate spirit of democracy of our next generation constantly. But things do not turn out the way you want; sometimes it's off the trail of democracy. The film is one of the examples, which should provoke our whole society to think

deeply” (Web nickname: sea fish 110, 2011, China).⁶

- “The campaigning spirit of the students is often negative, in fact, and they are continuously trying to generate a mob atmosphere that will ride their opponent out of town on a rail, so to speak. In fact, you have to wonder if Chinese censors might not approve of Please Vote for Me – the director, Weijun Chen, seems to have found his financing in South Africa – since it could be construed as casting the democratic process in a negative light. Turning people against each other and letting them tear each other apart for raw personal gain is corrupting to the spirit and to the community, you can imagine them saying, and after watching this film, you might agree with them” (Ryan Stewart, 2007, America).

- “After finishing watching this just now, my first thought was "who produced this?" was it the Chinese government tries to show democracy as a bad/flawed idea, or pro-westerners trying to say "yeah man, you DO need democracy now!"... It is a surprisingly honest and intimate documentary; quite cleanly played out (not editorialized). Just like in most elections, the good guy you hope and would really love to see win; gets done over by the political machinations of the more cut-throat dodgier candidate as is sadly too often the case in real world politics” (Billy Corgan, 2007, Australia).

- “The document was filmed in my hometown... Chinese people never enjoyed the true democracy since 1949, and the school system we are having just reflects the real society. This class monitor thing is just another part in the dictatorship hierarchy, teachers picked the kids they like to monitor other classmates, and cool kids like me never really care who will be the guy to monitor us because we will fight the stupid system anyway. Why bother to introduce a democratic system to elect a little dictator anyway. Kids are so keen to get the job because the power it represents. Parents are so keen to help their kids to win because they know it will give them bonus at the time they graduate. For teachers, I have no idea, might be just extra fun at work... so anyway. China is never short of voting system, the problem is the government never wants people to understand the true democracy. I have the feeling that the director probably shares a similar feeling to me, which is sort of disappointment about these younger generation, which made me sad. By the way, I was elected as class monitor once in a quite similar way, but teacher refused to accept the result simply because he didn't like me and chose another kid. He said to us about his decision, "I trust you guys and give you the democratic rights, but look at the guy you chose, you are abusing your rights..." (Anonymous, 2008, Australian-Chinese).

- “This is the most fascinating documentary I've seen in a long time. The

⁶ <http://www.asianreporter.com/film/2007/42-07pleasevote.htm>

subject matter may sound stale, but the action, drama and raw emotions are fresh and real. It's less a story of the baser elements of democracy and/or the human spirit, as some reviewers superficially assert, as it is about how parents affect their children. For all the benefits of parental involvement in their children's academic and emotion success, this film make you stop and question yourself as a parent” (Barry, 2008, Thailand).

- “While *Please Vote for Me* has an interesting subject and an interesting way to look at it, being a part of the “Why Democracy?” series, it fails to make a point about democracy, while only seeming to” (Yimzyidz, 2009, Turkey).

- “But I was greatly encouraged by this film. It seems like we see our rights threatened every day. All that ‘shall not be infringed’ is infringed upon constantly. Our government takes what it wants, and speech is increasingly less free. As government continues to seize civil liberties, we witness the death throes of the republic. America would do well to remember the two truths found in this film:

Democracy is when people rule themselves. Not “the people,” but individuals.

Being an elected official does not grant the right to control others; we all retain the right to manage our own affairs” (Stefano R. Mugnaini, 2011, America).

4 Election Reality Reflected in the Film

In 1953, just few years after the foundation of Peoples Republic for China, Electoral Law was issued and put into practice. It was revised frequently later in 1979, 1982, 1985 and 2004. In 2009, the draft amendment to the Electoral Law⁷ was set and has been used until today. Although this is a film arranged by the director, it reveals the election reality in some kind. Let's explain step by step according to the provision of the Electoral Law.

4.1 Problems in Selecting, Deciding and Introducing the Candidates

Selecting, deciding and introducing of the candidates are one of the most important procedures in election. Moreover, it is the foundation of fair election. Although Chinese Electoral Law has some procedure about this, the articles are not so clear and sufficient. Thus, in some election, when selecting, deciding and introducing the candidates, disorder situation appeared with regard to the following aspects:

- first, with regard to internal decision, some candidates are not selected

7 The Chinese Electoral Law was first enacted in 1953, revised in 1979, and it has been amended four times since then. But people still think the improvements are too slowly. For example, the electing deputies to people's congresses are still based on different population ratio in urban and rural areas. Until the Seventeenth National Congress of the Communist Party of China (CPC) in October 2007, which was proposed to firmly develop socialist democratic politics, expand the people's democracy, and ensure the people are the masters of the country. It was suggested that the goal should be gradually achieved that electing deputies to people's congresses be based on the same population ratio in urban and rural areas. For details see “Explanation on draft amendment to electoral law” (http://www.china.org.cn/china/NPC_CPPCC_2010/2010-03/08/content_19554098.htm).

according to the procedure of the Electoral Law but are appointed by the superiors. According to the film, three candidates are selected by the teachers' secret consultations. The fact that Luo Lei is the former class monitor and Xu Xiaofei's mother is a teacher play maybe a decisive role in the teacher's consultation;

- second, with regard to the qualifications of the candidate, in the Chinese Electoral Law there are no strict restrictions for candidates, especially in terms of their profession. Thus, in reality, there are a lot of government officials who have influence and power to get into the deputy to the National People's Congress, the ratio is as high as 70% (张若渔, Ruoyu 2007, 32), as it is also reflected in the film. Apparently, the former class monitor is selected as a candidate;

- last but not least, with regard to the introduction of the candidates, the Chinese Electoral Law has only few words about the introduction of the candidates, hence, in a real election, most of the introductions only confine to curriculum vitae, even in some electoral district, the procedure of introduction is missing, similarly as in the film. People know seldom about the candidate, as a result, secret ballot and political indifferences can be observed.

4.2 Voters' Blindness and Ignorance

Voters are the subject of the election who will have an important direct impact on the election. After more than 30 years of opening-up, Chinese citizens' sense of democracy and participation has improved a lot. However, there are little improvements in certain areas and cities. In rural areas, voters' blindness and ignorance are still prevailing. This is shown when the director asks students in the canteen: "Who do you want to vote?" Some of the students answer: "Nobody;" others say: "I don't know." According to a survey in Zhejiang Province China in 2010, 37.12% voters know nothing about candidates and only 36.4% people in Zhejiang province have experiences of voting (林龙, Lin Long, 2010). In my opinion, voters' blindness and ignorance in politics can be explained by two factors:

- first, political reforms develop slowly. This has a direct impact on most Chinese citizens because they only know the meaning and effect of elections superficially;

- second, the election working group does not introduce the candidate. Therefore, voters know little about a particular candidate and his aims, attitudes, and opinion (周宁宁, Ningning 2007, 22).

4.3 Power Intervention

There are power interventions in Chinese grassroots election. As soon as the elected are voted, power can get involved into the whole procedure of electing, hoping to affect voters and let the expected candidate win. In the film, those parents who intervene in the elections, who teach the students to

be scheming, to defame others, or to bribe. The point is that parents' wisdom helps the candidate to win. With the perfection of Chinese electing system, power intervention phenomenon has been transformed, which becomes indirect and obscure.

4.3 Bribery

Another drawback in Chinese elections is bribery. Bribery and democratic politics goes hand in hand, which is a by-product of democratic politics: where there is election there is bribery. A bribery scandal prevails all over the world today. China's amended electoral law defines bribery as follows: "with money or materials to buy the election staff or voters to get votes or to change the election results" (郑明怀, Minghuai Zheng 2009, 33). Bribery also happens in the film and plays a decisive role in the election. Bribery politics happens in China frequently which results from:

- first, from the perspective of bribers, marketing economy – somebody maximizes benefits unscrupulously and distorts their sense of political participation. Bribery is only one of the forms;
- second, from the perspective of bribee, they are usually satisfied with little interests just because of the inferior sense of democracy, sheer ignorance of the importance of the ballot, huge income gap between themselves and others;
- finally, with regard to the election environment, China has an imperfect law system with a lack of supervision and provides only weak punishment for bribery (陶相根、潘福宽, Xianggen, Fukuan 2010, 27-28).

5 Suggestions for Improving Contemporary Election

5.1 Standardize Candidates' Nomination, Determination and Introduction

I think the improvement can be carried out from the following aspects:

- first of all, it is necessary to select candidates according to the existing electoral law and intensify supervision of the procedure to ensure a fair and open nomination of candidates;
- second, a pre-elect mechanism should be introduced gradually to replace selectively the way of pre-negotiated candidates;
- third, the principle of non-compatible profession qualification⁸ should be introduced into Chinese election. According to the film, they can establish the class rules, former class monitor have no right to participate again;
- finally, it is important to pay special attention to the introduction of the candidates, because this is the unique opportunity for candidates to

⁸ In some Chinese government offices, if you're an office leader, you can't work as the next candidate at the same time. We called it the principle of non-compatible profession qualification.

promote their ideas and show their ability. For voters it is also an important way to learn and distinguish candidates. Apparently, a Curriculum vitae is not the only way for the improvement; moreover press, network, new media, even a face-to-face communication are excellent ways to get to know candidates.

5.2 Improve Voters' Democratic Awareness by Education

In the film, students do not know what the ballot means to them; in fact, they do not know which class monitor means what to them, so they can be easily manipulated by the political tactics which are mainly planned by the candidates' parents. As a result, education should be responsible for improving the citizens' democratic awareness. Western successful political and citizenship education experiences are worth studying by contemporary school teachers (陈慰, Wei 2009, 75-76). Another reason for the weakness of citizens' democratic awareness might be the low standard of Chinese economic development. In some rural areas, farmers tend to be attracted by small favors, and lose their standpoint in a critical moment. Therefore, only by economic development and incomes improvement, the effective operation of the election can be ensured.

5.3 Competitive Mechanism Should Be Obligatory

Competitive elections are helpful to make the electoral process fair and transparent. The debate between the candidates can be the climax of the entire election campaign in the film, which exposes all aspects of the candidates to the voters. In fact, candidates seldom get in touch with voters; most of the election is blind election (蒋明华, Minghua 2005, 77). The enthusiastic participation of the voters in elections has decreased. At the beginning of the competition during election candidates are forced to maximize their advantages. This is done by attacking each other and exposing shortcomings. Afterwards, the public gains a more comprehensive understanding of the candidate. The intensity of the campaign determines the brightness of the eyes of voters because the more intense the competition is the more the voters will know who to select.

In addition, the campaign gives the election a sense of entertainment to some extent, which will no doubt attract the attention of the public, and will raise a public awareness of participation. The broader the social base is the easier the realization of democracy.

5.4 Intensify Supervision

There is no supervision in the film. Parents teach little students tricks regardless of the camera is filming or not. Even one of the candidates instructs the director to go back and privately query that student again to see if she was only expressing support because she was intimidated by his

presence. If only some teachers or students representatives from another class follow the election campaign, who have the veto power or admonition rights, things will be on the right track. Therefore, if an electoral process without supervision, the election should be an imperfect one. The outcome of the election must go astray.

5.4 Strictly Enforce the Illegal Sanctions

At the end of the film, students cheer to the victory of Lou lei with Luo's gifts still on the desk. The whole procedure of voting takes place without supervision by professional citizenship teachers, e.g and even worse, nobody realize it. In current Chinese Electoral Law, only three articles sanction false elections. This generally lacks procedural requirements, this is not enough elaborated and also it is not easy to install supervision in election (陶相根、潘福宽, Xianggen, Fukuan 2010, 28-29).

6 Conclusion

As a matter of fact, it is difficult to find what is meant by democracy in *Please Vote for Me*. However, we should not take it so serious and draw too ambitious conclusions about Chinese democracy, because the democratic experiment showed in the film does not mirror true elements of current political life. The Chinese have been debating so much about democracy, and in too many cases, we are not entirely clear what we are talking about. Because Chinese have never experienced real democracy in public life after the foundation of new China, they lack of comprehensive knowledge and understanding of foreign democratic theory and practice. However, because the Chinese have had a discourse on that, the exotic democracy's richness has been deconstructed or deviated. In fact, most of us do not know what democracy is, what functions and objectives democracy has, and what the external conditions to run a democratic system are. I do not know how these parents gain the democratic state so quickly. Although we have all only a basic knowledge about real democracy, we cannot blame them for picking up Western democratic shortcomings easily; perhaps they hear too much western so-called hypocrisy of democracy.⁹ When taking up democratic weapons, they still don't know how to fire, take the false democracy as real one.

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⁹ For details see Keane "Hypocrisy and Democracy"
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Tilman Grammes

Selected Review: Citizenship Education and Social Studies in Japan: A Short Guide to Recent Articles and Books for *gaijin* (Foreigners)

Japanese society looks back into a long and specific tradition of citizenship education which reaches far beyond the US re-education policy after World War II. The countries' culture of teaching and learning has been globally admired (Rappleye 2007) and Japanese society is often referred to as a "learning society" where not only schools are regarded as micro-communities of learning.¹ Okano (2011, 183) points out that "learning has been central to the evolution of what is now called Japanese civilization." But in contrast to the "Japan as a unique society" narrative, this concept always evolved "through interaction with and drawing heavily from what the Japanese considered superior civilizations – first China and later the West. In this context, 'catching up' was an imperative and a constant theme. Cultural borrowing was followed by domestication or indigenization of imported knowledge and skills, and the bridging of the local knowledge to a wider audience." (Okano 2011, 183) Nowadays, Japan has become a multicultural society and the construct of "Japaneseness" is no longer self-evident (Nishino 2010; Tsuneyoshi 2007²). Hence, in comparative education the Japanese case shows "distinct 'comparative advantages'" for social science research (Kariya 2011, 284³) and the countries' educational system has been constantly monitored by comparative educational researchers from inside as well as from outside – the so called *gaijin* (foreigners).⁴

The following annotations may serve as a guide to current releases that introduce the concept of citizenship in Japan to an international audience. Finally, three further research topics in comparative citizenship education could be highlighted.

1 Often cited here is the habitus of "Kaizen," the relentless quest for continual improvement and higher-quality performance in the innovation culture of companies, discussed in entrepreneurship or intrapreneurship education and vocational training (Bromann 2010; Dobashi 2011).

2 Tsuneyoshi (2007) analyzes how "foreigners" are portrayed in two versions of the best-selling elementary social studies textbook: "How 'foreigners' are portrayed, reflects how non-foreigners, in other words 'Japanese', are understood. The study categorized the sections containing key terms and themes that were relevant to foreign/foreigners. Based on a content analysis, the results were broken down into 8 themes (plus 'Other'), and their patterns were analyzed. The major findings were that (1) despite the image of Japanese as having a monocultural image of themselves, the image of ethnic Japanese and Japanese society in the textbooks was actually very diverse in terms of region, climate, landscape, occupation, etc.; (2) images of coexistence were also present, but the objects of coexistence were dominantly of two kinds – first, the coexistence of Japanese with nature, and second, the coexistence of Japan with foreign countries through trade; and (3) in cases that the 'foreigners' did appear in the textbooks, the image shifted according to the context discussed, and there was a missing link between the different meanings. In other words, when the context was concerned with contemporary Japan (3rd-5th grade), 'foreigners' were portrayed as visitors who came and left, and the key concept used was 'internationalization.' When 'foreigners' were discussed historically (first half of 6th grade) or in relation to welfare, peace, human rights and discrimination, they were assumed to be the permanently residing foreigners in Japan (the Koreans and Chinese in Japan). The article analyzes the implications these findings have for a more multicultural and pluralistic Japanese self-image" (Tsuneyoshi 2007, abstract taken from ERIC database).

3 Kariya (2011, 284), far beyond from reproducing *Nihonjiron* stereotypes of unique Japaneseness, compares the Japanese example to the role of Galapagos islands in biology: "As the Galapagos Islands once preserved and provided ample living specimens of peculiar species that helped developed research surrounding evolution in biology, so Japan, with its rich self-portraits and specimens of hybridized modernization, is also crucially important for data collection vis-à-vis research surrounding modernity throughout the social sciences." A historic example for the struggle for mutual understanding is the Dewey experience in Japan (Rappleye 2012).

4 For an early example see Nagai 1979.

1) Zhao, Yong et.al. 2011. *Handbook of Asian Education. A Cultural Perspective*. New York, London: Routledge. (Section II on Japanese Education, 181-316).

The most recent source is the Routledge “Handbook of Asian Education” (2011). Besides Japanese education it includes extensive sections on Sinic education, Islamic education, Buddhist education as well as Hindu education. The section on Japanese education comprises chapters such as:

- education governance and management under the question “Who Runs Japan’s Schools?” (Robert Aspinall),
- the politics of school curriculum and assessment in Japan (Ryuko Kubota),
- teachers and teaching (Catherine Lewis) as well as on learners and learning in Japan (Peter Cave).

Chapters on the changing relationship between home and school (Ryoko Tsuneyoshi) and Japanese immigrant and transient students in the US (Yoshiko Nozaki) add complementary aspects, part of which are relevant to citizenship education as well. The section is framed by Koari H. Okano’s cultural overview of education in Japanese civilization seen as “adaptive learning at the global periphery” and June A. Gordon’s look at challenges and future directions for Japanese Education – “A Nation’s School Unhinged?”

2) Parmenter, Lynne; Mizuyama, Mitsuharu; Taniguchi, Kazuya. 2008. *Citizenship Education in Japan*. In: James, Arthur; Davies, Ian; Hahn, Carole, eds. *Education for Citizenship and Democracy*. Los Angeles, London, New Dehli, Singapore: Sage, 205-214.

“The Sage Handbook of Education for Citizenship and Democracy” (2008) still serves as an indispensable reference. The chapter about citizenship education in Japan (Parmenter, Mizuyama, Taniguchi 2008) gives a well structured overview of places of citizenship education in the curriculum, social studies as a special subject, other subjects as well as other areas of the curriculum. Finally, the positive school ethos and positive attitudes to school and learning, which facilitates citizenship education are listed as strong points of citizenship education in Japan – but an ongoing “partial exception of political literacy” is simultaneously noted (213).

This problem is tackled in more detail in the following monography:

3) Norio Ikeno, ed. 2011. *Citizenship Education in Japan*. Forword by Sir Bernard Crick and John J. Cogan. *Continuum Studies in Educational Research*. London, New York: Continuum. 194 pages.

The eleven contributions of this basic volume, which appeared in the Continuum Studies in Educational Research series, aims at an “international audience” (cover). The lucidly written book can indeed be recommended to readers outside Japan. All references of Japanese articles are given in English and the book includes a useful register. Let us have a look at the contributions in more detail:

Kazuya Taniguchi (Tohoku University) examines the administration of citizenship education in Japan by looking at the history of the idea of Japanese citizenship and its teaching before World War II. Around 1872, at the beginning of the Meiji era, citizenship education was firstly identified in a period of enlightenment and the formation of the constitutional nation. In order to identify origins of a concept of “citizenship,” questions of intercultural translation have to be carefully discussed, the specific concepts of “Shimin” and “Komin” (3). The article deals with the development of concepts, the oscillation between moral education and civics education. Finally, a new subject was established during World War II, called “Nation” (11) – a period in Japanese citizenship education which is a crucial point for national memorial culture and is only briefly touched in the volume.

The course of study is revised approximately every tenth year, bringing about significant changes in 1958, 1968, 1977, 1989, 1998 and 2008. Norio Ikeno (Hiroshima University, cf. Ikeno in this JSSE issue) focuses on the curriculum structure of citizenship education in post-war citizenship education policy. The article structures the chronology of post-war education policy into four stages:

- a “rudderless period lacking principles and policies” (1945-1947),
- an “experience-oriented phase when children’s experience was at the core of educational objectives” (1847-1955),
- a “knowledge-oriented phase when acquisition of basic knowledge was the paramount concern” (1955-1989),
- and finally an “activity-oriented approach with emphasis on education through children’s activities (1989 to present). (19)

With respect to the latter, emphasis is shifted from teacher-led instruction to enabling children to learn skills of independent working. The author points out that these rough characteristics must be understood as spotlights, more presenting educational intentions and outcomes than negotiating processes of educational actors in the field of practice. The aim is to provide a typology for orientation. Therefore, the single phases of development appear to be homogeneous rather than heterogeneous in terms of internal conflicts and breaks in educational policies. This perspective is addressed in the in the following case study.

Masao Yoshida (Bunkyo University) examines the birth of the dominant teaching paradigm for social studies in Japanese elementary schools with focus on lesson culture and patterns of teaching. This approach marks a desideratum in international comparative education, although some pioneer studies for other school subjects exist, for example the famous video study on mathematics education (Kawanaka et.al. 1999, 86ff.; Grammes 2004). An influential model approach of social studies lessons aims at empathetic understanding. The author reveals the chronology behind this paradigm, the kind of people who produced it its development. These findings are based on Social Studies lesson plans which are provided by the teacher training centres, run by each prefecture or city. Extracts from the lesson plan from the unit on “The study of garbage” are documented (34 f.). It is fascinating to observe the back and forth between top down and bottom up

processes in educational policies between Ministry of Education, prefectures, boards, attached schools and individual teachers (49); conflicts beyond a surface of harmony become apparent. This reveals the influence of lesson study in Japanese teaching culture, as 1st classroom teacher and member of the research committee at that time, Ms. Kayoko Tanaka points out: “I’m not very keen on learning teaching skills and ideas from books. I have learned much more from observing the wonderful practice of my teaching colleagues and from discussions with them than by reading books” (39).

Part two discusses the citizenship curriculum in Japan. Hirokazu Kimura (Hiroshima University) looks at moral education as a task of the whole curriculum as well as a distinct school subject since the post-war era. The narrative is, that “following the history of the Course of Study in Japan after World War II, we can see that the development of citizenship has progressed through careful and serious thought and achieved by steady degrees” (70). Again, this picture of the development may be a bit too harmonious. Tomoyuki Kobara (Hiroshima University) investigates postwar guidelines for teaching social studies and citizenship education. He identifies features which did not change over time like:

- the basic character of social studies as citizenship education,
- social studies that guarantee the integrity of the goal,
- social studies that guarantee a comprehensive content,
- social studies that guarantee the modernity of the issues (81).

Lesson theory for developing civic qualities changes from “problem-solving” to “understanding” (82). At the same time, this means a shift within the focus from what is to be understood (1955-1968) to how it is to be made understood (1977-1998). Kazuhiko Iwata (Hyogo University) analyzes textbooks for Junior High School students in Japan since 1945. The notice “official approval has been given for analysis of this textbook” (86 ff.) refers to a special Japanese practice of introducing textbooks. The comparison with a textbook from Britain⁵ is very brief.

Kotaru Yoshimora (Tohoku Gakuin University) approaches to acted citizenship curriculum and describes two projects which were developed to discuss controversial issues in Japanese society. The topics are “Attempts to make laws regarding garbage collection” and “Thinking about how a company should handle issues of patenting”. In terms of the curriculum material, five decision-making stages are differentiated (100).

The following section deals with core issues of citizenship education. Takaaki Fujiwara (Doshisha Womens’s College of Liberal Arts) examines international education, global education, and multicultural education as issues of citizenship education. After the Great Hanshin earthquake in 1995, voluntary work has increased in the civic sector, and has been enhanced by the 1998 Act for the promotion of non-profit organizations. Surprisingly, the slogan “one nation, one language, one ethnicity” proves the concept of international education in the late 1990ies in Japan to emphasise nationalism and essentialism. “Japan has invested more in fostering good citizens to represent the nation on the world’s stage than in teaching

⁵ Terry Fiehn. 2002. *This is Citizenship*, Volume 1 and 2. London.

about foreign cultures and international affairs.” (111; cf. Kondo, Wu 2011 www.jsse.org/2011/2011-1/pdf/Kondo-JSSE-1-2011.pdf).

Mitsuharu Mizuyama (Kyoto University of Education) takes a closer look at the issue of environmental education in the curriculum. The questions he tackles are:

- Is environmental education better provided as an independent subject or as a cross-curricular theme?
- Should civic activity be part of environmental education?
- Is “global” more important than “environmental” in conceptualizing this aspect of citizenship?

He concludes that environmental education tends to be political and ideological when it is taught as a single issue and/or within active citizenship in education (127f.) Kazuhiro Kusahara (Hiroshima University) asks how geographical education is justified as a part of citizenship education. According to three phases of educational reform, he identifies three different types of socialization process for citizenship education:

- passive socialization (adaption to the status quo in order to be accepted as a good member of society by locating oneself inside the boundaries of society),
- counter-socialization (independence from the status quo, enlightenment about reality by moving oneself outside of society) and
- active socialization (finding relevance in the status quo by locating oneself both inside and outside of society).

The effects of teaching Geography can be classified in “creating identity through education,” forming a member of society which seeks unity within the community and “supporting plurality through education,” such forming persons who can make a desirable individual commitment to a multilayered community (134f.).

“Historical Education as one issue in citizenship education” is discussed by Kazuhiro Mizoguchi (Kagoshima University). He focuses on the challenges of teaching “general history” as well as of teaching “history in the form of comprehensive history.” The latter is criticized as “promoting rote learning, losing the true meaning of learning, and tending towards indoctrination” (152). These ambivalences of teaching global history could be related to the foreword of Sir Bernard Crick (1929-2008), who had been a member of JSSE editorial board. He picks up the label of a “learning society” from a Western point of view and identifies “an open-ended speculative discussion” as the heart of true citizenship in a society “with necessarily existing diversities of values and interests” (XV). Correspondingly, Crick emphasises a learning concept of Karl Popper based on the assumption that social sciences were a matter of problem-solving, and were not supposed to offer concise definitions. Another point of reference in political philosophy is Hannah Arendt’s view of politics as an activity of thinking and problem resolution rather than an attempt to provide definitive solutions. (XIV)

Part three presents research on citizenship education in Japanese schools. Soji Katakami (Yasuda Women’s University) reports on Ochanomizu elementary school which introduced a class called “Citizenship” to replace Social Studies from grade 3 to 6. It is preceded by a class called “Learning Together” (grade 1 and 2). Here again, the concept of citizenship focuses on

decision-making. Citizenship is defined as an ability to judge social affairs and reach a decision on it (159), for instance “Make a plan to reduce garbage” (middle grade); “Reclaiming Isahaya Bay: how do newspapers deal with this issue?;” “Design a new type of car that we can drive in the future” (grade 5); “What is your scheme for dealing with the problems of an aging society?” (grade 6). The reader would appreciate to learn more about these cases and urges for an additional volume with further documentation of such fascinating curricula. Yoshiharu Toda (Chiba University) reports on Shinagawa Ward schools, where an original school curriculum is developed differently from the official general course of study. Therefore, two new subjects were introduced in April 2006, a foreign language course and a subject called “Shimin-ka.” It is represented in the curriculum from grade 1-9 with 70 to 105/140 hours yearly. At the same time, Social Studies is still taught from grade 3-9 with 70 to 105 hours annually. The new subject integrates Moral Education, Special Activities, and the Period for Integrated Study (169).

Inter-Cultural Orientated Comparative Education in Subject Matter Didactics: Perspectives for Further Research

This field of research will focus on citizenship teaching and learning cultures and paradigms inside school as well as informal learning in society. The JSSE prepares a special issue on this topic (see call for papers JSSE 2013-4: <http://www.jsse.org/info/call-for-papers>).

When referring to the current state of the art, three perspectives for further comparative research in the field of subject matter didactics can be discussed:

1) *Documentation*. Comparative study with focus on cultures of education needs as much “thick description” as possible. “Thick description” could include field notes on teaching-learning-dynamics in the subject matter domain of social studies, frozen photo series, video of interaction and communication as well as exemplary material objects and “signs” of teaching and learning processes, e.g. students’ scripts. Digital resources could be the medium of choice for the integrated documentation of pictures, videoclips, multiperspective commentaries.⁶ Japanese learning culture is well known for its professional communities of practice to enhance teaching and learning. Lesson Study as a kind of learning process analysis is deeply rooted in Japanese professional teaching culture (exemplary curriculum narratives and case studies concerning Japan are Lewis 1995, Lewis 2004, www.jsse.org/2004/2004-1/lesson-lewis.htm; Kobara 2011 and passages in Sato 2004).⁷ A documentation of lesson plans in the field of social studies, for instance, could be a starting point; Fujita (2005) lists some prominent examples of lesson plans from postwar history. Further examples are:

6 “Videopaper” might be an appropriate software. “Eurviews”, a multilingual internet edition of history textbooks from European countries, concerning the topic “Europea” (forthcoming soon: <http://www.eurviews.eu/start.html>) could function as a model project.

7 In November 2011 the World Association of Lesson Studies (WALS) held its annual meeting at Tokyo University (www.worldals.org/www.wals2011.com). However, in the era of large scale assessment and international comparison, the so-called “core” subjects – maths, Japanese, foreign language learning – seemed to dominate this congress program. Lesson study in the field of Social Studies was under-represented if not missing. The non-Japanese reader is longing to know more about lesson study in Japanese Social Studies and citizenship projects.

- Kuhn et.al. (2011) including a transcript in German language of a Japanese Social studies lesson on “Advertising in our lifes” or
- Dobashi (2011) documenting lesson plans on “Let’s develop a usable good!” in grade 7 and “Let’s develop a new yatsubishi sweet”.

2) *General framework of interpretation.* In comparative education research in the field of subject matter didactics many contributions don’t transcend the analysis of intended curricula, official guidelines, general goals and paper written lesson scripts. The reason for changes in educational practises is to a great extent related to the educational policies which is, therefore, conceptualized as a top down process. In the case of Japan this narrative suggests that the educational policy is successfully managed and controlled by the MEXT, the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (www.mext.go.jp/english/index.htm). The “core narrative” suggests that there is little interaction with individual actors or pressure groups in civil society.⁸ What is the role of the different teachers’ associations in this domain, above all the Japanese Educational Research Association for the Social Studies, JERASS (www.soc.nii.ac.jp/jssra/English/index.html) or the Japanese Association for Civic Education (<http://www.soc.nii.ac.jp/civicedu/>, in Japanese)? How do researchers at universities and the university attached schools influence educational policies? Comparative education needs a carefully coordinated interplay of more general typologies of “phases” and “concepts,” on the one hand, and micro-didactical case studies of single stages with the contradicting and conflicting actors of educational reform, on the other. The most resentful error would be to assume that the international reader might be interested in results only, without hearing anything about the quarrels and processes leading to such results. In contrary, only the latter show cultural similarities and differences and connect comparative education with research in political science or cross-cultural psychology about political cultures in civil society and conflict resolution. This might concern citizenship education in post-tsunami Japan in particular (Haddad 2012). Social Studies could be the preferred school subject to a cultural sensitive comparative education because of its parallel structure (“Doppelstruktur”) of culture and society as topic and pedagogical interaction. As Schubert (2009, 159, translation TG) pointed out, comparative education has “to distinguish itself more clearly than before as a pedagogical discipline. Therefore, it needs to take a step beyond educational comparative’s fixation on structures and institutions of the education(al) system (frequently only in terms of bureaucracy, i.e. on those things that are regulated or be sworn by guidance, orders, standards, etc.), on school performances, or processes of internationalisation and globalisation concerning the education system, as well as in terms of

⁸ An analysis of political rhetoric in this field is done by Rear (2011). He deals with the semi-annual speeches of prime ministers to the Diet (the Japanese bicameral legislature, TG) between 1999 and 2010 and identifies “three distinct discourses within these policy statements: a progressive discourse emphasizing the rights of individuals; a neo-liberal discourse of social independence and multi-tracked schooling; and a moral conservative discourse of patriotism and social conformism. In the 1990s, progressive and neo-liberal discourses held sway. Discursively, they were centred on key phrases such as ‘kosei jushi’ (“respect for individuality”) and ‘sozosei’ (creativity), which were employed in a strategically ambiguous way to satisfy both progressive and neo-liberal demands. In the 2000s, however, right-wing politicians began to push a moral conservative agenda, which emphasized not the rights of individuals but their subservience to the wider needs of society and state. With neo-liberalism backed by powerful business interests, policymakers had to find a way to reconcile these two conflicting viewpoints discursively. They did this by binding the concept of individuality to traditional notions of Japanese identity and national citizenship, creating a hybrid discourse that attempted to blur the fundamental difference in ideologies” (Rear 2011, abstract taken from ERIC database).

sharing pedagogical knowledge.⁹

3) *Teachers and students as subject and actors in educational reform in classrooms or informal learning settings.* “Rather surprisingly, research on academic learning in Japan’s junior high and high schools is largely limited to studies of curriculum, learning environment, teaching and assessment. It is hard to find rigorous studies of how students themselves approach learning ...” (Cave 2011, 253). It is still Rohlen (1983) with his “unflattering analysis” (ibid., 254) that “high school social studies provides an education that is dense, indeed encyclopaedic, in factual information, and introduces reasonably sophisticated ideas, yet ‘provides no intellectual roots and ‘turns out students long on information and short on intellectual understanding”” (Cave 2011, 253f., citing Rohlen). It is observed that students “are given little opportunity for critical analysis or imaginative expression either orally or in writing” (ibid.). In general, Asian students are supposed to favour rote learning. However, the significance of this assumption for the context of citizenship education has to be discussed carefully. Does this image just represent another kind of “orientalism” in Western educational philosophy which should be thoroughly reflected in comparative education studies? (Takayama 2011; Willis, Rappleye 2011). It is noted that an increasing number of young men can not free themselves from adolescence (Toda in Ikeno 2011, 165); moreover, the Board of Education reported that the contemporary youth has neither dreams for the future nor ideals, as well as lack of moral standards which could be the basis of their social behaviour or judgement of good and evil (ibid., 169). Japan faces a rising share of young people who do not manage the transition between school and employment smoothly.¹⁰ Do this observation and its interpretation still apply to the post-tsunami Japanese society? The future task is to connect research on the informal political and societal socialization of youth and teachers to culturally-informed citizenship education research. One example is given by Lin et.al. (2010) when considering the civic uses of new media among youths aged between 12 and 17 in Hong Kong, Seoul, Singapore, Taipei, and Tokyo in 2007 (the so called "digital generation" which grew up with computers and the Internet).¹¹ Another example is the case study by Damrow (2011) which is mapping a boy's experiences of living and going to school in both the United States and Japan. The study makes use of the concept of communities of practice in order to examine those experiences at home, in the neighbourhood and at school as important social and cultural settings.¹²

9 Original source in German language: "... die vergleichende Erziehungswissenschaft deutlicher als bislang als *pädagogische* Disziplin zu profilieren und damit über die Fixierung der erziehungswissenschaftlichen Komparatistik auf Strukturen und Institutionen des Erziehungs- und Bildungswesens (oft sogar nur auf deren bürokratische Seite, also auf das was in Richtlinien, Erlassen, Standards usw. vorgeschrieben oder beschworen wird), auf Schulleistungen oder Prozesse von Internationalisierung und Globalisierung im Bildungswesen und in der Verteilung pädagogischen Wissens hinauszugehen" (own translation, TG).

10 The Japanese system of vocational education and training is still centered around on-the-job training in the firm (Bromann 2010).

11 "Our results suggest that the Internet may facilitate citizenship among Asian youths although entertainment-related activities such as downloading music or playing games remain the most popular activities online. Sixty-five percent of them read online news, almost half of them have ever cast a vote on the Internet, and every one in five has signed an online petition. Differences in Internet usage and civic behaviors among youths in five cities are presented, suggesting the contextual nature of Internet use influenced by civic culture. The paper concludes with a discussion of differences in Internet use among Asian youths between 2001 and 2007, together with research implications for better understanding this population" (Lin et.al. 2010, abstract taken from ERIC database).

12 From the abstract: "The three-phase study centers the perspectives of a 10-, 11-, 12-year-old over a 15-month period. The focal participant discussed his views of friendship, his experiences in school, and his expectations of teachers. He also offers a comparative perspective as a participant in the final year of elementary school in both the United States and Japan. Interviews with his parents - primarily his mother - and his teachers as well as whole day observations at Lakeview Elementary School, the Japanese School of Michigan, and Kaichi 'Shogakko' supplement the child's standpoint. School documents were also analyzed in order to assess written expectations across settings. Two story lines run through the dissertation. The first allows us to learn something about a boy as he goes to school and makes friends during a time of ecological transition; the other invites us to reflect on the systems of which he is a part in both the United States and Japan. I consider daily life in three particular schools, the ways that schools structure childhood, and

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the challenges border-crossing children face as they navigate implicit and explicit expectations. The study examines how friendships are conceptualized and experienced in different ways in different contexts. The research also allows us to consider how the child at the center of the study experiences and interacts with educational processes across settings while offering a student's comparative analysis of American and Japanese elementary schooling. Navigating multiple different worlds fosters the development of valuable skills and flexible ways of thinking, but it also presents challenges and includes 'costs'. The study provides a fine-grained analysis of one kid's experience navigating multiple educational, social, and cultural transitions and allows us to see how a child exercises agency, develops competence and builds connections and relationships. Through identifying the processes of adjustment and authoring within contextual complexities, adults can learn to recognize and appreciate children's emerging identities within the ecological complexity of their lives. The study contributes to an understanding of how communities of educators, teacher educators, and researchers can better serve students as whole human beings by developing capacities to listen to children and discover their stories—from the inside-out. This study suggests that these stories are critical jumping off points for adults who influence the lives of children in classrooms and schools through their teaching, their research and their policies" (ERIC database).

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Appendix

Accosiations

JERASS Japanese Educational Research Association for the Social Studies
<http://socialstudies.jp/ja/index.html>

Japanese Association for Civic Education
<http://www.soc.nii.ac.jp/civicedu/>

Japanese Society for Life Environmental Studies and Integrated Studies

The Japanese Society of Environmental Education
<http://www.jsoee.jp/>

Japan Association for Global/International Education
<http://www.kokusaiken.org/index-e.htm>

WALS World Association of Lesson Studies
www.worldals.org; www.wals2011.com

JERA Japanese Educational Research Association
<http://www.jera.jp/>

Japanese Curriculum Research and Development Association
<http://jcrda.jp/index.html>

Journals

http://www7b.biglobe.ne.jp/~civicedu/backnumber.htm#_公民教育研究_VOL.18

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The Journal of Social Studies (Shakaika Kyoiku Kenlyu); edited by Japanese Association for the Social Studies (Nihon Shakaika Kyoiku Gakkai): ISSN 0915-8154.

The Japanese Journal of Curriculum Studies (Curriculum-Kenkyu), edited by the Japanese Society for Curriculum Studies (Nihon Curriculum Gakkai): ISSN 0918-354X.

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Masthead

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Prof. Dr. Vedrana Spajic-Vrkas, Zagreb, Croatia
Prof. Dr. Anu Toots, Tallinn, Estonia
Prof., PhD, Ilo Trajkovski Skopje, Rep. Macedonia
Prof. Dr. Nicole Tutiaux-Guillon, Villeneuve d'Ascq Cedex, France
Dr. Ruud Veldhuis, Amsterdam, the Netherlands
Prof. Arja Virta, Turku, Finland
Ass. Prof. Dr. Irena Zaleskienė, Vilnius, Lithuania