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Controversial Issues
in the
Political Classroom -
Continued

edited by

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The Journal of Social Science Education is published quarterly by sowi-online e.V., a non-profit organisation and registered society at the Bielefeld Court of Record (Registergericht), Germany. Members of the JSSE team are the editors, the editorial assistant, the technical staff, and the editorial board.
http://www.sowi-online.de

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Reinhold Hedtke, Tilman Grammes

Editorial: Controversial Issues in the Political Classroom – *Continued*

In democracies, citizenship and citizenship education are about sharing commonalities and caring for contro-versies. Living in a common polity, citizens, politicians and teachers are usually confronted with contested policies and politics. Many real world controversies are potentially present in classrooms and lecture halls because students as well as teachers are part and parcel of societal, political and economic contentions and conflicts of the outside world. Moreover, controversies on paradigms, theories, methods and recommended measures are looming large in the social sciences. Research on civics and citizenship education, therefore, should address controversial issues as a matter of scientific and political content, of teaching and learning and of related competency of the citizenry. Doing research and doing classes should regard both, common ground and common controversy in a polity, a society and an economy. However, this approach is itself subject to contention, especially from governments, political par-ties and educational administration bodies which tend to expect education to create consensus and conformity – with respect to their own positions, of course –, not dissent and divergence among the students as citizens. In sum, it is a matter of course that controversial issues are continuously debated in the Journal of Social Science Education. The papers of the present issue are mainly contributing to this topic area.

Curricula policies of global citizenship education pro-vide a telling example of normative, controversial or one-sided framing in the field of citizenship education. In her paper *The Educational Governance of German School Social Science: The Example of Globalization*, Andrea Szukala raises the question "if and to what extent certain perspectives and canonizations are favoured in curricular scheduling and why others are discarded". This is the key question of research on controversy as a principle of curriculum construction. Drawing on structural educa-tional sociology and on comparative curriculum analyses, the paper traces the transformation of social science knowledge into canonised school knowledge using the globalisation issue as an exemplary case for a qualitative multilevel study of curriculum policies over the last 25 years. In the dominant perspective of the curricula of some German Laender, globalisation appears above all as an economic issue (competing countries) and more as a challenge for states and democracy than an option. The curricula turn out to be far from fostering global citizen-ship. The analysis shows the change of pedagogical legiti-mation code and dominant value judgements on globali-sation in the course of time.

Going to the next paper means to shift from the analysis of curricular frames to classroom practices. It is sometimes observed that controversial teaching in class-room using the classical format of discussion and pro-contra debate leads to verbal exchange, black and white thinking and broad-brush argumentation which do not correspond to the complexity of policies and politics and, therefore, usually lead to common pitfalls. Quite a few teachers, however, are reluctant to deal with contro-versial issues in the political classroom. Jennifer Bruen, Veronica Crosbie, Niamh Kelly, Maria Loftus, Agnès Maillot, Áine McGillicuddy and Juliette Péchenart address this issue in their paper *Teaching Controversial Topics in the Humanities and Social Sciences in Ireland: Using Structured Academic Controversy to develop multi-perspectivity in the learner*. Evidence suggests that teachers' reluctance may be partially overcome by ma-king them familiar with didactic approaches and tools which help to scaffold the handling of controversial issues without alienating students. Specifically, the article considers the potential advantages and pitfalls asso-ciated with a particular approach known as 'Structured Academic Controversy' (SAC). Developed nearly three decades ago and originating in the political science class-room, SAC is designed to assist learners in developing and clarifying their position towards controversial topics and in understanding the positions of others (Johnson and Johnson 1988). The paper of Bruen et al. presents experience from academics using this approach and thus may inform and improve the practice of others. An example of SAC is the issue of linguistic diversity and language policy in Ireland, a controversy closely

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connected to different understandings of the notion of nation.

Idealisation and glorification of the nation, aggressive nationalism, self-referential isolationism, xenophobia and exclusionary concepts of society are looming large in Europe and beyond. These trends are politically fuelled and exploited by nationalist governments and parties, not only from the extreme right. Striving for interpretational sovereignty over national narratives, a long-standing strategy of governments and their fellow travellers in social sciences and teacher education is rewriting civics and history textbooks. They try to shape or even manipulate the content and the learners' minds for securing political support of the future electorate. The Journal of Social Science Education has a long tradition in critically analysing diverse forms of instrumentalisation of teaching and learning for governmentally predefined national identities and nationalist attitudes (see for instance JSSE 2-2016, 3-2015, 1-2015, 3-2014, 4-2013, 4-2011, 1-2011, 2-2010, 1-2010, 4-2009, 1-2008, 2-2007). In the current issue, Jana Šulíková analyses ethnocentric models of education in textbooks against the scholarly state of the art. Her paper *Unintended Revelations in History Textbooks: The Precarious Authenticity and Historical Continuity of the Slovak Nation*, addresses the nature of nations and the preconditions of its origination processes in a case study approach. The research is guided by a theoretical framework comprising primordialism, constructivism and ethno-symbolism as social science key perspectives on the notion of nation and national narratives. The textbooks of lower secondary education mainly stick to essentialist, primordial, ethnocentric and homogeneous understandings of nation and national tradition. Unwillingly, however, they also deliver much evidence for a constructivist approach. In sum, Slovakian history textbooks turn out to be an exemplary case of a biased and inconsistent approach to the teaching of the topic of nation in schools.

With the next paper, we enter a quite different field of controversy about norms and values which is exemplarily discussed in a national frame (Spain): Should the general goals of social education embrace the respect toward animals as a part of the general respect for life? Is it legitimate to try to change the society's attitude toward non-human beings via education? Do educators have to engage in a post-humanist education which bridges the gap between humans and other species? In the programmatic paper *The Need of Education in the Respect to Animals (ERA) as a Subject of the Social Education Degree at the University: An Overview Focused on Spain*, Eduardo Barona and Elena Carrió strongly support this form of an "education for …" (cf. JSSE 4-2012; Simonneaux et al. 2012). They claim that the respect for animals cannot be simply subordinated to human interest, but has to be taught as a value per se. Drawing on this normative stance the authors identify a societal deficit of acknowledging animals' rights and propose an ERA-specialisation in teacher education. The outline of the curriculum is multidimensional, multidisciplinary and multi-perspective. Like all "educations for", however, the education for the respect for animals does not emphasise students' systematically critical reflection about its goals and measures. Rather, these specialists in the field of social education are expected to act as propagators who motivate teachers, schools and communities for an education for the respect for animals. Certainly, the ERA-approach itself will provoke controversial debates, because it goes beyond the anthropocentric approach of education for sustainable development (cf. Barthes and Jeziorski 2012; JSSE 3-2009, papers in German).

To date, social sciences and social science education has largely ignored the existence, relevance and intrinsic value of non-humans and, in consequence, the relationship of humans and non-humans. Thematising this issue will bring about much controversy because it touches images of humanity, world views, collective understandings of society and individual self-perceptions.

Having a look at France, we encounter a further topical case example of an "education for": the French programme Grande mobilisation de l'Ecole pour les valeurs de la République (Great Mobilisation of the School for the Values of the Republic) introduced by the Minister of Education in 2015. Other European countries are proposing or launching similar policies. The British Department for Education, for instance, requests schools to strive for "promoting fundamental British values" (Departmental advice from November 2014). In Germany, the longstanding tradition of Werteerziehung (value education) is resurging against the background of challenges like increasing right-wing extremism and Islamist jihad among the youth. The flourishing discourse on value education in India and other Asian countries provides evidence from beyond the borders of Europe indicating a general or even global tendency to an increased awareness of values in education.

Recently, many European countries have experienced tendencies of deepening social and economic heterogeneity, inequality and cleavages, high degrees of youth unemployment, a so-called crisis of flight and migration, Islamist terrorist attacks or terror attempts. Consequently, societal discourses have often become polarised nurturing controversy on the key features of a "good society". The idea and institutions of an open, democratic society has come under pressure triggering legitimation crises of the respective polities. Moreover, the model of a heterogeneous society is principally called into question. Surprisingly, these developments lead the French government to radically rearrange political education in schools. Measures of the above mentioned Grande mobilisation were a new school subject, the expansion of participation in schools and the reinforcement of republican value education. Nancy Morys und Matthias Busch (Luxembourg) outline the main traits of the reform politics and the public discourse on the Ministry's measures. Their documentation of newspaper articles *Mobilising for the Values of the Republic"-*

France's Education Policy Response to the "Fragmented Society" presents selected contributions from teachers, scholars, students, unionists and politicians. They demonstrate how approaches and challenges of the policy and its programs are debated in the French society and illustrate difficulties and chances of a democratic political education in a society which is perceived as becoming more and more "heterogeneous".

The JSSE editors welcome, again, the bilingual presentation of this paper. They want to strengthen the editorial policy of bilingualism and encourage authors to submit articles in two languages. The editors appreciate the format of a newspaper article documentation of controversial debates about educational policies. Any documentation, of course, is selective by nature and inclined to provoke disagreement. Therefore, comments and scholarly papers from the francophone world are much desired. The editors are looking forward to such submissions and to continuing the debate (see the JSSE Call for Papers 3-2017, Character Education und Citizenship Education).

Last but not least, the JSSE reader may enjoy the book review of *Christopher Baker-Beall; Charlotte Heath-Kelly; Lee Jarvis (Ed.). 2015: Counter-Radicalisation. Critical Perspectives, London, New York: Routledge*. As Kurt Edler points out, the editors present critical approaches to the impact of anti-terrorism policies on democratic and heterogeneous societies in Australia, Denmark, The Netherlands and Germany. Scholars of the field of citizenship education should be aware of goals and side effects of these policies because they make great demands on schools, teachers and teaching. These educational requests, too, have effects and side effects which should be subject to careful, sober and controversial scholarly analysis.

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Andrea Szukala

The Educational Governance of German School Social Science: The Example of Globalization

- The article provides an analytic framework for the analysis of the educational governance of school social science.
- It challenges the view that European citizenship education is adopting a genuine cosmopolitan vision of citizenship education.
- It highlights the tendencies towards renationalization of the globalisation curriculum in German school social science.

Purpose: This article challenges the outsiders' views on European school social science adopting genuine cosmopolitan views, when globalisation is treated in social science classrooms.
Method: The article is based on the theoretical framework of educational governance analysis and on qualitative corpus analysis of representative German Laenders' social science curricula from 1994-2014 (n=13).
Findings: The article highlights tendencies of renationalisation of the global learning agenda and the problematisation of democracy in contexts of globalisation studies at German schools.

Keywords:
Citizenship education, educational governance, curriculum, globalization, international comparison, Germany

1 Introduction

This paper addresses a longstanding issue in the study of citizenship education curricula: The problem of knowledge and knowledge governance through curriculum. "Curriculum making" is doing knowledge politics, as curricula provide guidelines for processes of knowledge transformation for educational purposes (Pinar, 2012; Goodson, 1984). In an educational governance perspective, curricula are meso-level policy programs that are based on the basic premise that the pedagogical provision of specific kinds of knowledge conveys specific kinds of micro-level cognitive and behavioural outcomes to individual students (van den Akker et al., 2003; Young, 1971). They serve as a governance interface between the official pedagogical discourse and the pedagogical recontextualisation fields such as schools and other educational institutions (Forquin, 2008, see Tab. 1).

When it comes to citizenship education and to the actualization of political knowledge in schools, state actors are typically quite concerned about what kind of knowledge is selected for being relevant and pedagogically performed in a nation's classrooms. This is especially true for the issue of globalization. As political and economic systems become more globalized, learners shall become competent as future citizens, consumers, businessmen in a nation-state that is embedded in a globalized world economy. Hence, civics' curriculum designers all over the world have established standardized learning layouts of globalization as a social studies topic, and of specific skills and competencies, which young learners are expected to "acquire" in the context

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of global learning. Thus, "globalization" appears to be an ideal test case for comparative curriculum research: As the external globalized context, timeline and process are the same for any of the educational systems in the OECD-world, the analysis of contrasting curricular choices and disciplinary frames can be better analytically differentiated and the endogenous dynamics and policy results comparatively observed.

However, it is still difficult to address the epistemological problems of comparative educational research because curricula are powerful path-dependent programs, following Tröhler: "Curricula are historically formed within systems of ideas that inscribe styles of reasoning, standards, and conceptual distinctions in school practices and its subjects" (Tröhler referring to Popkewitz & Tröhler, 2013, p. 62). He therefore calls for an epistemologically refined curriculum and governance research that does not over and over again provide holistic analyses of national educational systems (which routinely highlight the specific national conditions of curriculum construction), but that is aimed at identifying and comparatively and systematically analysing schemes of reasoning and organizing 'the educational' in a synchronic and diachronic mode (Ibid.).

Accordingly, the basic purpose of this paper is to complement existing curricular research (see 3) and to present a conceptual framework for a longitudinal analysis of the social studies curriculum standards on globalization exemplified for six German Laender (1990-2014). The comparative analysis of German regions allows discriminating for the potential political transformations of curricular knowledge choices (conservative, B, vs. left wing, A, regional governments) while controlling for the socio-cultural context variables (Capano, 2015). The diachronic perspective frames a process analysis of the curricular enactment of a new topic and the ensuing principles of legitimation with respect to

1.   its implicit valuations of globalization, its pedagogical framing and knowledge classifications (see below, Bernstein 2000), that is
2.   (2.a) its regulative goals and learning targets (horizontal integration dimension) and (2.b) its disciplinary sources (vertical integration dimension),

Finally, this paper challenges a dominant outside view of European and German global citizenship education, which is considered being the actual education for global citizens preparing young people for a genuine cosmopolitan citizenship. There are high expectations, which the cosmopolitan vision of the German intellectual heritage going back to Kant and European Enlightment may have raised (see e.g. Beltramo & Duncheon, 2013). This position is tested by my research, which uncovers a slightly different picture and tendencies towards values of seclusion and self-involvedness.

2 The governance of school civic education: A multi-level approach

Social studies' curriculum-knowledge provides not only competence-frameworks to define performance standards in social studies classrooms, but also particular artefacts of schools' socio-economic outsides. For most school subjects these artefacts are neither simplified imitations of the knowledge arrangements of academic disciplines nor do learning processes replicate scientific heuristics and patterns of knowledge production: Curricular matrices and disciplinary matrices are basically incongruent (Martinand, 2001). Even when schools try to simulate real life and day-to-day problems for educational purposes, the pedagogical operationalization and classroom knowledge transformation in school subjects' frameworks have not much to do with the "authentic" political, economic and social everyday settings, in which schools, teachers and students are embedded (Grammes, 1998; Rata, 2012).

Therefore, there is a need for a more systematic analysis and for a research about the devices of educational knowledge transformation that revivifies curricular analysis in the tradition of structural educational sociology of Emil Durkheim (Durkheim u.a. 2014) and of the late Basil Bernstein. Structural curriculum analysis focuses on distribution, recontextualisation, evaluation and justification of knowledge in the educational field (Young, 2008; Young & Muller, 2013). It questions the configurations of knowledge transformations in curriculum planning processes and wherever curricular knowledge is produced and performed (Singh et al., 2010). Structural investigation of curriculum enhances an integrated multi-level analysis of pedagogical knowledge recontextualisations (see graph. 1), which elucidates the structures of the pedagogical governance of all facets of knowledge. The degree of transparency of the required forms for recognizing and realizing knowledge rules defines the social differential in acquisition processes.

Graph 1
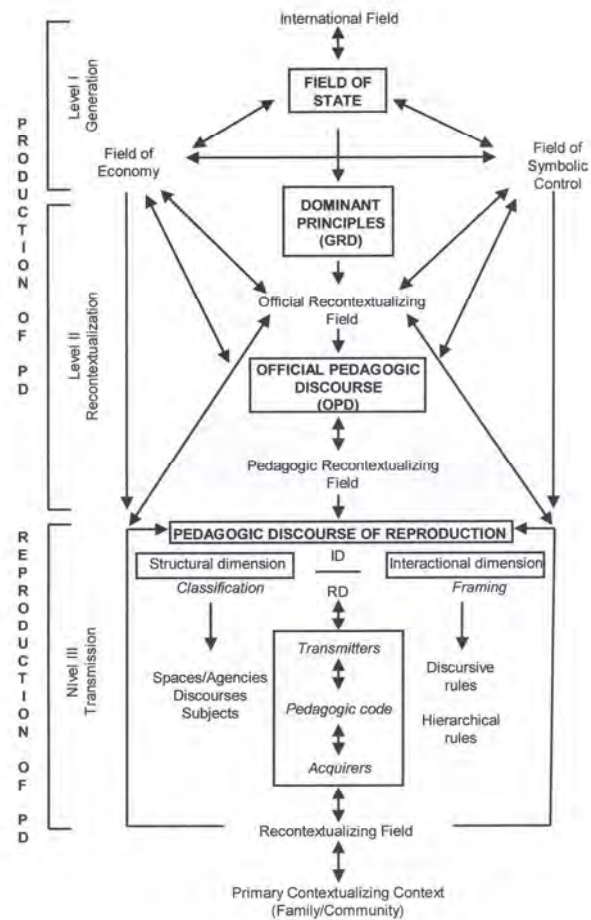
(Morais & Neves, 2001)

In his seminal account of the "pedagogic device" Basil Bernstein distinguishes two basic modalities of pedagogic practices transforming knowledge at different levels of the educational system: the *instructional* and the *regulative* mode (Bernstein, 2000). The regulative mode (RM) is a mode of order, which regulates how knowledge is transmitted; the instructional mode (IM) is a mode of proficiency, which refers to what is transmitted. Curricular modes are embedded by specific variations in the strength of classification and framing. In any definite educational configuration, different facets of curriculum and pedagogy are weakly or strongly framed. But, the two modes are incorporated in a way such that regulative discourse always controls the instructional discourse. Pedagogic discourses are typically transmitted through a specific code which integrates specialized contexts (e.g. classroom contexts) and the selection and production of appropriate texts to these contexts. Thus, any pedagogic practice at the school level is an activation of a pedagogic code which, in turn, is the institutionalization of the school's elaborated orientation through specific values of classification (C) and framing (F).

Classification and framing translate power and control relations between the subjects, discourses and educational spaces (Morais, 2002). Knowledge transformation into the pure instructional modus is generally attached to

the structure of academic knowledge, that is strongly "*classified*" (disciplines have strongly insulated boundaries) and *vertically* structured. Vertical discourses are "specialized symbolic structures of explicit knowledge" in which the incorporation occurs through the integration of meanings and not through the relevance to specific contexts (Ibid., p. 160). The vertical discourse is transparent, organized, and abstracted from specific connotations rooted in everyday situations. It is produced in the specialized languages of disciplines taught in official education systems. "Weak classifications" refer to the modus of e.g. problem-based curriculum approaches in contexts, where students start with a problem and search for suitable knowledge that helps answering their questions: the pedagogic *framing* is loose, as teachers have limited control about the sequencing, pacing and about the evaluation of the transmitted knowledge. Bernsteinians are skeptical about the social differential of school pedagogy for disadvantaged learners, which uses horizontal discourses to ease access to vertical discourse, because it restricts the power of the vertical discourse to emancipate (see esoteric knowledge as more powerful decontextualized knowledge Bernstein, 2000, p. 169ff.).

The character and the boundaries of social scientific knowledge are fluid and much more difficult to detect because of the so called "gaze" of the social sciences, following MacLean (2013, p. 267):

"Students of sociology-based social science need to recognize and realise a vertical discourse embedded in a 'horizontal knowledge structure' made up of a collection of 'specialised languages': functionalism; critical realism; post modernism and so on. In contrast to disciplines with a 'vertical knowledge structure', like physics, which build general theory rather than collect languages, social sciences address human behaviour, conduct or practice, so they are strongly related to the horizontal discourse of everyday life. This relationship poses a particular pedagogical problem, for when the student attempts to see everyday life through the lens of sociology she/he 'may well be anxious whether he/she is really speaking or writing social science. The sociological 'gaze' is often invisible to the novice student.

In a context of classroom topics such as 'globalization' and global environmental and climate change, horizontal transformations which are closely linked to the students' "lifeworlds" are e.g. teachers' attempts to regulate the classroom behaviour of students in ways to be 'orderly persons', who collect and sort waste, instead of problematizing the concept of global responsibilities and its pitfalls (Mikander, 2016).

Another specificity are the hybrid disciplinary boundaries of social scientific knowledge production and the specific interplay between the regulative and the instructional in pedagogised social scientific knowledge configurations (e.g. school programs): The recontextualising rules of social sciences operate through 'pedagogic discourses' (Bernstein, 1990, 2000) made up of instructtional discourses for transmitting specific knowledge and skills combined with specific regulative discourses for

transmitting dispositions for learning (Bernsteinians call it the 'moral order' of disciplines). In his seminal analysis of university novices, MacLean found that in sociology-based social sciences the regulative discourse dominated the instructional discourse, because students are strongly classified by their instructors as being shaped by sociological knowledge (instructional) to be moral, informed, critical citizens (regulative) (Ibid., 271).

3 Globalization as a crucial case

Globalization as a curriculum matter can be at first hand considered being a key example for an interdisciplinary - and for that reason weakly classified - knowledge issue in the social science domain. The pervasive process character of globalization affects educational governance not only at the educational system's level (cf. the Post-PISA-rhetoric linking education and economic competetiveness) but also unavoidably involves students and teachers as being contemporary citizens at the classroom level when socio-economic and political matters are at issue.

Yet, the meso-level knowledge-political debate about the role of globalization in social science curricula and school teaching is not new. In situations of international crisis and in post-conflict constellations, the debate about the nation states' global outsides is historically omnipresent. Thus, since the 1920s, high hopes were formulated in the context of the League of Nations in a grim post war world, when education was designed to promote global understanding and peace. After the Second World War, decolonialization and waves of democratization around the world opened up the pedagogical perspectives to the "world system" and called Euro-centric perspectives more and more into question (Pike, 2008).

Finally, ways of teaching and learning a global citizenship curriculum were already discussed and anchored in numerous educational programs of the 1990s (Tye, Arias & Sánchez, 1999), when the Agenda 21/Education for sustainable development (ESD) pro-cesses have been implemented in the Federal Republic and in other countries (Sekretariat der Ständigen Konferenz der Kultusminister der Länder in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland, KMK. 1996). These efforts have often been supported by international standard-setting instances in the field of education, particularly within the framework of UNESCO and its diverse initiatives such as the recent "Global Education First"-Campaign (2012).

Nevertheless, these initiatives often lingered outside the schools' 'normal' curricular practices. Yet, the debate about the conceptual transformation of 'globalization' into curricula and school programs is still passionate, especially since September 11, 2001 when the "universal" liberal values of the Western capitalist sphere got deeply challenged and destabilized: This especially applies to the fundamental cosmopolitan value conflict between human rights universalism and particularism (Widmaier, 2010; Seitz, 2002).

The problematical horizon of norms and values is, however, a focal point of the philosophical debate on globalism and cosmopolitanism (Brown& Held, 2010; Delanty, 2012), and the question of a global citizenship education played a prominent part in this debate (following Nussbaum, 1996 and Rorty, 1994). A particularly conflictual field emerged in the USA (embedded in the continuous dialogue about how to define the U.S. global role in the early 21st century and how to deal with the effects of cultural heterogeneity within the U.S. society), where actors aimed at translating theoretical positions into pedagogical and curricular approaches, so that the pedagogic arena reverberated to a certain extent quarrels from outside the educational system, e.g. the catch between patriotism/communitarianism and universalism, (Apple, 2002; Myers, 2006; Burack, 2003). Furthermore, as Kennedy and others state, outside the Western hemisphere the process of globalization has quite different effects on citizenship education programs. That is especially true for certain Asian nations, where the globalization of school systems can be associated with an increasingly affirmative-patriotic orientation of national citizenship education curricula (Kennedy & Li, 2008).

The fuzzy conceptual and disciplinary formatting of the educational "global field" (Robertson, 1992) led to a normative overstretch and a quite unique exploitation of specific theoretical positions for purposes of curricular legitimation, which triggered an own research, which systematically addresses the controversial issue of the "Social Studies" curriculum relating to globalization. This research raises the question if and to what extent certain perspectives and canonizations are favoured in curricular scheduling and why others are discarded. By doing so, it interrupts didactic practices and creates a high level of visibility in terms of theoretical-disciplinary premises of certain curricular formatting processes. This applies not least to those approaches which pretend to be universalist, without illuminating their epistemological stance and their effects on the transformations of curriculum knowledge (Au 2009). Until recently, this kind of research is not at all done in the German context (see Seitz, 2002; see recently for the Agenda21-Case: Bormann & Hamborg, 2015).

In the past few years, the main comparative curriculum analyses have been published in the U.S. by Rapoport, Beltramo and Myers (Rapoport, 2009; Beltramo & Duncheon, 2013; Myers, 2006). Agbaria presents a content analysis of the discourse of the Social Studies Community on globalization (Agbaria, 2011). All researchers essentially highlight three central challenges of curricular reforms in the context of globalization:

1) the global economic and educational competition;
2) the intra-societal diversity;
3) the challenging issues of citizenship on a global scale.

This is also reflected in the discourse on educational goals (Agbaria, 2011) and on new requirements for teacher training (Herrera, 2012; Zhao, 2010). The three legitimation-dimensions are each connected to specific aspects of globalization as an economic, social and political process and thus linked to the corresponding disciplinary frames of a pluridisciplinary social science consisting of a basic disciplinary set (sociology, economics and political science).

A recent comparative analysis of social studies curricula of U.S. states and several other western countries (Canada, Sweden, Australia, Finland, New Zealand, UK, Ireland) examines the curricular formatting in relation to these different horizons of legitimation (Beltramo & Duncheon, 2013). This multi-level exploration elaborates – on the basis of well-defined standard issues and disciplinary contextualisations – the "globalization" artefact. Two basic models of global learning-enactments emerge from this analysis: Global learning in the sense of global human rights education and the so-called education for a cosmopolitan citizenship in the "world system", and a different approach that is rooted in the human capital theory and in intercultural competence building for successfully acting in an economically integrated world (ibid., p. 105ff.). Beltramo, as other comparative researchers (Myers, 2006; Rapoport, 2009), comes to the conclusion that, despite the statements of program designers and policy actors (Agbaria, 2011), there is no cosmopolitan-global political learning in the US (exceptions: Kentucky and Mississippi, Beltramo, 2013, p. 106-107). He contrasts these findings with the situation of non-US systems, namely Scandinavian and West European systems, which confronted learners with multidimensional globalization learning standards, contributing to a more complex global political competence. He concludes that this deficit results from an American exceptionalism and reminds of the outcries of the educational elite in the 1960s and 1970s with their criticism of the isolationism of the American educational system. Even today, the American students were not prepared to be "citizens of the world" and to act globally (Rapoport, 2009, p. 92), because their educational horizon seems to be exclusively oriented towards the international competition between knowledge economies. At the same time, these findings are associated with a critic of the one-sidedness of the disciplinary perspective: The positions of cosmopolitanism and an understanding of globalization as a complex multidimensional trend in a "world system"-context, social inequality theories, cultural theories of globalization and environmental sciences are not brought up in the educational space (Beltramo, 2013, p. 107ff.). From this perspective, the "European" social science education seem to stick to the concept of world citizenship. European curricular world views are contrasted with U.S. approaches, as they seem to be committed to global thinking and to the globally responsible political learner: That includes pluridisciplinary perspectivations that are not uniquely oriented towards economic education and the acquisition of intercultural key competencies for doing global business.

4 The globalization of the German Social Studies
4. 1 The official pedagogical discourse in the didactics community

In the following section, the recontextualization of globalization in the official educational discourse is investigated considering the statements of major discussants in the social studies community as well as official statements of actors at the federal level.

In Germany, international comparative social science curriculum research is scarce. There are only two analyses of curricular knowledge about the international relations (IR) and globalization topics, which have been done in the context of the discussion about the future of IR-research and teaching in Germany. A prominent IR-researcher summarizes: "At the curricular core there is obviously a multidimensional treatment of globalization [...]" (Albert & Dickel, 2006). What is considered being a multidimensional treatment, reveals being the curricular enactment of the highly classified academic fields of academic IR-research and its sub-disciplines, such as foreign policy analysis and security studies. Unlike neighbouring didactics in fields like history and geography, the German social science research community has not yet developed any international comparative perspective on teaching and curriculum practices with regard to global learning (see the German history didactics: Popp 2008). The didactical research in the field supports an orientation towards the curriculum development and towards teaching approaches for formatting rather than for analysing socio-scientific learning processes and curricula (Keating et al., 2009). This is especially true for civic learning and engagement outside school: In contrast to school social studies, global learning as a topic is very prominent in adult education and in NGO-contexts of civic learning. The content standards of those programs reflect quite compartmentalized perspectives on globalization, e.g. global sustainability politics, climate change as well as fair trade and development politics. The implementation of the *Agenda21* and its related initiatives prompted a plethora of initiatives and publications in adult education research. The focus of education for sustainable development lays on policies with benefits for "quality of life"-issues in a very broad sense, all sharing a very significant propensity to regulate learner behaviors: content fields such as nutrition, climate change, biodiversity, mobility/tourism and consumer rights stand for a strictly problem-based knowledge transformation that is very lowly classified, highly regulative (in the Bernsteinian sense) and characterized by high levels of interdisciplinarity. "Global" learning is in a double sense understood as a multidisciplinary and interdisciplinary approach (Adick, 2002). However, global citizenship approaches such as world-polity and cosmopolitanism play a minor role for the *Agenda21*-Learning. The quasi-total lack of more general and abstract political conceptualization – and the resulting lack of connectivity to school curricula – is severely critised by Humpert and others (Humpert, 2009).

This also applies to the critical citizenship education agenda, which focuses on globalization as a neoliberal enterprise with winners and losers anywhere in the world (Butterwegge & Hentges, 2002). Globalization approaches which are based on canonical Marxist world systems theory (Wallerstein, 1996) and the pedagogy of the oppressed (Freire, 2000) and other non-European discussants are completely absent from the didactics' research canon as well. Only in very recent times, there is a beginning discussion about cosmopolitanism and world society in social science classroom didactics, which seeks to connect with the discussion of a truly global citizenship education in a cosmopolitan sense, but whose disciplinary frames are rooted in sociology rather than in the political science (Widmaier, 2010; Sander, 2011). This didactical debate is therefore somewhat "in advance" of curricular treatment and does not yet impact the micro- and meso-levels of the educational system. At this point, the hypothesis of the US-American colleagues could be confirmed, that multidimensional globalist approaches have – at least in didactic theory – some resonance in Germany.

In contrast, a "German mission" in global politics plays no part in any of the didactics' approaches; German international identity mirrors more the self-concept of a civilian middle power at the heart of Europe not willing to "project" itself at the global level. The political frames and the ensuing pedagogical legitimation frames, which are so severely criticized in the American context, are thus curiously lacking in the German didactics' debate.

In contexts of knowledge transformation for "standard" civic education on political systems, governance and democratic learning, globality is frequently problematized: The multilevel governance problem can be hardly didactically transformed in a decidedly student- and learner-oriented learning arrangement for a participatory citizenship education (see for the general didactics Scheunpflug & Hirsch, 2000). Traditional civic education researchers thus often see globalization as a "source of new risks" for democracy, in addition to other forms of denationalization of political decision-making processes as in contexts of EU-politics (Massing, 2002). Most publications are in fact still based on the idea of a "world of states". The "world of states"-concept is of course enriched by the concept of global governance, global non-state actors and international activism. But, 'traditional' didactics researchers do however not subscribe to a multidimensional concept of globalization as they continue to assume a global structure of governments cooperating in international organizations (and with selected NGOs) instead of an intrinsically globalized vision of world politics and a potential world polity (Weisseno, 2010).

4.2 The official pedagogical discourse at the federal level

Germany is a federal state and the 16 German Laender exercise "cultural sovereignty"; therefore, the educational politics are part of their core policy making-

competencies. At the federal level, the Standing Conference of the Ministers of Education and Cultural Affairs of the Laender in the Federal Republic of Germany (Kultusministerkonferenz/KMK) fulfills coordinating functions e.g. for a-level standardization, for the general formatting of school subjects and for teacher education and exchange. In spite of explicit constitutional clauses, which place education under the exclusive jurisdiction of Laender, an all-German educational policy has emerged. A process that started with harmonization and stan-dardization has eventually led to a process of "centra-lization" of German educational governance (Erk, 2003). However, educational programming and standard setting in the field of citizenship education is still not a KMK competence, as the subject is a minor subject in Germany's secondary educational systems. But, the KMK has quite regularly published general guidelines and joint declarations about educational politics at the global age. Those guidelines embrace topics like global sustainability, European Union politics, the education at the digital age and multiculturalism (KMK 1997; 2000, 2002, 2008).

Even if most of the aims formulated in those federal texts have only limited coercive effects on Laender curri-culum making, it is interesting to analyse the legitimating formula and concepts of the globalization process with regard to the pedagogy–-globalization connex and to observe how the general pedagogical and legitimating stances have changed over time. Finally, the KMK-declarations allow identifying and documenting sematic transformations with regard to central normative stances aimed at formatting the educational mission towards Germany's political "outside". The conceptual change with regard to that mission can be exemplified for the case of the EU.

Without any doubt, the object "European integration" as an object of education and of political regulation is subject to change: While in the 1970s there is a clear cut orientation towards European friendship, peoples' understanding and the peaceful exchange between the German post-war generation and its European neighbors, the 1990 KMK-declaration voices a completely different politico-pedagogical program. It is conveyed that after German reunification the European Community is arriving at a decisive stage including the "creation of a *Europe with federal structures*" (KMK, 1990, p. 2) and therefore preparing young Germans for being European citizens. The once more revised statement reads as follows in 2008: "the group of mem-ber states of the European Union has been expanded steadily since its origins. As a consequence, new structures and diverse ties and connections have emerged between peoples and states in Europe as well as between individuals and social groups. They have led to the situation that European citizens experience the *EU […] as a common area* [...]." (KMK, 2008). As a result, the KMK still calls for an educationalization of European citizenship, but the claims for an education for a "European identity" are circumscribed by the emerging new characteristics of the European space of individual

wellbeing and "good life", which is constrained by the preservation of borders and significant national political (and socio-economic) spaces.

Table 1: Programming the transnationalisation of citizenship as an educational mission?

1978	_ "Europe as a pedagogical mission" (KMK 1978, p. 6) _ "The task of schools is to call into mind the restructuring of the relationship between the European peoples and states through community building" (Ibid.) _ "Therefore school helps the new generation to generate a European community sentiment" (Ibid.)
1990	_ "European conviction as pedagogical mission of schools" (KMK, 1990, p. 2) _ "The aim of education is to strengthen young people's European identity." (KMK 1990, 3) _ "This includes the preparation of young people to their duties as citizens of the European Community." (Ibid.)
2008	_ "European conviction as pedagogical mission of schools" (KMK, 2008, p. 2) _ "Develop competencies for a good life in Europe" (Ibid.)

In terms of Bernsteinian analysis, one would suggest that the political structure and status quo regarding the European integration significantly affects the delineation of the legitimation as well as of the pedagogical aims of the education for a European citizenship. The recon-struction of the historical dimension of the federal enactment of education for a non-national citizenship in the EU thus underlines the high levels of explicit instrumentality of education for an actual political order and the underdeveloped disciplinary classification of citizenship educational standards.

4.3 The curriculum framing and classification of "globalization" as a central topic for social studies at the secondary level (1990-2014)

The following raises the question, if the disciplinary and theoretical orientation of the curricula in six major German Laender actually states the young "citizen of the world" as an educational objective (testing the cosmo-politanism-hypothesis), and how the capacity building in relation to global learning is constructed in terms of pluridisciplinary classification (explaining the disciplinary references and comparing the disciplinary classification) and pedagogical framing (explaining the setting of competence standards and learning goals and comparing the regulative mode/the framing) and if and how both dimensions are connected with each other. The more general comparative question is, whether the curricular development of the last 24 years transpires a typical common curricular transformation pattern of the tested school systems. The six Laender in the sample are typically included into comparable educational studies: Bayern (BA), Baden-Württemberg (BW), Lower Saxony (LS), Rhineland Palatinate (RP), Hessen (HS) and North

Rhine-Westphalia (NW). The selected Laender all once reformed their curricula in the period between 1990 and 2014. Further, they were respectively run by social democrat or conservative Laender governments (Tab. 2). The analysis focuses on the curricular globalization frames throughout the period from 1990-2014, when the globalization issue appears in any of the upper secondary curricula in the field. A first clustering of the curricula results in the identification of three basic periods of globalization: The period of global transformation after the end of the Cold War (1990-2000), the period of the globalization of security in an enlarged understanding after 11/09/2001 (-2007), the period of the crisis of the international financial capitalism and the following international debt crisis (2008-2014). Furthermore, the analysis refers to the "social sciences" as a school subject at the end of the secondary education at the senior high school level [level 11-12/13, Gymnasium] in the field of the Social Science/Civic educational domain [Sozial-wissenschaften/Politik/Gesellschaftskunde], which are basically equivalent school subjects (see for a detailed analysis of the syllabi Hedtke and Uppenbrock 2011).

Table 2: Advanced secondary Social Studies Curriculum- Analysis of Six German Laender (Gymnasium, senior highschool/Oberstufe, 11-12/13), timeline, [A-Laender/socdem_white/B-Laender/conserv_christdem_grey]

Land	1990	1994	1998	1999	2003	2004	2007	2010	2011	2014
	Post-unification, Post-Maastricht period, start global expansion				Post 9/11 period, consolidation of global expansion			Post financial crisis period		
BA	BA_B_1					BA_B_2				
BW		BW_B_1				BW_B_2	———→		Curriculum-Reform 2016	
HS		HS_A_1	———		HS_B_2	————→		HS_B_3		
LS		LS_A_1	———		———→	LS_B_2				
NW				NW_A_1						NW_A_2
RP			RP_A_1						RP_A_2	

The exploration attempts to illustrate the conceptual spectrum in its development from internationalization to globalization and to focus on whether and how certain specific disciplinary conceptualizations are noticeable and at which point which disciplinary or interdisciplinary approaches are favored [politics, economics and sociology] and how the pedagogical device legitimates and regulates the disciplinary classification. The areas of ethics/religion, history, geography and biology, which are parts of the qualification framework of global learning (Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation, 2007), are excluded.

For facilitating the corpus-management and the coding QDA-tools (AntCon3/MAXQDA 11) were used. First, curricula were defined as primary documents and classified following various external characteristics (land / year / left_right gvmt etc.). Then a coding scheme was gradually developed. Firstly, the transformations of the spatial dimensions elaborated in the curricula were coded. The general coding scheme develops the semantic instances of the space: "one world", globality/ globalization, internationalization, nation state, region, and town. Afterwards, the topical structure was coded following the canonical topics of school social sciences [cf. foreign policy, trade, migration, communication]. In turn, the disciplinary (and interdisciplinary) frames connected to the topics were coded. In addition, latent value assessments and qualitative valuations with respect to the certain behavioural concepts and peda-gogical dimensions of globalization are tagged ["oppor-tunities and risks of (...)"], which highlight the contro-versial citizenship perspectives and a legitimation of the instructional representations (see e.g. explicating global competences, such as the development of critical atti-tudes towards technological and environmental globa-lization). The analysis thus combines the topical/ disciplinary dimension with the ratings of regulative stances, e.g. critical thinking about opportunities and risks of globalization. Finally, the legitimation stances regarding the educational actualization of globalization in the field of citizenship education were recorded and tracked for a concurrence with specific disciplinary classifications (Tab. 3).

Table 3: Educational legitimation and curricular values connected with globalization / anchors (1990-2014)

Period	Pedagogical legitimation codes	Dominant value judgements
Post-Maastricht/ unification Germany: In search of a new post cold war-order	Global expansion (HS_A_1) "At the dawn of the 21st century, the territories, peoples, societies, cultures and nations of the world are connected in various ways with each other, depend on each other, are involved in special competitive relationships and exposed to the influence of global developments"	"janusface of globalization" NW_A_1
Post-0911 Germany: New international uncertainties and a new German role as a sovereign power at the heart of Europe	Retrenchment/New role (HS_B_2) "As the most populated state in the middle of Europe, Germany is in a new position after the end of the East-West conflict, its foreign policy has to secure the old west bonds and the close economic relations with its old partners and must simultaneously secure the openness to the newly democratized or partially politically unstable Eastern European countries." "learning about globalization students learn being a responsible German citizen" BA_B_2	"opportunities and risks" LS_B_2
Post-Crisis: Negative effects of globalization, lack of governability	Risk Discourse dominant (RP_A_2,NW_A_2) "students have to comprehend risks of global structures, processes, problems and conflicts with regard to climate change and sustainable development"	"winner and looser" NW_A_2

First findings of the analysis suggest a strong orientation towards economic curricular classifications, when it comes to globalization at the German upper secondary level education on globalization. The diachronic analysis shows a move from the canonical instruction of trade theory towards a controversial, but less disciplinarily framed classroom actualization of the role of free trade and of free movement of capital in a globalized world economy. Further, the topics evoked in the context of global learning are disproportionately often associated with general life risks such as food safety/product safety etc., environmental risks and other global resource crisis symptoms. However, the interconnectedness of fewer disciplinary knowledge frames with more behavioural regulation, which is stipulated by Bernstein, cannot be fully confirmed, as the regulative instances are generally very scarce in the corpus. It is though important to note that nowhere in the corpus of the thirteen curricula positive evaluative perspectives of Non-German globalized citizens of the world are highlighted and seriously taken into account for being presented in educational actualizations of the globalized world economy. Countries and economies outside the Western hemisphere tend to have special curricular parts to play as objects and targets of western development policies and not as actors in a globalized economy. Emerging countries and very poor countries are systematically mentioned in the same breath, globalization as an opportunity for the empowerment of former colonial countries is excluded. The perspectivization of their development reflects a European benevolent paternalism towards the non-OECD countries, see for example:

BW_B_1:_"Students learn about different theories explaining the backwardness and the underdevelopment of countries in the so called third world […] and different strategies of development, which can be employed to reduce problems and risks of unequal development and backwardness"

LS_A_1: „Solutions have to be found for the poor countries to make sure that the central challenges of economic growth and the overexploitation of environmental resources will not further aggravate the global ecological crisis."

Nevertheless, the "worldwide competition"-frame, that is the liberal vision of a globalized world economy, is clearly topical while the discussion about global regulation of workforce etc. is curricularly more or less completely lacking (exceptions RP_A_2; HS_A_1). That would parallel the skill-oriented citizenship education/ social studies in the US that is oriented towards the competence-building of a German globalized workforce (Beltramo, 2013).

However, the politics-oriented curricula frames of globalization gain reputation, however slightly different from what could be expected being a genuine education to global citizenship: The fact of globalization is more and more visualized as a problem for national democracy and for meaningful citizen participation at the regional and at the national level. Forms of global governance are presented as being problematic types of government with a dominance of non-state actors who tend to alienate "normal" democratic decision-making processes. Moreover, there is an increasingly negative assessment of governance in the EU (eg. when comparing NW_A_1, NW_A_2) and its regulations, which are problematized in didactical classroom formats such as case studies on EU-policy-making (NW_A_2).

As for the political orientations of the curriculum-writers at the Laender ministries, it is at this point of the evaluation difficult to draw clear-cut conclusions. In the context of global learning at the "Gymnasium" there is no measurable and significant political Laender bias. It may seem as if the social-democratic curriculum planner tended to emphasize the democratic challenges that the globalization process states for citizens and politicians at the national level. But the small number of Laender and of legitimating code-units (n=13) do not allow to draw such far reaching conclusions.

5 Conclusions and future research: Global learning or learning for the globalized nation state?

In conclusion, the US hypotheses about a Germano-European citizenship education that is oriented towards global citizenship and cosmopolitanism in a world polity can clearly not be confirmed. On the contrary, the legitimation stances with regard to the educational settings and content frames for global learning tend to undermine the global citizenship vision. The 1990s discourse about the educational attainment of "multi-level-citizenship" and the educational training for building multiple identities have almost completely disappeared from the German school social science curricula. But, there is a general and systematic relation between the legitimation values conferred to the political exterior and its modes of governance with the disciplinary formatting. The political dimensions of globalization are absent in the expansion era at the beginning of the millennium, getting politicized at the national level during the crisis era. Thus, globalization is evoked as process that states more challenges than opportunities. But, the dominance of economic frames and of curricular classifications of topics in terms of economic education triggers the self-concept of Germany as one of the world's leading economies. Especially economically potent Laender as BW and BA reserve large parts of the *mise en scence* of globalization in their classrooms for the dissemination of facts and figures about the economic challenges and successes of Germany in a globalized world economy. If there is are further conclusion to draw on the general curricular transformation frames with regard to the degree of political influences one may retain a more moralizing stance and more frequent references to global responsibilities in the A-Laender, that is Laender under social-democratic government. But even social democratic Laender governments are far from being oriented toward global citizenship and cosmopolitan education as they still fear globalization for being a major threat to local democracy.

The analytic differential with regard to a regulative mise en scene of global learning, which coincides with particular disciplinary frameworks and behavioural aspects of the pedagogic device are analytically difficult to discriminate at a diachronic level. Still, the regulative bias lays still more in the changing political visions of globalization as a 'difficult outside' of the national state (see the impressive EU-example), but not in the differential targeting of different types of knowers. A further analysis of how knowledge about globalization is curricularly transformed for different types of school clienteles should be more revealing about epistemological segregation in a Bernsteinian sense.

Table 4: Globalization, disciplinary references and curricular spatial artefacts from 1994-2014

	Disciplinary Format / Political		Disciplinary Format / Economy	
Global Level code families global IO, world society, word polity/UN risks_opportunities	POL/GLOB *2000s* _Agenda 21 _global responsibility	*2010s* _ global risk community _ priv.actors/terr _global governance	EC/GLOB **2000s** _global economic integration	**2010s** _Germany and global trade _economic gvnance
International Level code families non-global IO, NGO, EU, German foreign policy risks_ opportunities	POL/INT *1990s* _conflicts _war peace _ polarity _development	**2010s**	EC/INT	*1990s* _competition __trade (theory)
National Level code families nation/Region/town government risks_ opportunities	POL/NAT **2010s** _democracy /dem deficit		EC/NAT	**2010s** _inequality

List of curricula incorporated into the Corpus

(Sources: Curriculum database of KMK http://www.kmk.org/dokumentation/lehrplaene.html; curriculum database of the University of Bielefeld, http://www.lehrplaene.org; Original documents of Ministries of Education of German Laender)

Baden-Württemberg (BW):

• Bildungsstandards für Gemeinschaftskunde im Rahmen des Fächerverbundes Geographie – Wirtschaft – Gemeinschaftskunde Gymnasium Klassen 8, 10, Kursstufe
http://www.bildung-staerkt-menschen.de/service/downloads/Bildungsstandards/Gym/Gym_Gk_bs.pdf;
Ministeriums für Kultus, Jugend und Sport Baden-Württemberg Ministeriums für Kultus, Jugend und Sport Baden-Württemberg (2004)

• Bildungsplan für das Gymnasium, Stuttgart, 21. Februar 1994, Amtsblatt des Ministeriums für Kultus, Jugend und Sport Baden-Württemberg

Lower-Saxony (LS):

• Rahmenrichtlinien für das Gymnasium - gymnasiale Oberstufe, die Gesamtschule - gymnasiale Oberstufe, das Fachgymnasium, das Abendgymnasium, das Kolleg, Niedersächsisches Kultusministerium (1994)

• Kerncurriculum für das Gymnasium – gymnasiale Oberstufe, die Gesamtschule – gymnasiale Oberstufe, das Fachgymnasium, das Abendgymnasium, das Kolleg; Politik-Wirtschaft; Niedersächsisches Kultusministerium (2007)

Bavaria (BA):

• Lehrplan für das Bayrische Gymnasium; Juli 1999 Bayrisches Staatsministerium für Unterricht und Kultus München

• Das Gymnasium in Bayern; Lehrplan Jahrgangsstufen 11-12; 2004
www.isb-gym8-lehrplan.de

North-Rhine Westfalia (NW):

• Richtlinien und Lehrpläne für die Sekundarstufe II – Gymnasium/Gesamtschule in Nordrhein-Westfalen; Sozialwissenschaften; Auszug aus dem Amtsblatt des Ministerium für Schule und Weiterbildung, Wissenschaft und Forschung des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen; 1. Auflage 1999

• Kernlehrplan für die Sekundarstufe II Gymnasium/Gesamtschule in Nordrhein-Westfalen; Sozialwissenschaften, Sozialwissenschaften/Wirtschaft; Entwurf Verbändebeteiligung: 17.03.2013

Rhineland-Palatinate (RP):

• Lehrplan Gemeinschaftskunde, Grundfach und Leistungsfach mit dem Schwerpunkt Geschichte, Schwerpunkt Erdkunde, Schwerpunkt Sozialkunde, in den Jahrgangsstufen 11 bis 13 der gymnasialen Oberstufe (Mainzer Studienstufe); Ministerium für Bildung, Wissenschaft und Weiterbildung Rheinland-Pfalz, Mainz 1998

• Lehrplananpassung: Gesellschaftswissenschaftliches Aufgabenfeld; Grundfächer: Erdkunde/Sozialkunde, Geschichte; Leistungsfächer Erkunde, Sozialkunde, Geschichte in den Jahrgangsstufen 11 bis 13 der gymnasialen Oberstufe (Mainzer Studienstufe); Erarbeitet im Auftrag des Ministeriums für Bildung, Wissenschaft, Weiterbildung und Kultur, Rheinland-Pfalz; 30. Juli 2011

Hesse (HS):

• Rahmenplan gymnasiale Oberstufe. Aufgabenfeld II. Gemeinschaftskunde, Hessen / Kultusministerium (Ed.), Frankfurt, Main: Diesterweg, 1995. 46 S.

• Politik /Wirtschaft - Gymnasium - 7-13 /2003
http://www.lehrplaene.org/hessen/he_p-wi_gy_7-13

• Lehrplan Politik und Wirtschaft, Gymnasialer Bildungsgang, Jahrgangsstufen 7G bis 9G und gymnasiale Oberstufe; Hessisches Kulturministerium 2010

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Jennifer Bruen, Veronica Crosbie, Niamh Kelly, Maria Loftus, Agnès Maillot, Áine McGillicuddy, Juliette Péchenart

Teaching Controversial Topics in the Humanities and Social Sciences in Ireland: Using Structured Academic Controversy to Develop Multi-Perspectivity in the Learner

- Educators in all disciplines are regularly confronted with controversial issues in their classrooms.
- There is a gap in the research on how best to deal with controversy in the classroom.
- SAC can support the development of multi-perspectivity in the learner.
- SAC, and similar constructivist approaches, involve significant time commitment by lecturer and student.
- Longitudinal and cross-cultural research on how to approach classroom-based controversy is required.

Purpose: This study had two main objectives: The first was to explore the extent to which a group of University lecturers feel that they are prepared to deal with controversial issues in their classrooms. The second was to elicit their views on a didactic approach known as Structured Academic Controversy (SAC). SAC is a constructivist teaching strategy intended to aid the learner in developing their views on controversial issues and in understanding alternative views with the ultimate aim of locating a compromise position.
Method: A qualitative intervention was designed to introduce six university academics from diverse specialisms to SAC by way of reflective engagement with it in the role of learners.
Findings: The participants in this study deal with controversial issues frequently and several feel ill-prepared to do so. They identified several challenges associated with the use of SAC. These relate primarily to class size and curricular overload. However, despite the challenges, the participants all recognized the potential value of such approaches in developing multi-perspectivity, critical thinking, listening and negotiating skills in the learner. Future larger-scale, longitudinal studies in a variety of cultural contexts are needed to develop approaches which can facilitate those approaching controversial issues in their classrooms.

Keywords:
Teaching innovation, controversy, Structured Academic Controversy (SAC), multi-perspectivity, higher education, didactics

1 Introduction: Objectives and overview

This paper presents a piece of qualitative research designed to explore the extent to which educators feel comfortable dealing with controversial issues in their classrooms, and to consider the potential value and pitfalls associated with one emerging approach, that of Structured Academic Controversy, or SAC. It is hoped that the insights obtained would inform the teaching practice of others.

The paper begins with a definition of controversy as it is understood in this piece of research and as it was defined for the participants. It then describes SAC in more detail before going on to describe a pedagogical intervention designed to introduce six university lectures to SAC in the role of learners.

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2 Defining controversy

There are many definitions of controversy. However, Dearden's (1981, p. 38) definition of a controversial issue as one on which 'contrary views can be held [....] without those views being contrary to reason' remains pertinent today. The key point here is one of perception. From an individual's perspective, their stance on a particular issue is a reasonable one (Oulton, Dillon & Grace, 2007, p. 411) while the holder of a contrary view also considers their position to be valid. As Oulton, Dillon & Grace (2007, p. 411, p. 505) emphasise, protagonists on different sides of a controversy may have the same information at their disposal but may interpret it differently, or may base their views on different sub-sets of the available information.

It is intended that today's school leavers and university graduates should be engaged critical thinkers and, as such, capable of dealing with controversial issues, or indeed 'ill-defined problems' (Cotterill, 2015, p. 407) in a constructive manner. It is also intended that higher education and indeed education generally should not shy away from presenting issues which are controversial in society as controversial in the classroom.

This is one of the pillars of the *Beutelsbacher Konsens* and, indeed, similar principles are at the core of most liberal education systems which are based on the premise that learners should be free to make up their own minds on controversial issues and reach informed

decisions (for example Qualifications and Curriculum Authority, 1998). A considerable body of research laments, however, the fact that many of these laudable aims remain aspirational and that many school leavers and university graduates lack the critical awareness called for in their respective, national educational policy documents (Bruen, 2013b; Bruen, 2014; Kennelly & Llewellyn, 2011; Kerr, Sturman, Schulz & Burge, 2010). One possible approach emerging from the field of political science is SAC. SAC is described in more detail in the following section.

3 Structured Academic Controversy (SAC)

Also known as 'Structured Controversial Dialogue' (Zainuddin & Moore, 2003) or 'Co-operative Controversy' (D'Eon & Proctor, 2001), SAC can be described as both a constructivist teaching strategy and a cooperative learning strategy (Avery & Simmons, 2008). It is perceived as constructivist in that learners construct their own knowledge via interaction with their peers (Biggs & Tang 2011; Jones & Man Sze Lau, 2010; Jones & Peachy, 2005). Proponents of SAC (for example Hahn, 2009; Johnson, Johnson & Smith, 2000) stress that it promotes intellectual inquiry in a number of ways which are particularly relevant to developing an ability to deal with controversial issues. These include building coherent arguments based on evidence, formulating persuasive arguments, critically analysing and challenging the position of others and in particular seeing issues from a variety of perspectives in advance of seeking reasoned consensual judgements by synthesising and integrating the best evidence available (Freedman-Herreid, 2005).

SAC also requires a 'flipped' classroom (Berrett, 2012) approach whereby learners are provided with, or required to source, materials to read and internalise on an issue in advance of classroom contact. The materials should include arguments which represent polarised positions on a controversial issue together with additional material on the issue. During the class contact hour (or hours) which follows, the focus is on interaction. The students are generally divided into groups of four. Each pair within the group prepares a polar position on the controversial issue, which forms the basis of the exercise and is usually selected by their lecturer or teacher.

The following series of steps (summarized in Figure 1) constitute the key elements of SAC.

Step 1: The first pair of students presents their argument to the other pair within their group of four.
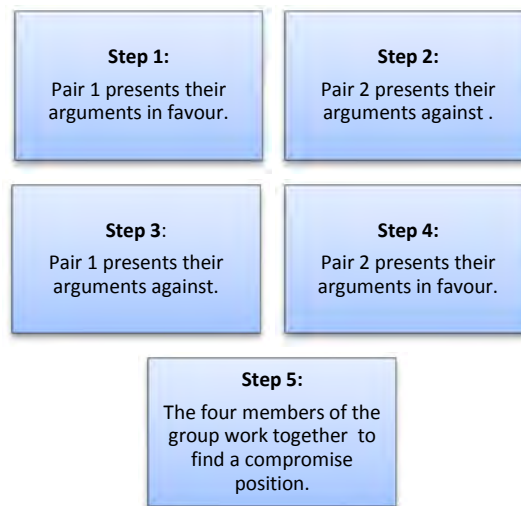Step 2: The second pair then present their arguments to the first pair.
In Steps 3 and 4, the roles are reversed with each pair representing the alternative position and presenting both the arguments they have heard and any additional points that occur to them.

As such, the aim of the student pairs is not to 'win the argument' but rather to uncover the various arguments

around the issue in question. In the fifth and final stage, all four students in the group are asked to attempt to reach a consensus on the issue (Bruen, 2015; Hahn, 2009; Zainuddin & Moore, 2003). If consensus cannot be reached, the team is required to clarify where exactly the differences lie (Pedagogy in Action: the SERC portal for educators, 2015, serc.carleton.edu/sp/library /sac/why. html).

Figure 1: The core elements of SAC

Step 1: Pair 1 presents their arguments in favour.	**Step 2:** Pair 2 presents their arguments against .
Step 3: Pair 1 presents their arguments against.	**Step 4:** Pair 2 presents their arguments in favour.

Step 5: The four members of the group work together to find a compromise position.

An additional, optional step, originally introduced by D'Eon & Proctor (2001), involves switching the pairs between teams in the larger class group for the second set of presentations as part of what they describe as a "double switch" (2001, p. 251). The term "double switch" is used to indicate that the participants are switching both group and advocacy position. The addition of this element has the advantage that the students are exposed to richer input in the form of an additional set of arguments.

It is also possible to follow-up on the exercise by setting individual or group assignments based on the controversial issue for students to complete outside of the classroom. These range from essays, to newspaper articles, to reflections depending on the level of the students and the nature of the module.

The role of the teacher or lecturer during the process is that of facilitator. Their primary objective is to ensure the process runs smoothly and in so doing to encourage divergent thinking in the learner. Appropriate one-to-one questioning during the different stages can be used to encourage students to elaborate on their view and/or deepen their thinking. In terms of the classroom environment, it has also been recognised (Hahn, 2009; Zainuddin & Moore, 2003) that there are a number of key features of the classroom environment which should be enforced for SAC to work successfully. These include creating an open, trusting classroom climate in which students feel free to express their views and a genuine willingness among all of those involved to listen to, consider and make an effort to understand alternative perspectives. Participants must also be willing to modify

their position based on supporting evidence in order to find a compromise position where possible.

4 Teaching controversial issues in the higher education classroom and SAC: A qualitative study

4.1 Objectives
This study had two main objectives:

The first was to explore the extent to which a group of University lecturers feel that they are prepared to deal with controversial issues in their classrooms.

The second was to introduce this group of lecturers to a particular approach to dealing with controversial issues in the classroom known as 'Structured Academic Controversy', or SAC, and, following their direct engagement with it as learners, to elicit their views regarding its potential benefits and associated challenges.

4.2 Instruments
Questionnaire
In order to achieve the above objectives, a questionnaire was designed containing the following, open-ended, questions (Figure 2), designed to encourage reflection on approaches to the teaching of controversial issues.

Figure 2: Questions posed

PART 1: EXPLORATORY QUESTIONS
1. Do you deal with controversial issues in the classroom? Yes/No
2. If yes, please reflect briefly below on the types of issues and your approach to dealing with them in the classroom.

PART 2: STRUCTURED ACADEMIC CONTROVERSY
1. Please reflect briefly on this exercise? What did you like or dislike about it?
2. Do you think this approach could be useful in any of the modules you teach? Please explain your answer.
3. If you were using this technique in class, what would you do differently?
4. What (if anything) do you think might prevent this technique from working well in the classroom?

SAC Materials
As the intention was to engage the participants with SAC, a controversial issue was selected. The topic selected as the basis of the SAC exercise centred on an issue currently under discussion in the Irish media and among educational policy makers concerning the compulsory study of the Irish language in all years of the Irish education system.

Briefly, the Republic of Ireland has two official languages, Irish and English. While the Irish language holds a special place in the Irish constitution, English is the first language of the vast majority of those living in Ireland. According to the most recent census, approximately 1.7 percent, or 77,185 people out of a population of 4,581,269, speaks Irish on a daily basis outside of the education system (Central Statistics Office (Ireland),

2012). Other languages widely spoken among immigrant communities in Ireland include Albanian, Arabic, Chinese, Lithuanian, Moldovan, Polish, Romanian, Russian, Vietnamese and Yoruba (Royal Irish Academy 2011).The Irish language is compulsory within the Irish education system with all pupils required to study the Irish language in both primary and secondary school (up to approximately the age of 18 or whenever they leave full-time education). Apart from English, Irish remains the only language enjoying such compulsory status with the study of an additional language other than Irish or English optional within the education system. As such, Ireland remains unique within the European Union as the only country, apart from Scotland, in which the study of a foreign language is not compulsory at any stage in formal education (Royal Irish Academy, 2011).

There has been much discussion in recent years in Ireland concerning the need to increase foreign language capacity and to acknowledge the linguistic diversity already present in Irish society (Bruen, 2013a; Bruen & Kelly, 2016). One element of the debate concerns the compulsory status of Irish, with those in favour of retaining this status emphasizing the importance of the Irish language to Irish history and identity as well as its value in introducing school pupils to language learning at a young age, thus laying the foundations for lifelong language learning. On the other side of the debate are those who feel that the focus on Irish is at the expense of other languages which may be squeezed out of the curriculum as a result of the time devoted to the study of Irish. This topic was considered to be suitable for this exercise as, in line with the definition of controversy above, it is one on which 'contrary views can be held without those views being contrary to reason'.

Despite the fact that the the participants could have been expected to be familiar with the different arguments associated with this issue, relevant materials were nonetheless sourced and made available to the participants in advance. These included a newspaper article[1] and the Irish *National Languages Strategy* (Royal Irish Academy, 2011).

4.3 Participants
The participants were all lecturers in a Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences at a Dublin University. They were approached as they lecture on a range of degrees including the BA in Contemporary Culture and Society, the BA in Applied Language and Translation Studies, the Bachelor of Business (International) and the BA in Global Business as well as the MA in Children's Literature and the MA in Comparative Literature. In addition, the participants research, lecture and supervise research students in diverse subject areas in which controversial issues are likely to be present in the course content on a relatively frequent basis. Their particular areas of expertise include Contemporary Cultural Studies, European History and Politics, French Culture and Society, French, German and Japanese as a Foreign Languages, European Children's Literature, Business

Ethics, Global Cultures, Nationalism, Globalisation and Asian Studies.

4.4 Procedure

The six university lecturers (see previous section 4.c.) were asked whether they would participate in a piece of qualitative research designed to explore their approaches to dealing with controversial issues in their classrooms and to engage with SAC in the role of learners. All six agreed to participate and were assured that they were free to withdraw from the study at any time and that their individual inputs would remain anonymous. The lecturers elected to participate in the role of co-researchers and, following the exercise, to provide input into the drafting of the resultant research paper (for a similar approach, see Chen, Masch & Finze, 2014).

The researcher selected an appropriate controversial topic (see previous section 4.b.) and provided the participants with material on the topic to read in advance. On the day of the exercise, the participants completed the first part of the questionnaire (see previous section 4.b. and Appendix 1) individually. They were then divided into a group of four and a group of two (for a similar approach including video clips of the process in action in the science classroom, see Pedagogy in Action (2015): serc.carleton.edu/sp/library/sac/why. html). The group of four was further divided into two pairs in a set up approximating Figure 3:

Figure 3: Group Work Phase

Source: By User: SarahStierch (Own work) [CC BY-SA 3.0 (creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0)], via Wikimedia Commons

The group of four was further divided into two pairs. Each pair/individual prepared its arguments, one pair in favour of the claim that 'The Irish language should be optional within the Irish education system' and the second pair against. The pairs then presented their arguments to one another.

An extract of summary transcriptions reconstructed from participant/researcher notes from one of the groups is contained in Figure 4:

Figure 4: Reconstructed extract from presentation of arguments by one group of participants

Step 1:
Pair One – Arguments in favour:
[…] I think that Irish should be optional in secondary school in Ireland. I think it's good that all students should learn some language but it doesn't have to be Irish. There is a big selection of languages for them to choose from and with different family histories and backgrounds very common in Ireland now, it might be good for them to be able to choose a language other than Irish. Irish is very closely linked to Irish identity and history, for example, place names but the students will have done some in primary school and should be allowed to make a choice in secondary school. [….]

Step 2:
Pair Two – Arguments against:
[…] Speaking Irish is one of the main things that differentiates the Irish from other nationalities. If we don't make sure that children learn it properly in school then there is a danger that it may die out in the future and that will be something that we will regret. At that stage it will be too late to change what has happened. In secondary school, students are exposed to Irish language literature and can gain a deeper understanding of Irish history and culture and the Irish 'perspective' on the world. It needs to be taught well and made more attractive to students. The problem is not that the language is compulsory but maybe that the curriculum and syllabus need to be looked at again as well as the different language teaching methodologies and assessment methods. [….]

The participants were then asked to reverse their advocacy positions and, after a further fifteen minutes of preparation time, to present the alternative position. The double switch option referred to in the previous section was introduced at this point and one individual and one pair swapped with one another before presenting their views. After this step had been completed, the group were asked to attempt to reach a compromise position within their small groups or, where this did not prove possible, to instead clarify the particularly points on which differences remained.

As a result of their particular SAC exercise, two compromise positions were achieved by the two groups (Figure 5).

Once the exercise had been concluded, the participants completed the second part of the questionnaire individually giving their views regarding the usefulness or otherwise of the exercise and its applicability to their individual teaching situations. They also engaged in a short discussion facilitated by the researcher on the value or otherwise of the exercise.

The questionnaires were analysed using descriptive content analysis and the emerging themes identified. These are reported in the following sub-section.

Figure 5: Compromise positions reached by the two groups of participants following engagement with SAC

Negotiated Compromise, Group 1:
Irish and an additional language other than English should be made compulsory within the Irish education system to Junior Certificate state (approximately age 16). Subsequently either Irish or an additional language should be compulsory for the remainder of formal education.

Negotiated Compromise, Group 2:
Both Irish and an additional foreign language should be compulsory throughout formal education with measures such as Content and Language Integrated Learning and a lengthening of the school day, and possibly the school year, considered in order to free up space and time within the curriculum.

4.5 Findings

In their questionnaires, all of the participants reported being confronted with controversial issues in the classroom on a regular basis in, at least some, of the modules they deliver. This applies equally to classes directly devoted to the study of political or social issues as to those concerned with the study of a foreign language. This is owing to the fact that in studying a foreign language, lecturers are in many cases free to select the content which will provide a medium for the study of the foreign language, often choosing to deal with political, social and cultural issues.

Analysis of the responses to the questionnaires also indicates that three of the participants feel uncomfortable dealing with issues that are what they described as 'too controversial'. They report tending to shy away from them as a result of being unsure how best to approach these issues without alienating or embarrassing some of their students or 'putting them on the spot', i.e. 'forcing' them to express their views on sensitive issues to their fellow students.

The issues the participants report covering in their classrooms are particularly diverse. They range from the role and remit of world bodies such as the International Monetary Fund and the United Nations, controversial issues associated with phenomena such as globalisation (see also Crosbie, 2014), multiculturalism, diversity, and racism, as well as educational issues arising within a module on children's literature including the age from which children should be exposed to subjects such as war, refugees, the Holocaust, homosexuality, sexuality more generally, death etc.; and finally linguistic issues, for example, the term used in Japanese to describe a non-native Japanese person.

In their questionnaire responses, the participants also reported that their approaches to dealing with such issues primarily involve either discussion or debate, elaborating on this point with the explanation that debate involves the lecturer allocating a particular stance to sub-groups of students while discussion allows them to express their views freely. The participants further observed that discussion is often based on a stimulus of some kind such as an image, text, quote or question. For example, a newspaper article reporting on the awarding of the title of *European of the Year* to the Irish *Taoiseach*

(Prime Minister), Enda Kenny (Figure 6), is used as a stimulus for engagement with the currently controversial question of what makes a good European and where the boundaries between loyalty to a country and loyalty to a union such as the EU lie, as well as issues concerning the role and remit of the EU more generally.

Figure 6: Irish Taoiseach [Prime Minister] named European of the Year (2012)

Enda Kenny picks up his European of the Year gong
Lise Hand in Berlin

The Taoiseach was presented with European of the Year award at a ceremony in Berlin this evening - and accepted it on behalf of the Irish people.

Source (Article): http://www.independent.ie [08.11.2012], Source (Photo): http://creativecommons.org/licenses], via Wikimedia Commons

The participants stressed in their responses that there was a need for awareness, on their part, of possible approaches and further training in the form of in-service seminars and workshops, exchange of best practice etc., also known as Continuous Professional Development (CPD), in the area. They welcomed their exposure to SAC as part of this study. One, however, who works with large groups of more than eighty students on average, did note that it was difficult in such a context to use any particular approach to dealing with controversial issues. Relatively speaking, the most popular feature of SAC was the requirement to switch sides or advocacy position, with one participant commenting that she '…liked the fact that you had to take both sides and that you had to listen…'. Participants also responded positively to the requirement to listen without interrupting and without taking notes which several felt focussed the mind. Other positive aspects mentioned were the challenging nature of the exercise and the value of working in pairs.

A number of challenges associated with the use of this approach were also identified and teased out by the participants in their responses to the questions posed in the questionnaires. Firstly, it was felt by all six participants that devoting more time (than the one hour devoted to it in this case) to the exercise would enhance the process and prevent 'superficial treatment of the

topic', as well as helping to avoid sweeping, general and unfounded statements such as:

> Irish is boring and no longer relevant.
> All other countries learn their national language at school, why can't we?
> Irish is badly taught in schools.

One suggestion was to conduct the first step in one class contact hour and the second several days later in an additional contact hour, perhaps requiring the learners to engage in further reading or written production on the issue in the intervening period. One participant suggested that, were they to use the approach in their classes, they would '…try to give more time or spread out the activities'. This requirement to devote either one or two contact hours to the exercise was of concern to some of the participants who spoke of the existing time pressure already placed upon lecturers in universities in terms of the material to be covered in short time periods. One participant expressed this view in her questionnaire as follows:

"As usual, lots of great ideas and would love the luxury of having a few hours every semester to do great tasks like this but under too much pressure time wise to cover the course as it is.

A second challenge concerns the potential for the students to get confused by the need to switch advocacy position and in some cases, group. One lecturer commented that she '…would only switch the groups of students once if I were to use this technique', particularly as she has more than forty students enrolled on the module in question. Two others favoured a simplified, two-step approach whereby the students present their views to one another and then simply swap and present the opposite view. In contrast, several participants with smaller groups suggested adding additional elements to the process, time permitting, for example presenting your partner's view to the group.

Another suggested developing a written version of the approach whereby the students would be required to produce a written piece in pairs, firstly in favour and subsequently on the opposing side of a statement relating to the issue. According to such an approach, the lecturer could monitor language accuracy in advance of the pairs exchanging their material and producing a written proposal for a compromise. This suggestion was made by the lecturers interested in using the approach in a foreign language setting (Japanese as a foreign language and French as a foreign language).

The participants all stated in the questionnaires that the exercise would be useful in smaller classes of about sixteen students where there was plenty of time available with one commenting that it 'would be hard to replicate in a big group (with more than twenty five students)' and a second that '…an issue is working with large groups and trying to manage discussions'. The potential for 'chaos' was also mentioned and 'spatial con-

cerns' raised around the need for students to be able to move freely around a classroom.

The need for in-depth preparation in advance, on the part of the students, was also noted in the written responses. The importance of the students carefully reading and reflecting on the material in advance and informing themselves thoroughly about the issue at hand was stressed if 'mainstream 'pub-like' conversations' are to be avoided during the exercise. One participant commented that there was a danger of students, who were inadequately prepared, falling back on simplistic stereotypes when required to switch sides in an argument. It was stressed that a good knowledge of the issue is required for high quality discussion to take place. Three participants commented in their questionnaires that they would therefore ensure that their students had time to engage with relevant material in advance and to prepare their arguments with their partner on the day. Despite the challenge this poses, however, one participant observed in her response that if successful, the use of SAC could 'expand students' knowledge of and approaches to contemporary social or cultural debates'.

Despite the challenges to be overcome, four of the six participants explicitly commented in their questionnaires on how they would attempt to use SAC in the future, for example, 'I could see myself trying this in class next year' or '…will try it with the final years (that is, those students in the fourth and final year of their undergraduate degree) next year!' Content areas where the participants felt the technique might be suitable included modules on *Globalisation and Business Ethics* looking, for example, at issues around migration into Ireland. Several of the participants also noted in their written responses that the technique could have value as an exercise where the students were in a foreign language learning environment. The need for a more explicit language focus at the preparation stage was stressed, however, in this regard.

In addition, the short bursts of intensive activity associated with SAC were, it was felt, potentially suited to students with increasingly 'short concentration spans'. Participants also noted that the approach was superior to the debate as it is challenging but useful to 'argue the other side and disagree with your own opinions or 'preconceived opinions'. Indeed, some of the participants felt that engagement with SAC had helped to develop their own ability to view issues from multiple perspectives with one commenting:

"It has certainly made me question the positions that I (un)consciously take and that I need to be more balanced in the approach I take.

5 Concluding remarks

The purpose of this paper was to present a piece of qualitative research designed to explore the extent to which a group of university lecturers feel prepared to deal with controversial issues in their respective classrooms. It also reported on an intervention designed to introduce them to a particular approach, SAC, and to elicit their views

regarding the potential benefits and challenges of this approach in practice.

The findings indicate that the participants in the study are faced with controversial issues on a frequent basis. They reported feeling uncomfortable doing so, in some instances, and ill-prepared to deal with such issues.

Following their engagement with SAC in the role of learners, the participants identified a number of challenges and benefits associated with its use: The barriers to the effective use of SAC mentioned most frequently were related to the size of class groups and the number of class contact hours. The participants agreed that the logistics of engaging with SAC would be more difficult with larger class groups who have a limited amount of class-time to spend on such exercises. Despite the challenges, the participants recognized a potential value in the approach and indicated that SAC would be a useful addition to the range of approaches they currently employ in their classrooms. In particular, four of the participants emphasized in the discussion following participation in the exercise that SAC would be useful in helping students develop the ability to view issues from different perspectives.

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Unintended Revelations in History Textbooks: The Precarious Authenticity and Historical Continuity of the Slovak Nation[1]

- This article shows how to expose misconceptions of ethnocentric education.
- It applies insights of current scholarship on nationalism.
- Slovakia´s history textbooks are examined as a case study.
- Findings undermine the concept of the Slovak nation as authentic and historically continuous.
- The article also underlines implications for research and practice within Slovakia and beyond.

Purpose: This article proposes an analytical framework that helps to identify and challenge misconceptions of ethnocentrism found in pre-tertiary teaching resources for history and the social sciences in numerous countries.

Design: Drawing on nationalism studies, the analytical framework employs ideas known under the umbrella terms of primordialism, constructivism and ethno-symbolism. In applying it, the conceptualisation of the Slovak nation, as presented in the history textbooks currently used in lower secondary schools in Slovakia, is examined as a case study.

Findings: A conceptually inconsistent picture emerges from the findings, displaying prevailing patterns of primordialism and a degree of ethno-symbolism. Nevertheless, the article concludes that history textbooks lend, on a number of occasions, unintended support to constructivism. Hence, both this inconsistency in theoretical approach, and frequent use of problematic assumptions based on primordialism and ethno-symbolism show that the attempts of textbooks' authors to demonstrate the authenticity and historical continuity of the Slovak nation remain precarious.

Research implications: The analytical framework used in this article is well-suited for multi-country examinations of national narratives in curricula and textbooks of history and the social sciences.

Practical implications: Teaching materials and pedagogic approaches drawing on constructivism could enhance critical engagement with ethnocentrism in Slovakia and beyond.

Keywords:
History education, national identity, textbooks, Slovakia

1 Introduction

This article proposes an analytical framework that helps to identify and challenge misconceptions of ethnocentrism that continue to impact, in particular, the design of pre-tertiary teaching resources for history and the social sciences in numerous countries (e.g. Cajani & Ross, 2007; Korostelina & Lässig, 2013). It is set against a twofold background: the worldwide recurrence of conflict potential of nationalism and the substantial discrepancy between the academic views on national identity and the national narratives used in pre-tertiary education.

The conflict potential of nationalism—as exposed, for example, during the twentieth century by the First and Second World Wars, the decolonisation conflicts in Africa and Asia, and the disintegration of former Yugoslavia, or, more recently, by the Ukrainian crisis and the anti-immigrant sentiments found across Europe and beyond—continues to prompt academic enquiry (Goode, 2014; Legrain, 2009; Özkirimli, 2010; Troconis, 2015).

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This general claim also applies to the analysis of national narratives in curricula and textbooks of history and the social sciences designed for use in pre-tertiary education (e.g. Schüddekopf, 1967; Stobart, 1999; Pingel, 2010; UNESCO, 1949). Despite the controversies about their role which have been raised by academics and educational practitioners, they remain integral components of formal schooling. Curricula underlie the teaching process, and textbooks are seen as their "dominant translations" as well as "national instruments perpetuating cultures and ideologies" (Repoussi & Tutiaux-Guillon, 2010, p. 156). Therefore, it is not surprising that they are considered by many analysts as appropriate objects for academic enquiry.

The research methods employed in the examination of national narratives vary and range from descriptive accounts to more specific, analytical approaches. Kohn's (1944) contentious civic versus ethnic classification of nationalism, which associates western Europe with socio-political maturity in contrast to the central and eastern parts of the continent, has been used alongside other theoretical perspectives such as the world culture theory, which highlights the convergence of educational practices across the globe. Working from single case studies and international comparisons, scholars have acknowledged a distinct shift from uncritical glorification to a more sober evaluation of national histories or the portrayal of other nations. At the same time, they also argue

that the national narratives presented in the curricula and textbooks of history and the social sciences used in pre-tertiary education demonstrate an essentialist bias (e.g. Berghahn & Schissler, 1987; Cajani & Ross, 2007; Findor, 2011; Hranova, 2011; Korostelina & Lässig, 2013; Potapova, 2015; Ridley, 2011). In contrast, in academia a substantial number of scholars reject the notion of nations as essentially unique and antique forms of collective identities (Brubaker, 2009; Özkirimli, 2010).

Motivated by the conflict potential of nationalism and the striking discrepancy between current scholarship and the teaching resources for history and the social sciences used at pre-tertiary level, I would like to contribute to the discussion on how to further the presentation of national identity at this stage of education. In so doing, I will draw attention to the conceptualisation of the nature of nations, which, in my view, lies at the heart of nationalism and its conflict potential. As such, the conceptualisation of the nature of nations should, I believe, remain at the centre of such enquiries. Therefore, by employing ideas that are conveniently summarised in academia under the umbrella terms of primordialism, constructivism and ethno-symbolism, I will develop an analytical framework which can be used to enhance a critical review of the ethnocentric model of education. I feel that this could advance the contribution education can make to the alleviation of the detrimental repercussions of nationalism. Hence, in applying this framework, I will conduct a qualitative examination of history textbooks used in Slovakia at the lower secondary level (with students aged 11-15) and published in the period of 2009-2012. My objective is to critically engage with the following question: Is the Slovak nation conceived of as given and authentic (primordialism), socially constructed and relatively modern (constructivism), or historically continuous (ethno-symbolism) form of collective belonging?

The article proceeds as follows: The second section discusses the research design that underpins my empirical examination and begins by introducing the analytical framework which will guide it. Although the selected paradigms are well known among students of nationalism, for the sake of the clarity of the argument presented herein I will highlight their central ideas. I will also outline the rationale behind the adopted research design, the textbook selection and the method which will be applied to the textbook analysis. In the third part, I will present the findings derived from my examination of textbooks. The fourth and final section of this article is reserved for concluding remarks and a brief discussion of the key implications of this research.

2 Research design
2. 1 Analytical framework

Initially a subject of historiography (in the late nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth century), the critical and interdisciplinary scholarship of nationalism has grown exponentially, particularly since the 1980s (Özkirimli, 2010). Despite the continuous controversies,

paradigmatic diversity and "terminological chaos" (Connor, 1994 [1978], p. 91) that have shaped this discussion, the tripartite division of primordialism, constructivism and ethno-symbolism has frequently been used to describe inter-related academic positions within the field (Bačová, 1999; Brubaker, 2009). More importantly for this article, their respective propositions substantially address the central issue which, I believe, remains the question of the nature of nations.

2.1.1 Primordialism

Derived from the Latin term *primordium* (original), which has its roots in *primus* (first) and *ordior* (to begin) (Oxford Dictionaries online), primordialism, frequently also called essentialism, is not considered a dominant approach within the contemporary scholarship (Bačová, 1999; Brubaker, 2009). Rather, it captures longstanding assumptions recorded in the antique accounts of the Greek historians Herodotus (circa 484–425 BC) and Polybius (circa 203–121 BC), and also much later in the writings of Enlightenment thinkers such as the German humanist Johann Gottfried Herder (1744–1803). According to this concept, nations are timeless and authentic subcategories of humanity, initially formed under the influence of a given climate or geographical location. Herder further conceived of nations as extended families linked by ties of common kinship origins and, in particular, native language. Language was for him the most critical aspect of nations, a reflection of collective character and a vehicle for the intergenerational transmission of shared traditions and culture (Huxley and Haddon, 1935; Kohn, 1944).

Herder's emphasis on vernacular languages and folk traditions as the most valuable repositories of national authenticity proved to be inspirational for early national activists across Europe. In particular, his idealised description of the Slavs, whom he considered to be one nation, as an oppressed but extremely generous and peaceful people with a promising future, was well received by national movements in central and eastern Europe (Drews, 1990; Kohn, 1944). Moreover, Herder's view of nations appears to be consistent with the perceptions held by the wider public, and is also routinely reproduced in political discourse and in the media (Billing, 1995; Özkirimli, 2010).

2.1.2 Constructivism

Constructivism, frequently referred to as modernism or instrumentalism, is seen by many as the major paradigm in current nationalism studies (Bačová, 1999; Brubaker, 2009).[2] Clearly opposing primordialism, scholars sympathetic to constructivism reject the idea of the essentialist nature of nations and their antiquity. Instead, they consider nations to be novel forms of collective identities. Constructivists see in the industrialisation-triggered socio-economic, political and cultural transformations of the hereditary structure of agrarian societies the preconditions for the formation of nationalism as a political ideology of popular and territorial sovereignty, and

subsequently of nations (Gellner, 1983; Kohn, 1944). Although a matter of dispute, the French Revolution (1789), which significantly shaped the development of national movements across Europe, is frequently viewed as the reference point in this context (Kohn, 1944; Kumar, 2006).

Constructivists further associate the historical evolution of nationalism and nations with the development of modern states, and also emphasise the central role of intellectual and political elites, alongside that of education. While acknowledging the multiple sources of pre-modern collective identities (social structure, religion, dynasties or regions), they interpret nations as relatively modern and socially constructed phenomena (Anderson, 1983; Gellner, 1983; Hobsbawm & Ranger, 1983; Kohn, 1944; Özkirimli, 2010). They also argue that the discriminatory institutions of pre-modern societies (slavery, serfdom, the caste system) prevented the development of a mass consciousness of belonging and solidarity. Therefore, constructivists question the existence of nations as fully established forms of collective identities and doubt their socio-political significance prior to the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (Connor, 1990; Weber, 1976).

2.1.3 Ethno-symbolism
Ethno-symbolism, described by some as perennialism (e.g. Kumar, 2006), is an umbrella term which refers to a further influential approach in contemporary academic discussions on nationalism. It is opposed to, yet partially overlaps with, the constructivist and primordialist perspectives. Ethno-symbolists also accept the influence of industrialisation, bureaucratic states and elites or education in the process of nations' formation. However, they reject the constructivist claim that there was a major rupture between the collective identities of the pre-modern and modern periods.

While their view on the antiquity of nations cannot be clearly distinguished from that of primordialism, ethno-symbolists remain critical of primordialist assumptions of the given and essentialist character of nations. Instead they underline the continuity of the historically developed "myth-symbol complex" (Armstrong, 1982, p. 131), or the socio-cultural characteristics of pre-modern communities (e.g. myths, symbols, customs, settlements and collective names). As they argue, these can be traced through the centuries and have been instrumental in the process of nation formation. A related assertion of ethno-symbolism is the emphasis on the long-term (*longue durée*) character of nations; accordingly, nations established their roots before the modern era and have developed from ethnic groups (Armstrong, 1982; Özkirimli, 2010; Smith, 2010).

2.1.4 Operationalisation
This paper is not based on an assumption that the textbooks would adopt a rigorous conceptual framework. I am also aware that the operationalisation of the analytical framework might seem problematic because of the overlaps between constructivism and ethno-symbolism, and also on account of the crossover between the latter and primordialism. Nevertheless, by focusing on the preconditions of nations' formation, their antiquity and the further aspects which define them, I seek to draw attention to the key aspects of the conceptualisation of the nature of nations. Therefore, the analytical framework, as succinctly summarised in table 1, will guide my empirical examination.

Table 1: Analytical Framework

PRIMORDIALISM	CONSTRUCTIVISM	ETHNO-SYMBOLISM
Preconditions of nations' formation ➢ birth into a given socio-cultural community ➢ kinship connection ➢ geographical location ➢ climate	**Preconditions of nations' formation** ➢ industrialisation ➢ building of modern states ➢ impact of elites ➢ education ➢ transformation of the hereditary social structure of pre-modern societies	**Preconditions of nations' formation** ➢ long-term historical process ➢ industrialisation ➢ building of modern states ➢ impact of elites ➢ instrumentalisation of myth-symbol complex ➢ education ➢ transformation of ethnic groups
Antiquity of nations ➢ timeless	**Antiquity of nations** ➢ modern (after 1789)	**Antiquity of nations** ➢ pre-modern (before 1789)
Further aspects of nations ➢ language ➢ collective character ➢ shared traditions, culture, history, territory	**Further aspects of nations** ➢ novel forms of collective identities	**Further aspects of nations** ➢ ethnic foundation
Nature of nations ➢ given, essentialist, authentic	**Nature of nations** ➢ socially constructed	**Nature of nations** ➢ historically continuous

2.2 Data sources and research methods
I adopted a case study approach focusing on a single country, one educational level and a single school subject to ensure a meaningful engagement with the defined research question.

2.2.1 Slovakia as a case study: A concise historical context

Slovakia is an instructive research subject. As with a number of other countries in the region of central and eastern Europe, it has been shaped by multifarious historical developments.

The origins of Slovakia's national past are, in various historiographical accounts, linked to the arrival of Slavs in the Carpathian Basin, an event dated back to the fifth century, and their first political formations in central Europe, known as Samo's realm (circa 620-658) and Great Moravia (circa 833-906/7).[3] During the tenth century, the territory of contemporary Slovakia was gradually incorporated into the evolving Kingdom of Hungary, which came under the control of the Habsburg Monarchy in 1526. In the period 1918-1938, present-day Slovakia formed together with Carpatho-Ruthenia (contemporary Ukraine), the eastern part of the demo-cratic interwar Czechoslovakia. In the aftermath of the Munich Agreement (September 1938), Slovakia became a satellite of Nazi Germany in March 1939. The geopolitical interests of the allies in the Second World War (the UK, USA and USSR) supported the efforts of exiled Czecho-Slovak politicians and the domestic opposition, and this led to the re-establishment of Czechoslovakia in April 1945.[4] At the same time, political agreements reached by the allies facilitated the installation of a Soviet sphere of influence in central and eastern Europe. This in turn aided the formation of undemocratic communist regimes (February 1948 in Czechoslovakia) which lasted until 1989 in the region. Shortly after the collapse of communism, the ''Velvet Divorce'' of Czechoslovakia occurred in 1993 (Čaplovič, Čičaj, Kováč, Lipták, & Lukačka, 2000).

Slovakia was (re-) established as a democratic nation-state; however, national minorities constitute up to 12 % of its citizens (Statistical Office of the Slovak Republic, 2012). The quality of the relationship between the national majority and the Romas and Magyars is, in particular, affected by political populism and general stereotyping (Mesežnikov & Gayarfášová, 2008). Consequently, as in other parts of Europe and the wider world, nationalism remains a salient issue in Slovakia. Therefore, it is paramount that attention is paid to how this topic is handled in education.

2.2.2 Selection of history textbooks and their analysis

A compelling reason underlying the focus of this paper on lower secondary education is the potential reach and impact of history teaching on students' views within this particular age bracket. Lower secondary education in Slovakia can be completed within elementary school (grades 5–9, ages 11–15) or the eight-year gymnasia (grades 1–4, ages 12–15).[5] The compulsory curriculum, however, does not diversify until the upper secondary level (ages 15–19). Therefore, all students are likely to use the same set of textbooks until the completion of their lower secondary education at the age of 15, regardless of the type of school that they attend.

Curriculum development and textbook production in Slovakia are centrally organised and overseen by the Ministry of Education, Science, Research and Sport (hereafter ME). As a result, textbook authors must comply with the officially approved curriculum. According to the current curriculum, the primary objective of history education is the preservation of the continuity of historical memory. This is, in turn, described as a historical experience that is to be transmitted to students in chronological order and from the local, regional, national, European and also global perspectives (SPU, 2011, 2014). In theory, schools in Slovakia are able to select textbooks of their choosing (ME, 2011), but in practice multiple and complete sets of history textbooks, covering all grades, were not available at the time this article was completed (winter 2015/2016). In addition to this, following the latest educational reform of 2008, volumes published prior to this date, are no longer in use within lower secondary schools (ME, 2015a; ME, 2015b). Therefore, it seems very likely that most schools are using the single complete set of textbooks that were published in Slovakia in the period 2009-2012. Consequently, I selected books published in this time frame for my analysis.[6]

In analysing them, I applied the method of abduction. According to Blaikie (2004), abduction is best outlined as a logical process which helps a researcher to describe social phenomena and align their meanings to pre-existing academic concepts. In this way, abduction facilitates a critical review of the "mundane and taken for granted" aspects of social practice (Blaikie, 2004, p. 1). I started the analysis of the selected textbooks with piecemeal and multiple re-readings of every single chapter. Guided throughout this process by the sub-categories of the theoretical framework (the preconditions of nations' formation, the antiquity of nations, further aspects of nations), I was then able to identify and code the relevant units of the analysis. These comprised single and multiple sentences as well as paragraphs which I identified across all the textbook volumes. Subsequently, I could classify and critically evaluate the prevailing patterns of the conceptualisation of the nature of the Slovak nation in the selected history textbooks.

I begin the discussion of my findings with some preliminary remarks related to the stylistic and lexical means adopted by the textbook authors to develop national narratives. I then move on to a critical examination of the preconditions of the formation of the Slovak nation, its antiquity and the further aspects which define it. As all of these aspects are tightly intertwined, I am unable to adopt a clear-cut, thematic presentation of the findings. Therefore, I will proceed along a chronological path (by grade) when discussing them. To make the sources of the quotations understandable, I have used an English translation of the Slovak expression "*dejepis*" (history education/textbook) accompanied by a number as a reference to the relevant school grade; for example, "History 6/1, 2009" indicates that the referenced textbook is used in the sixth grade of elementary

school and in the first grade of the eight-year gymnasia (age 12).

3 Findings
3.1 Preliminary remarks
In Slovakia, systematic provision of instruction in history in lower secondary education begins in grade five (age 11). The relevant textbook introduces students to historiography and its objectives, concepts and instruments. The central topics of nationalism studies (nation, nationalism, ethnic group) and the aspects of the nature of nations (as summarised in Table 1) are not elaborated on explicitly at this stage. Nevertheless, the stylistic attributes of the text's narration provide some insights into the interpretative patterns examined here.

A primordialist tendency might be associated with the vocabulary and writing style applied by the textbook authors. In spite of the prevalence of the generic terms "people" (ľudia), "inhabitants" (obyvatelia), "population" (obyvateľsto) and "humanity" (ľudstvo), they frequently resort to the word "nations" (národy) and utilise it in discussions of historiography and the history of mankind. In the self-evident conventional application of primordialism, which Michael Billig (1995) calls the ''banal nationalism'', nations are portrayed unobtrusively as essentially distinctive and antique forms of collective identities: "Antiquity - a period of big empires of ancient nations (Egyptians, Sumerians, Babylonians, Greeks, Romans) until the fall of the Roman Empire (4000 BC-476 AD)" (History 5, 2009, p. 14).

This self-evident application of the primordialist narrative, which is critically discussed here later, permeates all volumes of history textbooks. It is fittingly exposed, for instance, by a number of inconsistently applied definitions of the central concepts of scholarship on nationalism. Contrary to ethno-symbolism, "nation" and "ethnic group" are treated interchangeably as synonyms and are characterised along Herderian lines and accorded nearly identical features. The first illustration is given in the textbook for sixth-grade students (age 12), which addresses the historical periods of prehistory (circa 3 million-3500 BC), ancient history (circa 3500 BC-circa 500 AD) and the Early Middle Ages (fifth-tenth centuries). It defines an ethnic group (etnikum) as "a group of people who are bound through a common historical origin, a type of race [sic], a language and cultural traditions" (History 6/1, 2011, p. 40). Different wording is applied in the textbook for the seventh grade (age 13) which covers the period from the Early Middle Ages (fifth-tenth centuries) up to the era of the Enlightenment (circa 1780): ''ethnic group -- a national community, nation, nationality'' (History 7/2, 2011, p. 21). Equally, the textbook for grade eight (age 14), which discusses the historical period from the French Revolution in 1789 through to the establishment of Czechoslovakia in 1918, defines ethnic group as a community encompassing "members of a nationality or a nation" (History 8/3, 2011, p. 39). Nation is then outlined in the same text as a ''community of people with a common history, language,

culture, lifestyle and a common territory''. Nationality (národnosť) is explained as a term referring to membership of a nation or a national minority within a state (History 8/3, 2011, p. 39).

The authentic nature of the Slovak nation is further reinforced by the language of intergroup comparison. In an inoffensive but routine manner, textbook authors differentiate between "us" and "them" and "our history'' and ''our traditions'' and ''their history'' and ''their tradetions''. Hence, they effectively endow traditions with an essentialist quality and convey the given distinctiveness of nations: ''The most widely known festive days from our villages remain until today the celebrations of the grain and wine harvests. […] Each nation also commemorates diverse events which significantly influenced its fate and which it therefore does not wish to forget'' […] (History 5, 2009, pp. 17-18).

In addition to their employment of stylistic and lexical means, the textbooks indicate the conceptualisation of the nature of the Slovak nation through their discussion of the preconditions of the nations' formation and antiquity, as well as the further aspects which define them.

3.2 The preconditions of the formation of the Slovak nation, its antiquity and further aspects
3.2.1 History 6/1 and History 7/2
The first explicit evidence related to the preconditions of nations' formation is introduced in the volume for sixth-grade students. The textbook illustrates this with reference to the arrival of the Indo-European population in Europe in the Bronze Age (circa 2000-800 BC): ''At the dusk of the Bronze era, Indo-European ancestors of Germans, Celts, Slavs, and also Romanic nations, from which contemporary nations developed, gradually arrived in Europe'' (History 6/1, 2011, p. 14). This sentence portrays nations as the ultimate outcomes of lengthy historical processes that lead to the transformation of their earlier forms. Hence, in this instance, this statement can be associated with ethno-symbolism.

The subsequent textbook for the seventh grade features a more elaborate account of the development of nations. Unlike the previous example, the relevant description conveys an impression of primordialism. Contrary to the attention paid by constructivists to the complex process of modernisation and the ethno-symbolist understanding of the instrumental role the historically continuous myth-symbol complex plays in the process of nations' formation, the text highlights essentialist qualities bound up with primordialism. This is immediately apparent in the opening chapter, "The life of our ancestors". In an ethno-symbolist fashion, the textbook authors outline the crystallisation of nations as a long-term historical process. At the same time, in true primordialist style, they strongly underline the exclusivity and incomparable character of nations:

"The formation of each nation is a complex, unique and non-recurring process. The beginnings of some big nations

are relatively clear and recorded in historical sources. The genesis of smaller ethnic groups is not as straightforward and intelligible. This statement also applies to Slovaks. The oldest denomination of our nation (*ethnonym*) was Sloveni which is very close to a general description for Slavs. What is more, this antique name changed in the course of the fourteenth century from Sloven to Slovak in the masculine form. In the female form (*Slovenka*) and in the adjective form (*slovenský*), the original shape remained (History 7/2, 2011, p. 8).

To reinforce their argument, the authors accentuate, in an ethno-symbolist fashion, the historical continuity of names. From a constructivist perspective, however, this is problematic since the existence of collective names cannot be straightforwardly equated with the persistence of their meanings. In particular, life during the early Middle Ages was characterised by constant transformations, which also impacted on the demographic composition of Medieval communities. Therefore, instead of being evidence of national authenticity or historical continuity, constructivists see collective names as ''vessels that could hold different contents at different times'' and ''held the potential to convince people of continuity, even if radical discontinuity was the lived reality'' (Geary, 2002, p. 118).

Still, the textbook authors keep on promoting the pure lineage of the Slovak nation. Through references to a particular Slavic tribe, the Sloveni, they highlight the common kinship origins of the Slovak nation. Consequently, their attempts to establish national authenticity as a self-evident fact in keeping with the tenets of primordialism become evident. Such efforts are also apparent from the notable emphasis they put on the differrence between the language of the Sloveni people and the languages of the wider Slavic population within Europe: ''The cultural and liturgical language used within Great Moravia will be described [in the textbook] as [the] Slavic liturgical language or Slavic liturgy because this was not the language of Sloveni but it was based on a dialect of the southern Macedonian Slavs'' (History 7/2, 2011, p. 8).

The overt emphasis on the language of Sloveni markedly differs from the constructivist and ethnosymbolist views on the cultural and political significance of vernaculars for Medieval peoples. Accordingly, spoken languages had a negligible impact on collective awareness and the delineation of political boundaries before the end of the eighteenth century (Armstrong, 1982; Kohn, 1944). Instead, in the Christian Europe of the Middle Ages, linguistic multiplicity was considered "the result of the sinfulness of man, and God's punishment for the building of the Tower of Babel" (Kohn, 1944, p. 7).

Nevertheless, textbook authors continue to depict the Sloveni tribe as distinct from the other Slavic peoples. While their first political organisation, Samo's realm, is described as a tribal union of Slavs, the formation of the Nitra Principality (contemporary Slovakia) in the second half of the eighth century is associated exclusively with the Sloveni people. Moreover, the writing style used in the textbook for the seventh grade shows Romantic influences from the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Herder's idealised concepts of the peacefulness and victimisation of the Slavs are instantly recognisable. Therefore, "our ancestors" occasionally appear in a more positive light than the "outsiders". These patterns can be observed in the initial lines of the first chapter of the textbook for the seventh grade, "The life of our ancestors". It begins with a description of the relationship between Avars and Slavs:

"At the end of the fifth and the beginning of the sixth century, the tribe of Sloveni settled in the territory of Slovakia. However, the peaceful life of the new settlers was violated by nomadic and combative Avars. [...] Our ancestors maintained their own lifestyle even after their arrival in the Carpathian basin (History 7/2, 2011, p. 8).

In the above account, the formation of the Slovak nation can be partially associated with ethno-symbolism. It is linked to the Sloveni tribe and explained as the ultimate outcome of a long-term historical process. At the same time, however, the statement emphasises the authentic and antique aspects of "our" predecessors. By highlighting the specific territory and the peaceful character of the Sloveni people, as well as their unique and antique traditions, textbook authors accentuate the distinctiveness of the Slovak nation. Hence, they do not interpret the customs of the Slovak ancestors according to the instrumentalist sense of ethno-symbolism. Rather, by presenting them as inherent qualities, textbook authors clearly follow primordialist logic. Moreover, to demonstrate the authentic characteristics of the Slovak nation, they trace their roots back to an indeterminate, remote past before the arrival of the Sloveni tribe in the Carpathian Basin at the end of the fifth century.

The essentialist understanding of national traditions stands in strong contrast to the constructivist emphasis on their socially constructed character and functions. As has been shown by Hobsbawm and Ranger (1983), it is not necessarily the occurrence of historical events but rather "repetitions", "formalization and ritualization" and "modifications" of "suitable" portions of history that create a sense of national distinctiveness and continuity between the past and present.

On other occasions, however, the text contradicts previous statements on the authenticity and historical continuity between the customs of the pre-modern community of Sloveni people and the contemporary Slovak nation: "In the period of Great Moravia new elements occurred gradually in the lifestyle of our ancestors. First of all, the ruling stratum (dynasty, members of military retinue) began to imitate Franks in their dress, lifestyle and military equipment" (History 7/2, 2011, p. 19).

In spite of the mitigating statement limiting the transformation of unique ancestral traditions to the elite, this reference appears to validate constructivism. In doing so, it demonstrates the discontinuity and modifycations which are intrinsic to historical developments and

phenomena (e.g. Geary, 2002). Consequently, by under-mining both the timeless authenticity of national characteristics and the historical continuity of the myth-symbol complex, the text here exposes the weaknesses of primordialist and ethno-symbolist assumptions.

On the other hand, the establishment and dissolution of the realm of Great Moravia are presented in less crude terms. Simultaneously, however, the textbook stresses the political and cultural significance of these events and the direct line between Great Moravia and contemporary Slovakia and the Slovaks. The Herderian idealisation of the peaceful Slavs as being uninterested in military conquest and expansion is also challenged in the same text. At the same time, the textbook takes an almost celebratory approach towards one of its central figures, Svätopluk (ca. 840-894), by underling his military and political capabilities:

"Around the year of 833, the Moravian count Mojmír I, expelled Pribina and overran the principality of Nitra. Through the fusion of the principalities of Moravia and Nitra, Great Moravia was founded. [...] Svätopluk was an extremely skilled ruler. Within a short space of time, he consolidated the land internally and started to conquer surrounding Slavic countries. [...] Within less than a quarter of [a] century, Svätopluk transformed Great Moravia into a strong and large realm which even the kings of the East Franks had to respect. [...] (History 7/2, 2011, pp. 11-13).

In spite of the disintegration of Great Moravia, how-ever, textbook authors continue to apply the primor-dialist narrative (national authenticity), inter-twined with ethno-symbolist patterns (the historical continuity of the myth-symbol complex), in order to establish the essen-tialism and antiquity of the Slovak nation. In furthering this objective, they highlight archaeological evidence and use it to demonstrate the territorial rootedness and national authenticity of the Slovak people:

"The period of Great Moravia constitutes a very significant stage of our oldest history. [...] Although Great Moravia disintegrated eventually, the local ethnic community did not vanish. Neither did its culture and Christianity which already had strong roots. As archaeological explorations prove, a lasting rupture in the settlement development did not occur. Thanks to a living historical tradition, Sloveni people remained conscious of a common origin, lifestyle, folk culture and language (History 7/2, 2011, pp. 18-20).

The references to the Sloveni tribe as an ethnic community once again allow for a connection with ethno-symbolism. On the other hand, elements of Sloveni culture and Christianity are not presented as being instrumental in the process of the formation of the Slovak nation. Rather, in applying the logic of primor-dialism, textbook authors portray them as steadfast and unique sources of Slovak essentialism. The text fails to convincingly explain, however, how a shared conscious-ness was kept intact across geographically distant locations and over a centuries-long period by people

whose freedom of movement had been curbed by serf-dom since the later Middle Ages (fourteenth-fifteenth centuries). Despite variations in form and differing degrees of severity, serfdom lasted in the Hungarian Kingdom until 1848 (Čaplovič et al., 2000).

Moreover, as has been convincingly argued by cons-tructivists in particular, social structures based on here-ditary inequalities, coupled with linguistic and cultural barriers between the privileged and under-privileged, precluded the development of mass solidarity and a sense of belonging. This was compounded by the limited means of and audiences for mass communication in pre-modern times. Not until the advent of the print industry (fifteenth century) and the piecemeal expansion of public education through the course of industrialisation was the use and standardisation of the vernaculars (1843 in the Slovak case) enhanced. In turn, these developments saw a gradual rise in literacy levels and the expansion of new modes of communication and socialisation to fairly isolated rural communities (Anderson, 1983; Connor, 1990; Gellner, 1983; Weber, 1976).

Nevertheless, despite the strong emphasis on unin-terrupted and continuous settlement by a culturally distinctive and self-aware group of Sloveni within the boundaries of contemporary Slovakia, the text contra-dicts itself once more:

"At the end of April 1241, the contemporary territory of Slovakia was invaded by an additional squad of Tatars which approached through Moravia and started to ravage densely populated southwest Slovakia. [...] Tatars left a devastated land [behind them]. The following winter, famine struck which claimed, allegedly, more victims than the looting Tatars. [...] The repercussions of the Tatar invasion were disastrous for the Hungarian Kingdom. In the central areas of the land, nearly half of the population perished. Villages and churches were burned down and whole areas were abandoned. Only those who had hidden in forests or good fortified places escaped. [...] The devastated land had to be resettled. The king and aristocrats invited guests to their estates. In particular German settlers arrived here and settled in developing cities, in the mining area of Middle Slovakia and on the Spiš (History 7/2, 2011, p. 32).

The discontinuity of the settlement of the Slovak ancestors in parts of current Slovakia once again under-mines the validity of primordialism and ethno-symbo-lism. It challenges the primordialist conceptualisation of the antique, territorial roots of the Slovak nation and the ethno-symbolist assumption of the historical continuity of the ethnic foundation of nations within a given geographical location.

Closely related to the theme of the preconditions of nations' formation is the issue of their antiquity. The question remains fairly inconclusive in relation to the primordialist and ethno-symbolist classifications, be-cause the differences between the two perspectives can-not be readily determined. However, as indicated by the foregoing analysis, nations are presented in the text-books unobtrusively as antique and essentially distinctive

forms of collective belonging. Equally, the origins of the Slovak nation pre-date the French Revolution and its existence as a geographically and culturally unified group of people with collective awareness is presented in the textbooks as a self-evident fact: "Slovaks lived in diverse states. Our contemporary territory was a part of the Habsburg Monarchy, Austria-Hungary and Czechoslovakia" (History 5, 2009, p. 34). Hence, this interprettation stands in particularly strong contrast to constructivism, the most endorsed perspective within the scholarship on nationalism (Brubaker, 2009; Özkirimli, 2010).

Moreover, as an administrative or political unit, Slovakia did not exist under that name until the creation of Czechoslovakia in 1918 (Kováč, 2011). Nevertheless, the textbook authors use the terms "Slovakia" and "Slovaks" in narratives pertaining to much earlier historical periods. Consequently, they reinforce the primordialist notion of a fully formed Slovak nation in the pre-modern era. While the first thematic section in the textbook for grade seven, "The ancestors of Slovaks in the Carpathian Basin", refers to "Sloveni", the second, "Slovaks in [the] Hungarian Kingdom", adopts the terms "Slovaks" and "Slovakia" for discussions of the tenth century: "[The] Hungarian Kingdom was founded as a Christian state of multiple nations. Slovaks and Slovakia were an integral part of this state until 1918" (History 7/2, 2011, p. 22).

3.2.2 History 8/3 and History 9/4
The discussion on European national movements, addressed within the eighth grade, further illuminates the research question examined here. The relevant textbook is divided into four central thematic areas. The first thematic section is summarised under the heading "On the route towards modern nations" and begins with a European contextualisation of national movements. Despite the vocabulary being reminiscent of the academic approach of constructivism (modern nations), the prevailing writing style displays primordialist inclinations. Contrary to constructivism, the textbook authors treat nationalism as latent in a form of consciousness that preceded the modern era. Moreover, unlike constructivism or ethno-symbolism, they do not link the preconditions of nations' formation to industrialisation and the transformation of the hereditary structure of agrarian societies or ethnic groups. On the contrary, the peoples of central, south and southeast Europe and the Balkans are described both implicitly and explicitly as socially and politically disadvantaged, while also being territorially and culturally bonded communities that share a collective consciousness.

The historical phenomenon of nationalism is introduced three times in the textbook. In its first appearance, it is contextualised using the French Revolution of 1789 and other European revolutionary developments (1830-1848/9). Subsequently, the textbook presents national movements in a positive light as progressive, socio-political undertakings aiming to transform discriminatory social structures rooted in hereditary privilege:

"Several European nations strove for the adoption of a new constitution, [and] the introduction of a republican political order, recognition and unification. Such manifestations were described by the term of nationalism. National tendencies grew stronger particularly in Italy, Germany, Poland and in the Balkans (History 8/3, 2011, p. 20).

The second explanation of nationalism is a brief definition of the term. Although discussed in a slightly critical manner, the essentialist nature of nations remains unquestioned: "Nationalism—a stream of political and cultural thought which exalts [a] nation, its interests, history and uniqueness" (History 8/3, 2011, p. 23). Hence, the textbook continues to portray nations as given and authentic collective bodies in the self-evident manner of primordialism. This logic also applies to the presentation of the Slovak national movement.

The relevant thematic area of the textbook is summarised under the heading "The Modern Slovak Nation". It is within this broad section, subdivided into six separate chapters, that nationalism is described explicitly for the third time. On this occasion, however, one paragraph introduces nationalism from a rather constructivist perspective as an unprecedented set of beliefs, which in fact challenges the primordialist conceptualisation of nations:

"From the end of the eighteenth century, a lively discussion about nations had been conducted within Europe. This was previously a fairly unknown theme because in society until the eighteenth century belonging to an estate or a religion was decisive. During this time, however, scholars argued that there are special bonds between people which link them in a rather extraordinary manner. This bond is membership of a nation. National consciousness—the conviction that a person is a natural member of a nation into which (s)he is born or speaks its language—began to rise in the world. Scholars pondered questions such as what is a nation, who builds it and what are the aspects which might describe a nation. They maintained that the nation is like the family, linked through emotional ties and common language. They considered folk culture (folklore), national traditions, customs, and particularly language to be the most important features of a nation (History 8/3, 2011, p. 37).

The text does not mention ethnic groups as the precursors of nations. Therefore, a number of elements from the above quotation might be associated, in this instance, with constructivism and its view on the formation of nationalism and nations: the role of intellectual elites, the social structure and religion are presented as the main sources of the collective identities of pre-modern societies, while culture and the vernacular are characterised as the novel foundations of collective awareness. Despite this fairly constructivist approach, the subsequent paragraphs and chapters do not ela-

borate further on this brief discussion. Instead, the description of the Slovak national movement continues to reflect a mixed narrative combining primordialism and ethno-symbolism. The term "ethnic group" is applied inconsistently as a forerunner to "nation" and is also used as its synonym:

"The Habsburg Monarchy was a multinational state where each ethnic group was at a different stage of national development. The politically dominant nations, Germans and Magyars, which were using their native tongues as the language[s] of instruction in schools [and] in published literature or newspapers, and founded cultural institutions, had more favourable conditions for national development. Slovaks, Czechs, Ruthenians, Serbs, Slovenians [and] Romanians were in a more complicated situation (History 8/3, 2011, p. 37).

In the pages that follow, the textbook once again, unintentionally yet unmistakeably, demonstrates the socially constructed character of the Slovak nation. This becomes obvious in the context of the discussion on the codification of the Slovak literary language (1843): "The big disadvantage of Slovaks was that they did not have a common literary language. They had spoken various dialects and were also divided through liturgical language.[7] [...] Therefore, a pressing issue was the creation of a unified literary language that would unite Slovaks" (History 8/3, 2011, p. 38).

The above passage undermines two fundamental aspects of the primordialist conceptualisation of nations. Namely, it acknowledges the absence of a shared native language and cultural (confessional) unity among the members of the Slovak nation. Yet, despite these logical contradictions, the textbook describes the Slovak national movement as a just and progressive enterprise focused on the emancipation of a socially and politically disadvantaged yet culturally homogenous and self-aware community.

The textbook for grade eight also introduces students to the topic of Magyarisation. In so doing, it debates the attempts of Magyar-speaking politicians to transform the Hungarian Kingdom into a mono-national state with one official language (Magyar). In this context, the text highlights the voluntary Magyarisation of certain circles of the non-Magyar population of the Kingdom, which became apparent around the first half of the nineteenth century. As the textbook authors suggest, some city residents and other wealthy inhabitants started to adapt their lifestyles or Magyarised their names in order to gain personal advantages. Consequently, the text again challenges the validity of both primordialism and ethno-symbolism. It does this by exposing the transformation of the presumed authentic features of the Slovak nation and its historically continuous myth-symbol complex.

Slovak national history remains a central focus in the third thematic area of the textbook. This covers the historical period following the Austro-Hungarian Compromise of 1867 and is dominated by the topic of Magyarisation.[8] Although portrayed in an unemotional,

factual style, the perspective adopted is that of Slovak nationalism. Hence, the textbook authors again utilise the Herderian narrative of Slavic victimisation; Magyarisation is portrayed as an oppressive influence on non-Magyar nations, and on the Slovak nation in particular. The politics of Magyarisation are also used to explain the background to the gradual intensification of political and cultural contacts between the Slovak and Czech political activists of the late nineteenth century.

The last central theme in the textbook for the eighth grade, 'The First World War', is also shaped by the primordialist perspective. It presents nations within the Habsburg Monarchy and the Ottoman Empire on the eve of the First World War as socially and politically disadvantaged but culturally homogenous groups. In addition, traces of Herder's idealised portrayal of the Slavs re-emerge in one of the final chapters of the textbook ("Slovak soldiers at the frontlines"). The chapter begins by emphasising the peaceful character of the Slovak nation, which is then contrasted with the enthusiasm for war within Europe: "Although the majority of Slovaks remained unaffected by the European fanaticism and tended to view the approaching war with anxiety, directly after its outbreak some Slovak papers encouraged the loyalty of Slovaks towards [the] Habsburgs and allegiance to the monarchy" (History 8/3, 2011, p. 80).

The textbook for the eighth grade closes with the establishment of Czechoslovakia in the autumn of 1918, an event which is evaluated positively. The subsequent volume for grade nine covers the historical period of the early twentieth century and concludes with the entry of Slovakia to the EU in 2004 and the adoption of the Euro in 2009. Although the textbook for grade eight had already addressed the topic of the First World War, the final volume returns to this theme and addresses the creation of Czechoslovakia once more.

A brief argument supporting the constructivist perspective on the nature of nations also emerges within one sentence in the chapter "Slovakia in the search for its path". It highlights the limited national consciousness of the population of contemporary Slovakia in the period immediately following the establishment of Czechoslovakia in 1918. Moreover, the same paragraph also implicitly emphasises the role of modern states in the process of nation formation: "Before the year of 1918 only a section of Slovaks acknowledged Slovak identity. In the favourable conditions [of the newly established Czechoslovakia] Slovaks could complete their crystallisation as one of the multiple modern European nations" (History 9/4, 2012, p. 42).

The impact of this statement is, however, quickly softened by allusions to the illiberal socio-political conditions within the Monarchy of Austria-Hungary before 1918, described in the textbook for the previous grade. The moderate national consciousness is thus not presented as a reflection of the historical reality; instead, it is depicted as a deliberate strategy adopted by the Slovak population out of existential, socio-economic

necessity or opportunism stimulated by the nationalising policies within the Hungarian part of the Monarchy. Yet, this brief reference is evocative of constructivism.

As Walker Connor (1990) showed, the majority of European migrants arriving in the USA at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries were peasants. In line with his argument, they seemed unconscious of having a specific national identity as defined by the intellectuals or immigration adminis-tration. Instead of a cultural awareness, they tended to display a sense of geographical belonging (regional or local) by referring to a particular district or a village as their place of origin. For instance, migrants arriving from present-day Slovakia mentioned the regions of Zemplín or Šariš (contemporary east of Slovakia).

Regardless of the recurring presentation of nations in the self-evident manner of primordialism, the textbook associates the historical period of 1918-1938 primarily with the building of democracy and the importance of active citizenship:

"The democratic system had great significance for Slovaks because for the first time in history a Slovak person became a citizen who had electoral rights. Suffrage was also granted to women which in contemporary Europe was not the norm. […] For a Slovak citizen it was critical that through active participation (s)he could contribute to the formation of modern Slovakia and search for a path for the country which (s)he considered optimal (History 9/4, 2012, p. 42).

The account of interwar Czechoslovakia is consistently positive. At the same time, the textbook critically dis-cusses the challenges evident within the newly created republic. This is visible from the descriptions of the economic problems caused by the diverging levels of industrialisation between its western and eastern parts and also from the elaboration of the national question. The political discord between Czechs and Slovaks, and also the complexity of the issue of national minorities, particularly in relation to Germans and Magyars, are acknowledged. Nevertheless, textbook authors identify external influences (Germany and Hungary) as the primary forces behind the national frictions within inter-war Czechoslovakia:

"Czechoslovakia was a multinational state. […] The majority of the Slovak population and members of other nationalities lived in harmony. Although they had different opinions on the resolution of numerous issues, they shared common eco-nomic, civic and social interests and sorrows. […] Coexistence was complicated particularly through external influences, mostly when Germany and Hungary strove to use German and Magyar minorities as the instruments of their politics. The national issue in Central Europe and consequently also in Slovakia was very sensitive. It had never been resolved to the satisfaction of all nationalities (History 9/4, 2012, p. 50).

The narrative in the final volume retains a primordialist flavour and presents nations as authentic and self-evident. Nevertheless, the writing style used within the history textbook for the ninth grade continues to be prudent and factual. This might also be illustrated by the discussion of the establishment of the Slovak Republic in January 1993.

The political organisation of the mutual relationship between Czechs and Slovaks in the period 1945-1989 is described in the textbook as a sensitive issue which was not optimally resolved. However, the eventual disso-lution of the common state is not presented as a result of both nations' desire for self-determination. Pointing towards the lengthy political discussion after 1989, the textbook authors interpret it dispassionately as a con-sequence of a political decision taken by the winners of the last general election in Czechoslovakia in 1992. They do not provide an extended evaluation of this event; instead, students are encouraged to formulate their own views through the exercise questions found at the end of the relevant chapter, "On the route to democracy and independence":

"Explain why many citizens favoured the preservation of the Czech and Slovak Federative Republic and [why] many advocated the establishment of an independent Slovak Republic.
Ask your parents or grandparents how they perceived the atmosphere of the discussions and negotiations about the future constitutional organisation of Slovakia (History 9/4, 2012, p. 123).

4 Conclusions and implications

In this paper, I have proposed an analytical framework that draws on the insights of current scholarship on nationalism and enables a critical review of ethno-centrism, which continues to shape the teaching of history and the social sciences across many countries. Guided by this analytical framework, I have identified patterns and confronted the misconceptions of national narrative found in the most recent history textbooks used within Slovakia's lower secondary education system.

Overall, the interpretation of the nature of the Slovak nation is best described as conceptually inconsistent. The prevalent impression, however, remains primordialist. Compelling evidence has already been provided in this context in the form of examples of the stylistic and lexical choices made by the textbook authors. In the unobtru-sive practice of "banal nationalism", they use self-evident statements alongside inoffensive comparisons and present to students a world filled with unique nations since time immemorial. Consequently, they reinforce the primordialist understanding of nations as essentially given and authentic forms of collective identity. These conceptual indicators appear within all of the examined volumes. Correlating to the discussion of the historical period of nationalism and the Slovak national history, their presence increases in the textbooks for grades eight and nine.

The essentialist understanding of primordialism is most visible in the volumes for the sixth, seventh and eighth

grades. This is apparent from the emphasis the textbook authors place on the uniqueness of the historical evolution of the Slovak nation, the antiquity of Slovak traditions (which are said to have originated in an indeterminate past) and further elements that also reflect the Herderian understanding of nations. Hence, language, commonly shared territory, history, culture and national character (peaceful and oppressed) are used by the textbooks authors to establish the authenticity and historical continuity of the Slovak nation.

A further notable finding from the textbooks analysis is the absence of clear differentiation between ethnic groups and nations. Nevertheless, ethno-symbolist tendencies can be associated with the historical process of the formation of the Slovak nation (*longue durée*) and with the identification of its particular basis, the Sloveni tribe. These conceptual patterns appeared in the textbooks for the sixth and seventh grades. Once established, subsequent volumes (grades eight and nine) do not deliberately return to the question of the preconditions of nations' formation and their antiquity.

Yet, despite the prevalent employment of primordialist logic and a degree of ethno-symbolism, the historical evidence presented in the textbooks for the seventh, eighth and ninth grades lends, on a number of occasions, support to constructivism. References to the transformation of the ancestral traditions of Slovaks, as influenced by encounters with Germanic tribes in the Early Middle Ages and the Magyarisation of the nineteenth century, undermine the validity of primordialist and ethno-symbolist arguments. These are also challenged by the substantial population decline and discontinuity of settlements within contemporary Slovakia which followed the invasion of the Tatars and the famine of the thirteenth century. The account of the subsequent resettlement of German-speaking migrants within its boundaries once again exposes the shortcomings of primordialist and ethno-symbolist contentions. This might also be said to be about the linguistic and confessional divisions (Protestant and Catholic) of the population in the nineteenth century, and their limited awareness of Slovak identity in the early years of interwar Czechoslovakia.

The most obvious constructivist patterns were found in the textbook for grade eight. However, the impact of the account of nations as novel forms of collective identity remains marginal since it is immediately diluted by the subsequent narrative, which once more evokes a primordialist understanding. Yet, this description again reinforces the constructivist view. Namely, it indicates the "constant shifting of allegiances and appropriations" (Geary, 2002, p. 118) found throughout history and also within the geographical area of contemporary Slovakia. Consequently, alongside the aforementioned historical facts, it brings to light the unintended revelations of the textbooks considered here: the precarious authenticity and historical continuity of the Slovak nation.

Undeniably, it is a formidable task to present the topic of the formation of national identity to pre-university students in an accessible form. Nevertheless, the foregoing analysis has shown that the construction of national narrative in history textbooks remains dominated by primordialism and a degree of ethno-symbolism, although the plausibility of both paradigms has been frequently and, in my view, convincingly critiqued in the contemporary research literature (e.g. Connor, 1990, 1994 [1978], 2004; Özkirimli, 2010; Šulíková, 2014). Although there is more use of constructivist ideas in the higher grades, this remains tentative and inconsistent. Therefore, further research might uncover the reasons for this conceptual inconsistency in the textbooks but it is also possible that the choices have been partly unconscious. There may also be an additional aspect to this that is related to the recent historical evolution of the country. As such, future discussions could also address the issue of to what extent the post-1989 developments, the dissolution of Czechoslovakia, Slovakia's entry into to the European Union, and the academic discussions within historiography and other social sciences have impacted on the construction of the national narrative found in history textbooks.[9] Whatever the contributing factors, I would suggest that now is the time to change the way national narratives are conceptualised in curricula and textbooks, both for academic and wider educational reasons.

As this article has demonstrated, current lower secondary education provides an inconsistent interpretation of such concepts as nation and nationalism in relation to Slovakia, and the textbooks accentuate primordial and ethno-symbolist ideas to an extent that cannot be justified empirically or theoretically. This in itself would be a sufficient impetus for re-visiting the curriculum by incorporating constructivist insights into such themes as the preconditions of nations´ formation, their antiquity and further aspects which are attributed to them. However, in my view, there are also other urgent reasons for doing so. As noted earlier, there is, at present, considerable evidence of the conflict potential of nationalism, both in Europe and elsewhere. In these circumstances it is also the responsibility of educationalists to consider such issues in curriculum design and transmission.

Therefore, the analytical framework used in this article is also well-suited for application in multi-country examinations of national narratives in curricula and textbooks of history and the social sciences designed for use in pre-tertiary education. I would also suggest that teaching materials and pedagogic approaches drawing on constructivism could enhance critical engagement with the misconceptions surrounding ethnocentrism. The unintended revelations found through the analysis of these history textbooks have provided compelling evidence to support this suggestion. The analytical framework developed in this article could therefore be helpful in contributing to the role that education can play in reducing the conflict potential of nationalism elsewhere in Europe and beyond.

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Endnotes

[2] I would argue that the concept of modernism accentuates the pre-conditions for the formation of nationalism and nations and the issue of their antiquity. Instrumentalism highlights the functionalist aspects of nationalism. Therefore, I chose to use the term constructivism as it emphasises more adequately the focus of this article, which is the nature of nations.

[3] Samo is described in historiographical accounts as a Frankish merchant under whose leadership Slavic tribes successfully revolted against the supremacy of the neighbouring Avars (Čaplovič et al., 2000).

[4] Pre-war Czechoslovakia was restored with the exception of Carpatho-Ruthenia, which was incorporated into the Soviet Union (Kováč, 1998).

[5] An optional transfer to the eight-year gymnasia is possible after the completion of grade five of elementary school once entry tests have been passed.

[6] According to the Education Law (EL, 2008), schools for national minorities are obliged to use translated versions of the officially approved textbooks. Hence, and also due to my own linguistic limitations, I draw only on textbooks published in the Slovak language for this article.

[7] For Catholics, the liturgical language had traditionally been Latin. For Protestants, this was the so-called 'old Czech' (*bibličtina*) used in the first Czech translation of the Bible. (Čaplovič et al., 2000).

[8] Following the defeat of Austria in the war with Prussia (1866), the Austro-Hungarian Compromise established two administratively autonomous parts of the Monarchy (the Kingdoms of Austria and Hungary) under one king and with common ministries of finance, defence and foreign affairs (Čaplovič et al*.,* 2000).

[9] This paper draws on a wider research project, which also examined the possible rationale behind the absence of a systematic application of the insights of current scholarship on nationalism in the teaching of history, geography and civics at the pre-tertiary level of education in Slovakia. Empirical data, which I collected through discussions with academics and teachers (who both participate in the development of curricula and textbooks), points towards the significance of the limited impact of nationalism studies on wider historical and interdisciplinary debates, as well as teacher training in Slovakia. A meaningful elaboration on these particular findings, however, is beyond the scope of the current study.

Eduardo Barona, Elena Carrió

The Need of Education in Respect for Animals (ERA) as a Subject of the Social Education Degree at the University: An Overview Focused on Spain

- This article highlights serious educational gaps related with respect for animals.
- Social educators should assume the challenge of filling this gap.
- The primary methods used here were a review of initiatives and educative experiences.
- We propose to introduce Education in Respect for Animals as a new and independent subject at the university level.
- We also conclude with other proposals applied to social nets and opened to educators.

Purpose: This article highlights serious educational gaps related with the respect for animals. We propose to include a new independent subject, named Education in Respect for Animals (ERA), within the curriculum of the Social Education Degree at the university level.

Method: This study is based on previous educative experiences and a review of various innovative initiatives. This article is a part of critical pedagogy, aiming to contribute to the social education curriculum. It incorporates the need for a post-humanist education in the way that Haraway named 'posthumanist landscapes', i.e., an inclusive education for this more-than-human world (Taylor, 2013).

Findings: The first part of this article reviews the theories of authors who have contributed to this area. Nonetheless the direction of this article is not to be framed in moral philosophy but a curriculum theory. Next we will contextualize and analyse the case of ERA in the Spanish educational system, concluding with proposals applied to social nets, university communities and open to educators and especially feedback from social education.

Keywords:
Animal, post-humanism, human education, basic rights, cruelty, curriculum, ethics, respect, social education, university education, violence

1 Introduction: Why is it necessary to educate in respect for animals?

1.1 The need of ethics in the treatment of animals

While other animals have evolved by adapting to the environment, the enormous evolutionary success of humans lies on their ability to modify the environment and not by adapting to it.

This utilitarian view of environment and animals strengthened in modern times is a 'naturalization' of oppression and places humans in an exploitative relationship toward the 'other' (Castellano, 2011). Non-human animals, domestic and wild, have been victims of the anthropogenic modification of the planet, due to the problems that humans have caused to them (Wolf, 2001). Humans are accustomed to live at the expense of other animals, accommodating their ethical limits to the overall benefit of the species, making a constant use and abuse of animals.

In this way, needs became customs, which symbolically structure our life, such as the need to eat meat or dress in animal garments. Quite a few authors have investigated human-nonhuman relations dominant in modern

consumerist societies. Articles like *Dressing down? Clothing animals, disguising animality* by Samantha Hurn (2011) or *Understanding Animals-Becoming-Meat* by Bradley Rowe (2011) have addressed these items from different prisms, firstly from the field of anthropology and secondly from education, seeking alternatives to animal abuse on a reflective and critical base.

The abuse of animals was not an ethical discussion in Europe until the Enlightenment in the 19th century. In countries like England or France, many enlightened thinkers argued that the ability of animals to feel pain or pleasure is not dependent on reasoning or on the intelligence quotient (Bekoff, 2003) and therefore, any animal should be ethically treated. During this time, however, Spain was particularly closed to the modern ethical, scientific and political thought. In fact, many of the current cultural Spanish deficits have been linked to the lack of the enlightened thinking. Although this philosophical movement forged the foundations of the current revolution about animal rights in Europe, Spain remained a step behind (Mosterín, 2010).

1.2 The need to promote respect for diversity

When speaking of education on respect for diversity, it is necessary to move away from the educational orthodoxy that has placed us in a uniquely human socio-cultural context and to start to recognize other species in our interactions (Taylor, Blaise, & Giugni, 2012). Given this need to reconfigure diversity and the image of the other, some authors have sought an analogy for this type of

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post-humanist thought, post-colonialism and the image of the immigrant as someone different (Banerjee, 2012).

The way in which the dominant group has represented the other and the lack of respect with which it has been done, have no doubt conditioned the planet in which we live. The greatest revolutions in history were rooted in the respect for diversity such as equality among humans with different skin colours, non-discrimination by sex and, according to some experts, the one that will be the third millennium revolution, non-discrimination on the basis of the species (Querol, 2010). Educating respect for animals means to educate in the basic rights of all living organisms and, therefore, respect for diversity.

In this sense, the United Nations, whose aim should be to ensure the overall development of nations, tries to seek solutions to the social problems of racism or violence against women and focused its 2000 and 2001 summits on these areas. Both cases involved traditionally disadvantaged social groups, in which the law must be sufficient to solve the problem. Nevertheless, the UN goes beyond simply punishing these behaviours and in their reports establishes education as the first tool to encourage, promote and accelerate social changes of this magnitude (UN, 2000, 2001). This first line of action intensifies the idea that sudden changes which are unnaturally induced are always reversible and that real social transformation requires much more time and dedication, yet they are the most solid foundation on which to build a society.

The way in which such standardized arguments about differences are enhanced and provide feedback to youth has to do with their everyday environment. In this respect, the need to build a multicultural and inclusive education of post-humanist character is the essence of the educator's work (Pacini-Ketchabaw, 2008).

1.3 The need to promote respect for life

The Education in Respect for Animals (ERA) curriculum would be focused on three basic cores: the right to life, the right to freedom and the right to not suffer (GAP, 2009). In this sense, the ERA would specifically touch upon education with respect for wild and domestic animals through moral considerations, which until now were linked only to humans. To teach students that all animals have a common origin (Darwin, 1859) would help to understand that we also have common basic rights.

By taking this as a starting point, it is simple to find a component of democracy and social responsibility with domination, abuse and violence in common with the roots of ERA. Therefore we can be enlightened by some examples of feminist, indigenous or multiculturalist theories (Andrzejeweski, 2003).

The need for this kind of post-humanist thought referred to pet animals also has been approached by MacPherson as an essential part of the modern education curriculum. He finds six beneficial areas: social mutual bonding, self-regulating negative impulses, enhancing positive feelings, empathy developing, communicating to cooperate and responding to suffering and death (MacPherson, 2011).

In this sense, cruelty to animals is considered a powerful tool to predict antisocial behaviours (Gleyzer et al., 2002). In this regard, numerous studies (e.g., Hensley & Tallichet, 2009; McPhedran, 2009) show animal abuse as a predictor of violent behaviour toward humans, that is, abusers often show aggression first toward the weakest, such as non-human animals. In one of the most relevant studies in this topic, Ascione (1993) asked adult murderers about their history of aggression toward animals. Up to 58% of them recognized having previously abused an animal. This percentage clearly shows the relationship between the two types of violence. In fact, animal cruelty is considered an indicative parameter of mental disorders (Sperry, 2006). People who have mistreated an animal have crossed the barrier of aggression and are closer to the next step, which would be the mistreatment of other people.

It also has been seen that animal cruelty expressed in children maintains a direct relationship with aggression toward humans in adulthood. This aggressiveness is further enhanced by factors such as abuses and/or alcoholism of parents (Kellert, 1985). Therefore, in the same way we educate in the prevention of alcoholism, society should educate in respect for animals.

In short, previous studies and others released by the Group for the Study of Violence Against Humans and Animals (GEVHA)—a pioneer in Spain in the study of violence and its causes, whoever the victim is—reinforces the importance of educating for the elimination of all kinds of abuses, not only for being a preamble, but for being an important part of an overall violence. If we can influence this first step, in which violence toward animals is expressed, the chances of reaching the second phase of violence among humans would be reduced.

2 Framework and current context of education in respect for animals in formal teaching in Spain

From the 1970s, thanks to the publication of essays like *Animals, Men, and Morals* (Godlovitch et al., 1971) and *Animal Liberation* (Singer, 1975), several disciplines on respect for animals have been taught in a multidisciplinary way, mainly covering studies on philosophy, animal behaviour, agriculture and veterinary medicine at universities involved in animal welfare. In the early 2000s, teaching in respect for animals in the area of law also experienced strong growth, especially in the United States, United Kingdom, Canada and Australia (Eadie, 2011).

In a specifically educational context, the ERA has had remarkable growth in non-formal education, but this trend has not been clearly reflected at the university level (Burnet, 2000). However, we can consider that the beginning of the ERA at the university level is within some parts of humane education, which constitutes a formal degree at several American universities in collaboration with the Humane Society (e.g., University of Denver, 2016; Valparaiso University, 2016). The fact that

the ERA forms part of humane education studies reveals why we insist on the presence of the ERA at the university level because it recognizes the importance of teaching respect for the shared needs of living beings and the individual responsibility of students for empathy and problem solving (Onion, 2014).

Education in respect for animals has no representation in the different educational levels in Spain except for the recent creation of networks of university teachers. Thus, although we understand that respect for animals should be built with early intervention, we realize that the clear message not only fails to leave marks but it dissipates when formative grade increases.

In Spain, the Royal Decrees (1513/2006, 1630/2006, 1631/2006) that normalized minimum teaching at various levels in December 2006, slightly touch in some cases education on respect for animals in an ambiguous and low implicant manner, both for students and teachers. In all cases, it consists of students acquiring knowledge of animals and their favourable treatment as part of a person's moral development but does not teach that treatment as the inherent right of a sentient living being. The approach is closer to developing our ethical values than thinking of animals as living beings with their abilities, concerns, needs and feelings.

In childhood education in Spain, an essential goal is the identification of animals for assessment of their importance, our relationship with them and the rejection of negative actions toward them. Perhaps in this sense, the core curricula are ambitious enough, although its implementation is another matter. Teaching children to appreciate the importance of each animal for what it is and not by the utility it is given should be one of the primary objectives. To communicate values for dogs and cats while the stereotypes about pigs or cows as farm animals persist is not the best way for students to value the individuality of every living being (R.D. 1630/2006).

In primary education, the core curriculum is detached from education for respect for animals except for those animals closest to humans in order to know, appreciate and learn to care for them. In this sense, respect for animals seems more a way to work the sense of responsibility of the student than to enhance the ethics of respect for life in its broadest meaning (R.D. 1513/2006). Again we return to use what should be a matter for the benefit of animals as a subject through which to achieve some desired values such as the responsibility of a child to feed or walk his/her pet a certain number of times per day. There definitely is a positive meaning in this context but it is insufficient.

If we look for references of core curricula in secondary education, we find that the same theme where respect for animals is explained also covers diverse topics such as health habits, the dimension of sexuality, involvement in sports and consumption habits. Therefore, what we find is a sort of compendium of healthy practices, and unless there is a direct involvement of teachers in any of the matters in particular, it will lead only to the ignoring all issues (R.D. 1631/2006). The feeling is that education in

respect for animals is used as a means to reach certain values but never as a solid purpose.

A few Spanish universities have included animal rights as a subject. The Autonomous University of Barcelona offers courses on Animal Rights and Ethics of Nature and Animal Rights Welfare; the University of Valencia offers New Rights, Are the Rights of Animals?; the University of La Laguna presents Ecological Ethics and Bioethics; and Saint Louis University teaches Ethics and Animals. Equally and complementary, there are some university subjects which are not specific to animal rights but include topics on ethics and animals (e.g., Ethics II at the University of Granada, Current Contemporary Ethical at the University of Balearic Islands, Applied Ethics at the University of Salamanca, and Human Rights at the Autonomous University of Barcelona).

The vast majority of these classes are free choice subjects that can be accessed through any university degree, but in neither those that specifically mention animal rights or animal ethics nor those with some content in the same matters can we see an approach to the issue of education in respect for animals.

In 2007, the arrival in primary and secondary education of the politicized subject of citizenship education represented a new push to transmit the values of equality, responsibility, peaceful relationships among individuals, respect, tolerance, rights, social injustice and diversity. ERA could have had a specific role in the Spanish education system. Nonetheless, this model of ethical and civic education present in primary and secondary school education arose in response to re-commendation number 12 listed in 2002 by the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe (Council of Europe, 2002).

Political tensions, however, caused citizenship education to be mortally wounded at birth. Any subject that requires critical analysis is controversial and emotional (Adrzejewski, 2003). After the change of government in 2013, the new Organic Law 8/2013 of December 9 designed to improve the quality of education (BOE, 2013) once again included citizenship education as a transversal subject with a cross-curricular approach.

Today's citizenship education program not only depends on the educator's will or ideology but also on the resources available for development of a critical and participatory education in a country that still is immersed in an economic crisis. Some authors have explored the role that they can offer to students, to the community in general and to volunteer projects such as non-governmental organizations (NGOs), town council sessions, and ecological vegetable gardens (Jover, 2014) in this current context of crisis. This is the reality that determines the ERA in Spain today.

3 Education in respect for animals (ERA) at the university level: The creation of specialised social educators

3.1 ERA at the university level
First, we should ask ourselves why we think ERA should be a university competence. Those who see the uni-

versity community as one step of the advanced society that we would like to achieve might have answered this question already. The university community plays an important role in society, and we understand that universities should train and educate people without neglecting ethics and morality. There are many examples of associations born within universities as solutions to problems related to the loss of empathy for other animal species.

The social commitment and need for a reliable and standardized vector to achieve a change in the global behaviour of society places the social educator on the frontline of this battle (ASEDES, 2007). There are two reasons for which ERA should be absorbed by the social education curriculum within the university context.

First, the fact that the social education degree does not have its competences strictly closed opens the door to everything that, by its social relevance, needs a boost. Second, the fact that the social education degree is not closed is not accidental or due to a failure in its creation but the result of society's need to see its questions and competences increasing simultaneously. This same charge, paradoxically, makes essential the work of the social educator to encourage changes and to adapt to them.

Recently in Spain, the Professional Association of Social Educators of Valencia (COEESCV) established a framework agreement with the Valencian Society for the Protection of Animals and Plants and the Yelcho Foundation to promote educational activities that serve to enhance respect for animals. For this, the COEESCV hosts a specific commission for education in respect for animals in the same way as other committees with specific objectives within the framework of social education such as the fight against drugs or the elderly. This is a pioneer initiative in Spain driven within the social education environment which is entrusted with a dual mission. On one hand, it is designed to propose, develop and organize activities aimed at promoting respect for animals, both in the university sphere and other social networks. On the other hand, it was created to integrate and consolidate education on respect for animals within the Faculty of Educational Sciences at the University of Valencia in order to grow the number of universities with specific subjects on the ethical treat-ment animals.

3.2 Standardization of the ERA

The first step in creating the specific subject on ERA within the academic degree of social education is the standardization of content and objectives. As we have seen previously, in Spain the current education system at all levels, including the university level, has no specific subjects for education on respect for animals. Ignorance, the lack of awareness and lack of support for teachers have limited the standardization of content. The effort to provide a minimum education in respect for animals primarily has fallen on individual initiatives or NGO volunteers. The absence of teachers of these educators has turned what should have been standard knowledge

into incomplete endless subjects which sometimes do not share objectives or criteria and, in most cases, have not been subjected to external criticism.

Diversity and division of organizations working in this field have resulted in different ideologies for animal protection and rights, with some programs being too radical in their approach and others blatantly conservative. Therefore, putting in common reasonable objectives should be one of the priorities on which to build the ERA. In addition, the standardization of ERA would allow the dissemination of ethical, scientific and legal knowledge, preventing the distortion of content or stereotypes that often are associated with animal defenders.

Nowadays, the inclusion of a new subject on education in respect for animals at different levels of studies at the school is not feasible due to the short time available to reach the minimum goals set for each subject. As a result, education in respect for animals at schools is limited to the extracurricular activities that teachers decide to devote to this field with all the problems that entails. Frequently, non-governmental institutions working to ensure respect for animals in society encounter economic and logistic difficulties when organizing round-tables, conferences, lectures, training courses, etc. The failure to reach these population sectors also makes it very difficult to raise awareness about the importance of respect for animals at the educational level, forming a circle where, if influence on society is not exercised, you cannot have input in educational levels and vice versa.

Certainly, some projects have been developed to share objectives, criteria and even materials, although among social educators few are known. One of the most outstanding programs was created by the World Society for the Protection of Animals. This program includes a database of teaching resources categorized by age and theme and aimed primarily at teachers and/or other organizations in defence of animals with the intent to globalize education in respect for animals, including in developing countries (WSPA, 2013).

Given the lack of a specific background, making a proposal for including the ERA at universities may seem an overly ambitious task. However, in a practical way, we propose six essential sets of subjects. The first block would consist of an introduction covering evolution and history as well as philosophical and ethical principles. The second block would cover topics on the cultural dimension of respect for animals through an analysis of language, popular culture, religion and cross-cultural analysis of the situation of the animals.

The third block would analyse the objectification of animals and its contemporary problems, both the domestication and use for consumption or leisure. We also consider the interest to add a fourth block specific to wildlife and its link with the environment. Finally, the fifth and sixth blocks would consist of a more practical set of subjects designed to introduce students tor professional work. The sixth block would consolidate practical skills with the development of practical work focused on a particular area of the ERA.

In brief, our proposal would cover the following items:

1. Introduction
    1.1 Evolution and historical perspectives
    1.2 Philosophical perspectives
    1.3 Ethical perspectives
2. Animal culture
    2.1 Animals in language
    2.2 Animals in popular culture
    2.3 Religious perspectives on animals
    2.4 Cross-culturality
3. Animals like products
    3.1 Pets
        3.1.1 Problems arising from interaction
        3.1.2 Introduction to ethology of companion animals
        3.1.3 Assume the loss of an animal
    3.2 Animal consumption
        3.2.1 Animals in the food industry
        3.2.2 Animals and work
        3.2.3 Animal experimentation
        3.2.4 Considerations for the textile industry
    3.3 Shows with animals
        3.3.1 To combat indifference
        3.3.2 Bullfighting, circuses, zoos, aquariums and animals as bait
4. Wildlife: Conservation and Conflict
    4.1 Psychology of conservation
    4.2 Conflict of interests
        4.2.1 Exploitation, hunting, poisoning and illegal trade
        4.2.2 Loss of habitat
        4.2.3 Responsible tourism and exotic animals
5. ERA applied and emerging approaches
    5.1 Psychology of human-animal interactions
    5.2 Animals in the economy
    5.3 Animals, policies and laws
    5.4 Animals in education and development
    5.5 Effectiveness solutions in animal welfare
6. Student dissertation

3.3 Work areas of social educators specialized in ERA

Ideally, the main purpose to advance education in respect for animals should be the implementation of the ERA within the degree of social education at the university, but until this subject is implemented, social educators initially would be accredited with knowledge on respect for animals through attendance and/or participation in workshops, conferences, training courses, round tables or professional experience; in short, any activity organized by associations of defence of animals, foundations, governments and other key entities whose purpose is to develop respect for animals. These new social educators specialized in the ERA could be integrated in a local or regional network of schools to develop, after consultation with teachers and other educational personnel, the teaching tasks in matters relating to the ERA

at various educational levels through theoretical or practical activities but always clearly aimed to promote respect to animals.

This new concept in the context of social education could also be strengthened by city councils, as facilitators of society and initiators of change in civic society, linked to the departments of culture and education and based on the creation and promotion of citizen participation activities. Firstly, these social educators would be the standard defendants of ethical development in the treatment of animals. They also would be the vectors of transmission between novelties and legal and administrative advances on animal protection laws and/or municipal ordinances, and their practical application by the society. At present, in Spain, the absence of a common animal protection law emphasizes the importance of social educators specialized in the ERA. These educators would have knowledge about regional laws and ordinances; they would serve as the transmission vectors of laws to social networks with the idea to make these regulations easy to understand.

We should emphasize that although there are penalties against traffic offences, we still try to educate society in traffic education as a preventive measure from early ages. Similarly there are sanctions in cases of non-compliance with animal protection laws that should be applied, and we must also work from early ages for education in respect for animals.

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Matthias Busch, Nancy Morys

"Mobilising for the Values of the Republic"- France's Education Policy Response to the "Fragmented Society": A Commented Press Review

Purpose: This article focuses on recent developments in the domain of civic education in the French education system, the new programme on "Enseignement moral et civique" (EMC), and the debate about the relevance of the basic values of the Republic which came up after the terror attacks in January 2015.
Method: The study is based on a press review which provides a contrastive choice of exemplary texts from different perspectives (e.g. educational policy documents, scientific and journalistic articles, interviews, statements of teachers and experts) collected between January 2015 and March 2016.
Findings: The contribution examines public reflections on the design and implementation of the programme and gives an overview of the aims, content and methods of the new initiative to teach values in schools.

Keywords:
France, secularism, values education, civic education, integration

1 Introduction

Since the youth riots in 2005 in the French banlieues, these suburbs shaped by social segregation, violence, discrimination and lack of opportunity have become a symbol of a "fragmented society" (Wieviorka, 1997) and failed integration. The values of the Republic and a belief in the liberty, equality and fraternity that it promises no longer resonate with a growing "parallel society". The French Prime Minister, Manuel Valls, believes there is already "territorial, social, ethnic apartheid" (quoted in Alemagna & Bretton, 2015; see also Valls, 2005, p. 137). In the wake of the terror attacks on the French satirical magazine "Charlie Hebdo" and a kosher supermarket in Paris in January 2015, schoolchildren openly sympathised with the attackers and boycotted memorial events. These terror attacks revived a debate in France about the relevance of the basic values of the Republic and led to the launch of an extensive education programme for state schools. This contribution examines public reflections on the design and implementation of the programme and gives a first overview of the aims, content and methods of the new initiative to teach values in schools. The selection provides a contrastive choice of exemplary texts from different perspectives such as educational policy documents, scientific and journalistic articles, interviews, and statements of teachers or experts, which were collected between January 2015 and March 2016. Therefore older contributions or didactic monographs on "education civique" are largely ignored.

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2 The aims and measures of the "Grande mobilisation"

Just a few days after the attacks in Paris in January 2015 the French Education Minister, Najat Vallaud-Belkacem, presented a programme of eleven measures called the "*Grande mobilisation de l'Ecole pour les valeurs de la République*" ("great mobilisation of schools for the values of the Republic"). Its aim is to fight social inequality and to promote the values of the Republic at schools in order to strengthen a feeling of belonging in the Republic:

> "L'École est un révélateur des tensions qui traversent la société française et des inégalités qui la marquent. Le délitement du lien social au cours des trente dernières années de crise économique n'a pas épargné l'École. Le sentiment de désespérance, l'accroissement des inégalités et la prévalence du déterminisme social, l'incapacité collective à prévenir le décrochage scolaire endémique d'une partie de notre jeunesse, ont entamé la mission d'égalité de l'École. Les discriminations, l'écart entre les valeurs affichées et les réalités vécues, les replis identitaires, les velléités communautaristes, les logiques d'entre-soi ont affaibli son ambition de fraternité.
>
> Dans une société en perte de repères et caractérisée par une forme de relativisme ambiant qui favorise amalgames et indifférences, l'École peine aujourd'hui à assurer les missions que la République lui a confiées, transmettre des connaissances et être un creuset de la citoyenneté, et à susciter la confiance des élèves et des familles.
>
> Après les attentats qui ont visé le coeur des valeurs républicaines, la mobilisation du peuple français est porteuse d'une exigence vis-à-vis de l'ensemble de la société, et singulièrement de l'École dont le rôle et la place dans la République sont inséparables de sa capacité à faire vivre et à transmettre la laïcité.
>
> L'École est, et sera en première ligne, avec fermeté, discernement et pédagogie, pour répondre au défi républicain, parce que c'est son identité et sa mission profonde. École et République sont indissociables. Elles doivent le rester. (Grande mobilisation, 2015, p. 3)

"Schools are an indicator of the tensions that cut across French society and the inequalities that characterise it. The breakdown of social bonds during thirty years of economic crisis has not left schools unaffected. The feeling of desperation, the growth in inequalities, the prevalence of social determinism, and the collective inability to prevent endemic early school leaving among a section of our young people have triggered the mission for equality in schools. Discrimination, the difference between stated values and day-to-day reality, cultural isolationism, a focus on minorities, and self-segregation have undermined ambitions of fraternity.

In a society that is losing its reference points, which is characterised by a sort of general relativism that favours indifference and a lack of clear distinctions, schools now struggle to achieve the aims set for them at a national level: passing on knowledge, being a crucible of citizenship and inspiring confidence among pupils and families.

After the terror attacks that targeted the core values of the Republic, mobilisation of the French people makes demands of all of society, particularly schools; a vital part of their role and place in the Republic is to promote and disseminate secularism.

Schools are now and will remain on the front line as the Republic faces challenges, responding with firmness, discern-ment and teaching skills, as this is their identity and their underlying mission. Schools are an indivisible part of the Republic. They must remain so. (Grande mobilisation, 2015, p. 3)

The aims of the eleven measures include improving the level of training to fight high youth unemployment, reducing educational inequality and social determination through programmes for language acquisition and deve-lopment in early childhood, integration projects and a 45 million euro (20%) increase in the social fund (*fonds sociaux*) to fight child poverty. The measures include some actions to prevent Islamist radicalisation and to support civil society organisations and associations in the fight against xenophobia, anti-Semitism and discri-mination.

Republican education and teaching of values in schools is to be strengthened, the authority of teachers and the Republic is to be restored (*Rétablir l'autorité des maîtres et les rites républicains*) and in particular secularism is to be emphasised as a framework (*Cadre*), principle, me-thod and value in state educational practice (see Laïcité et enseignement moral et civique, 2015). The measures also state that the rituals and symbols of the Republic should be more strongly emphasised during "patriotic commemorative events". The 9th December will be marked nationally from now on as "Secularism Day" (*Journée de la laïcité*). The "Secularism Charter", summa-rising key ideas on secularism, has been displayed in all French schools since 2013 and it is to be emphasised and signed by pupils and parents. There are also plans to strengthen cooperation with parents:

"Les moyens du dispositif « Ouvrir l'École aux parents pour la réussite des enfants » seront renforcés, par un cofinance-ment avec le ministère de l'Intérieur. Ce dispositif a pour objectif de donner aux parents étrangers allophones les moyens d'aider leurs enfants dans leur scolarité, par une meilleure connaissance de l'institution scolaire, des droits et des devoirs des élèves et des parents, un apprentissage de la langue française et une meilleure compréhension des principes, des valeurs et des usages de la société française, pour une meilleure intégration. (Grande mobilisation, 2015, p. 10)

Extra materials will be added to the resource "Ouvrir l'École aux parents pour la réussite des enfants", with co-financing from the Interior Ministry. The aim of this resource is to give foreign parents who do not speak French as a first language support materials to help with their children's school work, to improve their knowledge of the school institution and the rights and duties of pupils and parents, to help with learning the French language and a better understanding of the principles, values and customs of French society, for better integration. (Grande mobilisation, 2015, p. 10)

To implement the measures, "secularism represent-tatives" (*référents laïcité*) are to be appointed at all schools and educational institutions and by the end of 2015 around 300,000 teachers are to receive two-day training sessions covering secularism and ethical and political education (Grande mobilisation, 2015, p. 3; on the training content: Synthèse des assises, 2015). Volunteers are invited to join a "citizens' reserve" (*réserve citoyenne*) to discuss the values of the Republic and citizen's involvement with classes of schoolchildren.

The educational work centres on introducing a "Par-cours citoyen", which is intended to teach schoolchildren democratic skills and the values of the Republic through a range of educational and participative activities. The "Parcours citoyen" includes project days and weeks, during which schoolchildren handle subjects such as racism, anti-Semitism and citizen's involvement. Demo-cratic participation among schoolchildren is to be pro-moted by expanding school councils and forms of local participation. Media skills in particular could be strengthened by developing school newspapers, school radio stations and websites in schools. A new citizenship class is also to be introduced, "*L'Enseignement moral et civique*" (*EMC*), during the school year 2015/16 in all schools from year 1 to the final year; the design is des-cribed below.

3 "L'Enseignement moral et civique": 300 hours of political education classes

"*L'Enseignement moral et civique*" (*EMC*), a subject that has been planned since 2013, aims to teach values and tolerance, following the principles of identification with the Republic, civil liberties and social diversity.

"Cet enseignement a pour objet de transmettre et de faire partager les valeurs de la République acceptées par tous, quelles que soient les convictions, les croyances ou les choix de vie personnels.

Ce sont les valeurs et les normes impliquées par l'acte même d'éduquer telle qu'une école républicaine et laïque peut en former le projet. Elles supposent une école à la fois exigeante et bienveillante qui favorise l'estime de soi et la

confiance en soi des élèves, conditions indispensables à la formation globale de leur personnalité. Cet enseignement requiert de l'enseignant une attitude à la fois compréhensive et ferme. À l'écoute de chacun, il encourage l'autonomie, l'esprit critique et de coopération. Il veille à éviter toute discrimination et toute dévalorisation entre élèves. [...] L'enseignement moral et civique privilégie la mise en activité des élèves. Il suppose une cohérence entre ses contenus et ses méthodes (discussion, argumentation, projets communs, coopération...). Il prend également appui sur les différentes instances qui permettent l'expression des élèves dans les écoles et les collèges. [...] Développer les dispositions morales et civiques, c'est développer une disposition à raisonner, à prendre en compte le point de vue de l'autre et à agir. L'enseignement moral et civique est par excellence un enseignement qui met les élèves en activité individuellement et collectivement. Il n'est ni une simple exhortation édifiante, ni une transmission magistrale de connaissances et de valeurs. Il s'effectue, autant que possible, à partir de situ-ations pratiques, dans la classe et dans la vie scolaire, au cours desquelles les élèves éprouvent la valeur et le sens de cet enseignement (conseils d'élèves, mise en scène de dilemmes moraux, jeux de rôles, débats réglés...). (Programme d'enseignement moral et civique, École élémen-taire et collège, 2015, no page reference)

"The aim of these classes is to transmit and spread the values of the Republic that are accepted by everyone, whatever their convictions, beliefs or personal life choices.

These are the values and standards involved in the education provided by Republican, secular schools. They require schools to be demanding and benevolent, encou-raging self-esteem and self-confidence among pupils, vital conditions for the overall shaping of their personality. These classes require that teachers have an understanding yet firm attitude. Listening to everyone, they encourage indepen-dence, a critical attitude and cooperation. They are careful to avoid any discrimination or lack of respect among pupils. [...] "Enseignement moral et civique" (moral and civic education) encourages pupils to be active. It assumes consistency between its content and methods (discussion, building argu-ments, common projects, cooperation etc.). It relies equally on different ways for pupils to express themselves in primary and secondary schools. [...] Developing moral and civic tendencies means developing a tendency to reason, to take into account the other person's point of view and to act. Enseignement moral et civique is a perfect example of teaching that gets pupils to act individually and collectively. It is not merely didactic, nor does it involve lecture-based transmission of knowledge and values. It is carried out, as far as possible, on the basis of practical situations, in class and in school life, in the course of which pupils test the value and the meaning of this education (student councils, enacting moral dilemmas, role-playing, moderated debates etc.). (Programme d'enseignement moral et civique, École élé-mentaire et collège, 2015, no page reference)

The new subject, EMC, replaces the previous subject *Instruction civique* at primary schools, *Éducation civique* at *collèges* and *Éducation civique, juridique et sociale (ECJS)* at *lycées*, and it is taught for an hour a week during primary education, and for two hours a week during secondary education. This means that overall – as

Education Minister Najat Vallaud-Belkacem announced – all schoolchildren receive 300 hours of political education during their school careers. Although classes on social issues were said to have been previously neglected at *collèges* and only taught as an adjunct to history and geography, the new subject *EMC* is to be taught inde-pendently and it is to come under the responsibility of all teachers, rather than just teachers of history and geo-graphy as previously. The aim is to discuss the fundamental questions of democratic co-existence using a cross-disciplinary approach. In this respect the new subject particularly emphasises secularism and promo-tion of the values of the Republic and democratic competences.

"L'enseignement moral et civique doit permettre aux élèves par une pédagogie active et le recours aux supports audiovisuels, de comprendre le bien-fondé des règles régissant les comportements individuels et collectifs (principe de discipline), de reconnaître le pluralisme des opinions, des convictions et des modes de vie (principe de coexistence des libertés), et de construire du lien social et politique (principe de la communauté des citoyens). Il favorise le respect des droits et de la loi, l'égale considération des personnes, la solidarité, l'entraide, la coopération, le sens de l'intérêt général et de la participation à la vie démocratique. Il intègre de manière transversale les problématiques de lutte contre le racisme, contre l'antisémitisme, contre les préjugés et contre toutes les formes de discrimination, les notions de droits et de devoirs, le principe de laïcité. (Grande mobilisation, 2015, p. 6)

Enseignement moral et civique must use active teaching methods and audiovisual support materials to allow all pupils to understand the sound basis of the rules that govern individual and collective behaviour (principle of discipline), to recognise pluralism of opinions, convictions and ways of life (the principle of co-existing freedoms), and to build social and political bonds (the principle of the community of citizens). It promotes respect for rights and the law, equal consideration of people, solidarity, mutual aid, cooperation, the notion of the common interest and participation in democratic life. It includes in a cross-cutting way the issues of the fight against racism, against anti-Semitism, against prejudice and against all forms of discrimination, the notions of rights and duties, and the principle of secularism. (Grande mobilisation, 2015, p. 6)

The learning process takes into account four "dimen-sions":

La sensibilité
La sensibilité est une composante essentielle de la vie morale et civique : il n'y a pas de conscience morale qui ne s'émeuve, ne s'enthousiasme ou ne s'indigne. L'éducation à la sensibilité vise à mieux connaître et identifier ses sentiments et émotions, à les mettre en mots et à les discuter, et à mieux comprendre ceux d'autrui.

Le droit et la règle
L'éducation au droit et à la règle vise à faire acquérir le sens des règles au sein de la classe, de l'école ou de l'établisse-

ment. Elle a pour finalité de faire comprendre comment, au sein d'une société démocratique, des valeurs communes s'incarnent dans des règles communes. Elle tient compte du fait que les qualités attendues des futurs citoyens sont destinées à s'exprimer dans un cadre juridique et réglementaire donné que ces mêmes citoyens peuvent faire évoluer.

Le jugement
La formation du jugement moral doit permettre de comprendre et de discuter les choix moraux que chacun rencontre dans sa vie. C'est le résultat d'une éducation et d'un enseignement qui demandent, pour les élèves, d'appréhender le point de vue d'autrui, les différentes formes de raisonnement moral, d'être mis en situation d'argumenter, de délibérer en s'initiant à la complexité des problèmes moraux, et de justifier leurs choix. Les élèves sont des sujets dont l'autonomie ne peut être progressivement acquise que s'ils ont la capacité de veiller à la cohérence de leur pensée, à la portée de leurs paroles et à la responsabilité de leurs actions. Le développement du jugement moral, modulé selon les âges, fait appel de manière privilégiée aux capacités d'analyse, de discussion, d'échange, de confrontation des points de vue dans des situations problèmes. Il demande une attention particulière au travail du langage, dans toutes ses expressions écrites ou orales.

L'engagement
On ne saurait concevoir un enseignement visant à former l'homme et le citoyen sans envisager sa mise en pratique dans le cadre scolaire et plus généralement la vie collective. L'école doit permettre aux élèves de devenir acteurs de leurs choix, et de participer à la vie sociale de la classe et de l'établissement dont ils sont membres. L'esprit de coopération doit être encouragé, la responsabilité vis-à-vis d'autrui mise à l'épreuve des faits. (Programme d'enseignement moral et civique, École élémentaire et collège, 2015, no page reference)

Sensitivity
Sensitivity is a vital component of moral and civic life: there is no such thing as a moral conscience that is not moved, does not become inspired or does not become indignant. Education to promote sensitivity aims to help people to better know and identify feelings and emotions, to put them into words and discuss them, and to better understand those of others.

The law and rules
Education on the law and rules aims to help people learn the concept of rules within the class, the school or the establishment. It aims to help people understand how common values are embodied in shared rules in a democratic society. It takes into account the fact that the qualities expected of future citizens will be expressed in a given framework of laws and rules which the citizens themselves can change.

Judgement
Training in moral judgement must make it possible to understand and discuss the moral choices that each of us faces in life. This comes from education and teaching that require these pupils to grasp other people's point of view and the different forms of moral reasoning, and to get to grips with the complexity of moral problems, construct arguments and deliberate, then justify their choices. The pupils take an active role, as independence can only be progressively acquired if they are able to watch over the consistency of

their thoughts, the impact of their words and the effects of their actions. Development of moral judgement, in modules according to age, makes special use of the ability to analyse, discuss, engage in dialogue, and debate points of view in problem situations. It requires particular attention to language work, in all written and oral forms.

Commitment
One could not conceive of education to shape people and citizens that is put not into practice in the context of school and more generally in community life. Schools must allow pupils to make their own choices and to participate in the social life of their class and the establishment of which they are members. The spirit of cooperation must be encouraged, and responsibility towards others must be put to the test. (Programme d'enseignement moral et civique, École élémentaire et collège, 2015, no page reference)

In secondary schools, six subject areas are handled in the framework of a spiral curriculum in individual years:
- La personne et l'État de droit,
- Égalité et discrimination,
- Exercer sa citoyenneté dans la République française et l'Union européenne,
- Les enjeux moraux et civiques de la société de l'information,
- Pluralisme des croyances et laïcité,
- Biologie, éthique, société et environnement (Programme d'enseignement moral et civique, Classes de seconde générale et technologique, 2015, no page reference).

- The individual and the rule of law,
- Equality and discrimination,
- Exercising citizenship in the French Republic and the European Union,
- Moral and civic issues in the information society,
- Pluralism of beliefs and secularism,
- Biology, ethics, society and environment (Programme d'enseignement moral et civique, Classes de seconde générale et technologique, 2015, no page reference).

There are four key skills:
- identifier et expliciter les valeurs éthiques et les principes civiques en jeu,
- mobiliser les connaissances exigibles,
- développer l'expression personnelle, l'argumentation et le sens critique,
- s'impliquer dans le travail en équipe (Programme d'enseignement moral et civique, Classes de seconde générale et technologique, 2015, no page reference).

- Identifying and specifying ethical values and civic principles involved,
- Mobilising the necessary skills,
- Developing personal expression, the ability to build an argument and a critical sense.
- Getting involved in teamwork (Programme d'enseignement moral et civique, Classes de seconde générale et technologique, 2015, no page reference).

The methodology of the new subject is designed to emphasise interactive processes, such as debates, ethical decision-making in dilemma discussions, role-playing, research, deliberation forums and real or simulated political action, in the course of which schoolchildren can develop their personal value judgements and demo-cratic competences.

"Les méthodes pédagogiques utilisées […] principalement les débats argumentés, se prêtent particulièrement aux objectifs et à l'esprit du programme. Il faut en respecter les règles pour leur efficacité. La préparation demande le recours à des sources documentaires variées, qui relèvent de diverses disciplines, et qui peuvent être exploitées au mieux avec les ressources du CDI [Centre de documentation et d'infor-mation, school media centres]. L'organisation du travail préparatoire au débat peut mobiliser des techniques diverses selon le sujet abordé : dossiers de presse, recherches en collaboration avec le professeur documentaliste, exposés préparatoires, etc. Il s'agit de contribuer à former l'esprit critique des élèves et de les conduire à élaborer des argu-mentaires construits et pertinents favorisant la confrontation de points de vue singuliers. Enfin tout débat argumenté doit donner lieu à une réflexion rétrospective en classe. (Programme d'enseignement moral et civique, Classes de seconde générale et technologique, 2015, no page reference)

The teaching methods used […] mainly debates, lend themselves particularly well to the objectives and the spirit of the syllabus. The rules must be respected for them to be effective. Preparation requires recourse to a range of docu-mentary sources, from various disciplines, which can best be used with resources from the CDI [Centre de documentation et d'information, school media centres]. Organising the preparatory work for a debate can bring in various techniques depending on the subject in hand: press dossiers, research in collaboration with the teacher-librarian, preparatory presen-tations etc. It is a process of building up critical thinking among the pupils and enabling them to build structured and relevant arguments for a debate between different points of view. Finally, all debates should give rise to retrospective reflection in class. (Programme d'enseignement moral et civique, Classes de seconde générale et technologique, 2015, no page reference)

4 Evaluation and implementation of the "*Grande mobilisation*"

French public opinion has been ambivalent about the design and implementation of the "*Grande mobilisation*" and the new subject *EMC*.

The Education Ministry cites successful further training of 300,000 inspectors, teachers, school managers and school social and psychological service employees by the end of 2015 (see Corbier, 2016) and the high number of volunteers who have registered for the "*réserve citoyen*" - over 5400 (see Piquemal, 2015). However critics have said that it is a farce and they just want to be seen to be doing something. Indeed, the volunteers have hardly been asked to do anything so far. Instead of opening up as intended, "*bunkérisation de l'école*" is prevalent (Divina Meigs, quoted in Corbier 2016) and many reser-

vists have become demoralised, according to the writer Karine Miermont in an open letter to the Ministry:

"Je veux témoigner, pour qu'au moins ce temps que j'ai perdu serve à quelque chose. Et puis, je considère aussi qu'il en va de ma responsabilité de citoyen de m'exprimer. J'en ai assez de cette mascarade. Cette fois, j'abandonne. Ils nous prennent pour des idiots, on ne peut pas le dire autrement. Je n'ai toujours pas été appelée pour intervenir dans une école, ni même pour un entretien au rectorat. Et la dizaine de réservistes que je connais à Paris, n'a pas été sollicitée non plus. [...] La ministre répète depuis plusieurs mois, que cette fois, ça y est, la réserve est en place. Comme s'il suffisait de le dire pour que la réalité suive ! Comme si le verbaliser trans-formait le réel. J'insiste sur ce point car ce décalage entre la parole publique et les faits est récurrent, dans l'Education nationale comme ailleurs. [...] J'en ressors avec le sentiment que cette réserve citoyenne, ce n'était que de l'affichage. Un mot, sans rien derrière. (Miermont quoted in Piquemal, 2016)

I want to testify, so that at least the time I have wasted serves some purpose. I also consider that it is my respon-sibility as a citizen to express myself. I have had enough of this travesty. This time I give up. They take us for idiots, there is no other way to put it. I have still not been called to do anything at a school, not even for an interview with the local education authority. None of the ten reservists that I know in Paris have been approached either. [...] For months now the minister has been repeatedly saying that this time - there you have it - the reserve is in place. As if just saying it was enough to make it a reality! As if putting it into words made it real. I stress this point as there is a constant gap between public statements and the facts, in national education and elsewhere. [...] I get the feeling that this citizens' reserve, is just window dressing. A term with no substance behind it. (Miermont quoted in Piquemal, 2016)

Over 1,700 contributions were submitted in a public consultation process to design the new subject "*En-seignement moral et civique*" in January 2015, however many participants formulate questions, doubts or con-cerns, e.g. that the program could be too ambitious and unrealistic (see Synthèse de la consultation nationale, 2015, p. 6).

Although the project receives broad public support and there is approval for the methodological design (see ibid., p. 6), the programme has also been criticised for being an empty gesture in education policy terms. Some say it attempts to establish a half-baked form of "ethical training" at the expense of political education based on specialist knowledge. It is alleged that the design over-estimates the effectiveness of schools and oversimplifies problems that affect the whole of French society.

The teachers' union SNES (*Syndicat National des Enseignements de Second degré*) criticises the inadequate training, and lack of resources and support for teaching staff (see Graveleau, 2015). The association of history and geography teachers, APHG (*Association des Professeurs d'Histoire et de Géographie*) particularly criticises the practical implementation and non-subject-based teaching of *EMC*, and the marginalisation of histo-

ry and geography lessons, where political education was previously provided by professionally trained teachers. On one hand the association criticises the "hasty implementation and lack of professional methodology" (see Genet, 2016), and on the other it criticises overlaps and a lack of links with topics from other subjects (see Ruiz, Tison, & Magne, 2015). Samuel Depraz, Head of the APHG in the Lyon region, observed in October 2015:

"Cette mesure, en gestation depuis 2013, a vu son application brusquement précipitée dans le contexte de janvier dernier pour une mise en œuvre immédiate, dès la présente rentrée 2015 – mais cette hâte […] ruine ainsi l'intention pédagogique et morale initiale.

Dévoiement surtout dans l'élargissement de cet enseignement, à terme, à tout le corps enseignant. S'il est bien vrai que tout enseignant, par son statut même de fonctionnaire, est amené à transmettre des valeurs morales et civiques aux élèves, en pratique ces nouvelles heures confiées à des collègues non-historiens / géographes revient à banaliser les spécialités et la pratique d'enseignement du corps enseignant. Ne nous y trompons pas: tout comme la transversalité introduite au collège, cet EMC flottant accentue l'érosion des frontières pédagogiques entre disciplines. Faut-il s'en réjouir? Dans l'instant, il faut surtout constater le surcroît d'exigences demandé aux enseignants non historiens-géographes et leur polyvalence potentielle à plus long terme.

Car le lien entre l'EMC et l'histoire- géographie est bien structurel : nulle autre discipline n'enseigne comme l'histoire- géographie les fondements de la démocratie, l'éveil des consciences républicaines, l'histoire des institutions ou la diversité régimes politiques et des constructions étatiques à la surface du globe. L'EMC est et reste le prolongement naturel de nos disciplines, par essence consacrées à la compréhension du monde contemporain. Ce lien existe également, parfois de manière moins spontanée, pour les collègues philosophes ou économistes. Il devient, de facto, complètement artificiel pour les autres disciplines : non que les collègues ne soient capables d'enseigner l'EMC, s'ils en ont toute la motivation. Il faut simplement dire clairement qu'il s'agit d'une nouvelle discipline, avec un programme de plus à assimiler, des pratiques pédagogiques possiblement nouvelles, des modalités d'évaluation à repenser, bref une réelle bivalence.

Dévoiement dans les arbitrages horaires, enfin, où l'on constate que l'EMC est explicitement sacrifiée au profit d'autres matières. On entend parfois dire que certains enseignants utilisaient l'éducation civique pour mieux terminer leur programme d'histoire-géographie. Nonobstant le fait que des contenus d'éducation civique sont déjà présents au sein même d'une heure d'histoire ou de géographie, qu'en sera-t-il des autres disciplines? (Depraz, 2015)

"Application of this measure, which has been in development since 2013, was quickly brought forward in the context of last January for immediate implementation from the start of the school year in 2015 – however this haste […] thus ruins the intended teaching aims and the initial ethos.

The main way that it has gone off course is through the expansion of this teaching, ultimately to all teaching staff. While it may be true that all teaching staff, as public servants, are bound to pass on moral and civic values to pupils, in practice these new hours assigned to colleagues outside the area of history/geography end up trivialising the specialities and the practice of teaching among teaching staff. Let us make no mistake: just like the cross-cutting elements introduced to collèges, this vague EMC accentuates the erosion of the teaching boundaries between disciplines. Should we be happy about this? Currently the main thing to note is the increased demands made of teaching staff outside the subjects of history and geography and their potential flexibility in the longer term.

This is because there is a very structural link between EMC and history/geography: no other discipline teaches the foun-dations of democracy, awakening of Republican awareness, the history of institutions or the range of political regimes and state structures around the world like history/geography. EMC remains a natural extension of our disciplines, which are essentially dedicated to understanding the modern world. This link also exists, sometimes in a more spontaneous way, for our colleagues in the areas of philosophy and economics. In reality it becomes completely artificial for other disciplines: this is not to say that our colleagues are not capable of teaching EMC if they are well motivated. One must just state clearly that it is a new discipline, with another syllabus to be assimilated, teaching practices that may be new, evaluation methods that must be reconsidered - in short a whole diffe-rent role.

Organisation of timetables has gone awry, and it is clear that EMC is explicitly sacrificed for the sake of other subjects. It is sometimes said that some teachers use civic education to improve their history/geography syllabus. Although civic education content is already present in a history or geo-graphy lesson, would this be the case in other disciplines? (Depraz, 2015)

Schoolchildren also expressed their opinion in the debate. They made a strong demand for political educa-tion to have a social sciences focus in an open letter signed by schoolchildren's representatives, 29 MPs and 58 figures from science and society in March 2016:

"Les jeunes doivent en effet pouvoir agir sur leur environnement pour pouvoir ensuite agir au sein de la démo-cratie. Souhaitant un réel apprentissage de la citoyenneté, nous formulons trois propositions qui, davantage que le nouvel Enseignement moral et civique (EMC), pourraient remédier à la fracture entre les jeunes et la vie de la cité.

Si le lycée doit préparer les jeunes au baccalauréat ainsi qu'aux études supérieures, nous avons aujourd'hui tendance à oublier que son rôle est également de former le citoyen de demain. […] L'une des dernières réponses du ministère de l'Education nationale à ce problème fut la création de l'Enseignement moral et civique (EMC), remplaçant feu l'Education civique juridique et sociale (ECJS). [...] L'intention de cet enseignement nous semblait louable et plutôt positive: débattre des grands principes de la République dans un cours transversal. Pourtant, nous nous sommes rapidement aperçus qu'il ne pourrait remplir son rôle dans les faits: les thématiques sont extrêmement larges et théoriques, les enseignants n'ont pas été formés et ne disposent que d'une heure toutes les deux semaines. Ce cours prend généralement la forme de recherches pendant une longue partie de l'année sur un sujet choisi

[…].Tout d'abord, nous proposons la mise en place de cours de philosophie dès la classe de seconde et ce, pour tous les lycéens, de sections générales, technologiques comme professionnelles. Les professeurs de philosophie ne souhaitent pas enseigner la morale mais apprendre à penser par soi-même et développer un esprit critique, un libre arbitre mais aussi une conscience citoyenne. [...]

Ensuite, nous pensons que pour tout citoyen amené à faire des choix politiques, il est nécessaire de jouir d'un minimum de connaissances en économie. La croissance, le chômage, la monnaie sont autant de thèmes clés du débat politique. […] Tout comme pour la philosophie, il nous semble important que tous les lycéens bénéficient d'une véritable introduction à l'économie, mais aussi à la sociologie et aux sciences politiques présentes dans cet enseignement. (Pour un véritable apprentissage de la citoyenneté au lycée, 2016)

"Young people should indeed be able to have an effect on their environment so they can then be active in a democracy. In the hope that they will really learn citizenship, we have produced three propositions that, in addition to the new Enseignement moral et civique (EMC), could heal the division between young people and society.

Although lycées are supposed to prepare young people for the baccalauréat and for further study, we now have a tendency to forget that it is also their role to shape the citizens of tomorrow. […] One of the latest responses from the national Education Minister to this problem was to create Enseignement moral et civique (EMC), taking over from Education civique juridique et sociale (ECJS). [...] We find the aim of these classes laudable and generally positive: debating the key principles of the Republic in a cross-cutting course. However, we quickly realised that it could not in fact fulfil its role: the topics are extremely broad and theoretical, teachers have not been trained and they only have one hour every two weeks. This course generally takes the form of research for much of the year on a chosen subject [...]. First of all we propose there should be a philosophy course from the second year of secondary school for all lycée pupils from the general, technological and professional sections. The philosophy teachers do not aim to teach ethics but rather to teach people to think for themselves and develop critical thinking, free will and also a sense of citizenship. [...]

Our next point is that all citizens who must make political choices require a minimum level of knowledge about economics. Growth, unemployment and money are some key subjects of political debate. […] Just as for philosophy, we think it is important that lycée pupils benefit from a real introduction to economics, and also sociology and political sciences, which are included in these classes. (Pour un véritable apprentissage de la citoyenneté au lycée, 2016)

The fundamental question of whether it is even possible to "teach" ethics in the framework of a school subject was also posed (see Kahn, 2015, 186). For example, the Deputy General Secretary of the SNES, Valérie Sipahimalani, said that values "cannot be transmitted like a vaccine or a virus" (quoted by Graveleau, 2015). "Enseignement moral et civique" is thus "not a teaching subject, but rather a conviction" (Depraz, 2015), which is already lived out and experienced in everyday school life (see ibid., Graveleau, 2015):

"Cependant, la question de fond, non-résolue, porte surtout sur la pertinence de cet enseignement en tant que matière. […] Les valeurs morales et civiques doivent d'abord être vécues et intériorisées, et cela passe bien plus par des formes d'engagement concrètes, des projets d'établissement, de classe autour du vivre ensemble, de la tolérance et de l'écoute de l'autre. Cela passe par les initiatives des conseils de la vie scolaire, par les débats de l'heure de vie de classe, justement […]. (Depraz, 2015)

"However, the underlying unresolved question relates above all to whether it is appropriate for this material to be taught as a subject. […] Moral and civic values should first of all be lived out and internalised, and this is done through various forms of concrete involvement, school projects, and classes on co-existence, tolerance and mutual listening. This is carried out precisely through school council initiatives, form period discussions [...]. (Depraz, 2015)

However Pierre Kahn, Professor of Philosophy at the University of Caen and Head of the Programme Commission for the new citizenship class, believes that the criticism of the teaching subject or the "myth of instruction" (Kahn, 2015, p. 194) is unjustified, as the teaching does not focus on instruction, but rather on training people to develop their own abilities to make decisions and act:

"Le projet insiste au contraire sur la signification morale de la confrontation des idées et de l'échange, qui suppose la pluralité des choix moraux possibles, et sur l'importance des situations dialogiques qui permettent de construire une conscience morale individuelle et critique (dilemmes moraux, débats à visée philosophique…) : bref, sur ce qu'on pourrait appeler (nous reviendrons tout à l'heure sur cette expression) une «culture du jugement». Pour le dire encore autrement, et d'une formule que nous prenons la liberté d'emprunter à Jürgen Habermas et à Karl O. Apel, il s'est agi de substituer à une éthique de la transmission une éthique de la discussion. (Kahn, 2015, p. 193f.)

"On the contrary, the project stresses the moral significance of debating ideas and exchanging views, assuming the plurality of moral choices, and the importance of situations involving dialogue that make it possible to build up individual critical moral awareness (moral dilemmas, philosophically oriented debates etc.): in short what might be termed a "culture of judgement" (we will return to this expression shortly). To put it another way, taking the liberty of borrowing from Jürgen Habermas and Karl O. Apel, it was a case of replacing an ethos of transmission with an ethos of discussion. (Kahn, 2015, p. 193f.)

"Si les choix moraux appartiennent à un ordre étranger à celui des savoirs, alors, en effet, la morale est inenseignable, et ne peut être l'objet à l'école que d'exhortations surannées et irrémédiablement caduques, à la manière des leçons de morale d'antan […]. Or, c'est précisément ce présupposé que le projet de programme récuse. Ce qu'il veut promouvoir au contraire, c'est la notion de culture morale, déployée dans les quatre dimensions qu'il distingue : la sensibilité, la règle et le droit, jugement et l'engagement. Culture morale, qu'est-ce à dire

"Cela signifie que l'enseignement moral et civique doit s'exercer selon trois modes complémentaires qui le constituent : celui des savoirs, celui des valeurs et celui des pratiques. L'enseignement moral et civique ne se contente pas de proclamer des valeurs et de prescrire des comportements. Il demande aussi 1° de s'approprier les connaissances et les outils intellectuels sans lesquelles ces valeurs et ces pres-criptions (re)tourneraient facilement au catéchisme (fût-il «laïque» ou «républicain»); 2° d'engager ainsi les élèves dans un rapport cohérent et réflexif à soi, aux autres et au monde. (ibid., p. 200)

"If moral choices are of a separate order to knowledge, then indeed morality cannot be taught, and it cannot be handled in school with anything other than obsolete and hopelessly outdated exhortations, like lessons on morality from yester-year [...]. Yet it is precisely this supposition that the draft syllabus rejects. On the contrary, what it seeks to promote is the notion of moral culture, applied in the four dimensions that define it: sensitivity, rules and the law, judgement and commitment. What does moral culture mean? This means that moral and civic education must be carried out in its three complementary constituent forms: knowledge, values and practice. Moral and civic education is not content to proclaim values and prescribe behaviour. It also first requires that people gain the knowledge and intellectual tools without which these values and recommendations will easily be reduced (once more) to a catechism (even if it is "secular" or "Republican"); and secondly that pupils see themselves, others and the world in a consistent thoughtful way. (ibid., p. 200)

5 Secularism as a cure for the "Crisis of the republican consensus"?

There was a further debate, going beyond the design of the teaching subject, on the fundamental question of whether teaching the values of the Republic and secularism could really be the right solution for the "crisis of the republican consensus" (Valls, 2005, p. 137) and if so how. Despite all the much-vaunted statements of intent from the government, "talking about peaceful co-existence" in classes seems highly hypocritical in view of the social reality and deprivation of young people in the banlieues, argues Philippe Tournier, President of the headteachers' union *SNPDEN* (*Syndicat national des personnels de direction de l'Éducation nationale*) (see Corbier, 2016). The gap between social reality and appeals to the values of the Republic in schools has also been cited as an obstacle to the success of the teaching subject by sociologist Béatrice Mabilon-Bonfils (University of Cergy-Pontoise):

"Ce discours moralisateur surplombant l'élève, les familles, et qui semble tomber d'en haut alors qu'eux-mêmes expérimentent au quotidien un système éducatif inégalitaire, cela ne peut pas parler aux jeunes. […] On leur vante la fabrique du "commun" et, dans la pratique, les écarts de réussite se perpétuent à tous les niveaux du système éducatif! (Mabilon-Bonfils cited in Battaglia & Graveleau, 2015)

"This moralising discourse hangs over pupils and families, and appears to fall from on high, while they themselves

have daily experience of an unequal education system, which cannot speak to young people. […] We praise the idea of the "common good" to them, and in practice, achievement gaps are perpetuated at all levels of the education system! (Mabilon-Bonfils cited in Battaglia & Graveleau, 2015)

Rather than looking for a solution in education, political conclusions should be drawn from social problems, as the sociologist Robert Castel suggested as early as 2007 in a contribution to the *Nouvel Observateur*:

"Cette coagulation de discrimination raciale et de dislocation sociale fait peser sur l'ensemble de la société une menace de sécession. Ce n'est qu'en restaurant les conditions d'exercice d'une pleine citoyenneté politique et sociale que l'on pourra la conjurer. (Castel, 2007/2013)

"This combination of racial discrimination and social dislocation bring a threat of secession to bear on the whole of society. This can only be averted by restoring the conditions for exercising full political and social citizenship. (Castel, 2007/2013)

There is also debate about whether secularism, which has been a key aspect of French self-image since the separation of state and church in 1905, is really an appropriate "central principle to unite society" (Mercier, 2016, see also: Mabilon-Bonfils & Zoïa, 2014). Headmaster Jean-Christoph Torres argued for stricter secularism in schools in "*Revue Direction*", the publication of *SNPDEN*:

"L'heure est aujourd'hui, avec gravité et urgence, à la mobilisation pour les valeurs de la République. Et cette exigence, cet appel procèdent de plusieurs voix, invitent les acteurs de l'école à porter leur attention sur plusieurs fronts. La première ligne de faille se situe au sein même de la fraternité sociale, dans le creux à vif des affirmations identitaires. Entre les parents et l'école, entre les valeurs instituées et les réalités produites se nouent désormais des difficultés insolubles et des souffrances jusqu'alors muettes. Mais cette part d'indicible se fait désormais entendre. En une irruption brutale, elle gangrène notre société par des comportements et des positions assumées, gagne jusqu'à nos salles de classes et nos cours de récréation: balayant l'illusion d'un consensus républicain, mettant à terre le formalisme d'une démocratie jusqu'alors un peu trop sûre d'elle-même. Car c'est bien la fraternité qui est aujourd'hui menacée, la capacité à partager un monde commun et à relier […] des individus en quête d'un sens commun. Seule l'école peut reconstruire ce lien qui doit être, qui ne peut qu'être réaffirmé dans un cadre de stricte laïcité. (Torres, 2015, p. 44)

"The time to mobilise for the values of the Republic is now, with gravity and urgency. This demand, this call from many voices, invites people in different roles at schools to pay attention to various fronts. The first fault line lies at the very heart of the fraternal society, in the significant divide caused by assertions of different identities. Insoluble differences and hitherto silent suffering are now growing between parents and schools and between established values and the actual reality. However these unsayable things are now being heard. In a brutal eruption, they are

corrupting our society through behaviours and positions adopted, even taking over our classrooms and our school playgrounds: they are sweeping away the illusion of a Republican consensus, bringing down the formalism of a democracy which has so far been a little too sure of itself. For it is fraternity that is now threatened, the capacity to share a common world and to link together [...] individuals searching for common meaning. Only schools can rebuild this link that should exist, and that cannot be reaffirmed in a framework of strict secularism. (Torres, 2015, p. 44)

Other authors, such as Hubert Tison of the *APHG*, fear that the "excessive zeal", with which secularism is embraced and "patriotic commemorative events" are celebrated could stir up new conflicts (quoted in Battaglia & Graveleau, 2015). The Parisian sociologist, Emmanuel Todd, has been particularly radical in his criticism of the "secular obsession" (Todd, quoted in Lancelin, 2016). He argues that attempts to indoctrinate schoolchildren with the "new religion" of secularism would only make the situation worse ("*Tenter d'endoctriner les lycéens dans le laïcisme, cette nouvelle religion [...] n'aboutira qu'à aggraver la situation*", Todd, 2015, p. 229f.). In his piece "Qui est Charlie?", which was strongly criticised in France, Todd argues that the "egalitarian façade" of secularism and calls on the values of the Republic conceal an attempt to bolster a "hegemonic, islamophobic and xenophobic block" and a social order based on inequality and exclusion of the underclass:

"Le néo-républicanisme est une étrange doctrine, qui prétend parler la langue de Marianne mais définit dans les faits une République d'exclusion. [...] En tant que système organisé, la France a changé de nature. La culture centrale y est désorganisée. Elle n'a bien sûr pas disparu et conserve probablement une forte puissance latente, souterrainement active, mais sa contribution effective au système national résonne surtout, en milieu populaire traditionnel comme chez les descendants d'immigrés musulmans, comme l'expression d'une intolérance égalitaire spécifique, une perversion de l'universalisme qui, bien entendu, aggrave la situation. La dualité du système national n'assure plus [...] une diversité maximale des possibilités humaines. Elle démultiplie, au contraire, l'anxiété massivement induite par l'atomisation du système central. Anomie, intolérance hybride et instable combinant inégalitarisme et égalitarisme, voilà ce qui a conduit à la montée en puissance nationale de l'islamophobie. Indépendamment de tout problème d'adaptation des populations dont il est la religion d'origine, l'islam est bien le bouc émissaire d'une société qui ne sait plus quoi faire de son incroyance et qui ne sait plus si elle a foi en l'égalité ou en l'inégalité. De cette confusion a émergé le discours néo-républicain, qui exige laïcité et unanimité. [...] La néo-République [...] exige de certains citoyens un degré intolérable de renonciation à ce qu'ils sont. Le musulman, pour être reconnu comme un bon Français, doit ainsi admettre que blasphémer sur sa propre religion est une bonne chose. Ce qui revient à lui demander, en vérité, de cesser d'être musulman. (Todd, 2015, p. 224f.)

"Neo-Republicanism is a strange doctrine, which claims to speak the language of Marianne, but in fact defines a

Republic of exclusion. [...] the nature of France as an organised system has changed. The central culture is disorganised. It has certainly not disappeared, and it probably retains a strong latent power, which is active beneath the surface, however among traditional groups such as descendants of Muslim immigrants, its effective contribution to the national system appears to be an expression of a specific egalitarian intolerance, a perversion of universalism, which actually aggravates the situation. The dual nature of the national system no longer ensures [...] a maximum range of options for people. On the contrary, it reduces the huge anxiety caused by the fragmentation of the central system. Anomie, an unstable hybrid form of intolerance that combines inegalitarianism and egalitarianism, is what has led to the increased influence of Islamophobia at a national level. Regardless of any problems with adapting that people from Islamic traditions may have, Islam is the scapegoat for a society that no longer knows how to handle its own lack of faith and no longer knows if it has faith in equality or ine-quality. This confusion has given rise to the Neo-Republican discourse, which demands secularism and unanimity. [...] The new Republic [...] demands that some citizens renounce what they are to an intolerable degree. For a Muslim to be accepted as a good Frenchman, he must agree that blaspheming his own religion is a good thing. This really means asking him to cease to be a Muslim. (Todd, 2015, p. 224f.)

Ultimately appeals from "radical secularists" (ibid., 228) would help make the Muslim population more alienated and strengthen a "threat scenario", allowing them to defend their privileges through "acceptance of inequality" (ibid., p. 238).

The historian Charles Mercier (University of Bordeaux) also observes the anti-religious tendencies of secularism:

"Depuis l'année 1989 [...], la question des identités religieuses à l'école a ressurgi en France. Une demande de limitation, dans l'espace public en général et scolaire en particulier, des signes qui manifestent les croyances, s'est structurée. – Initialement enracinée à gauche et associée à une laïcité anti-religieuse ou d'inspiration « gallicane », elle a trouvé de plus en plus de soutiens à droite notamment parmi les partisans d'une « laïcité identitaire » soucieux de contenir la visibilisation de l'islam. [...] Malgré la césure politique que constitue l'élection de François Hollande, *Pour une pédagogie de la laïcité à l'école* s'emploie à légitimer et à expliquer le sens de ces mesures de restriction de la liberté d'expression dans l'enceinte scolaire. (Mercier, 2016, p. 44f.)

"Since 1989 [...], the question of religious identities in school has re-emerged in France. A demand has been made for limits to be imposed on symbols of belief in public spaces in general and schools in particular. - Its initial roots were on the left and it was associated with an anti-religious secularism or a "Gallican" view, then it received more and more support from the right, particularly among advocates of a "secular identity", who were concerned to contain visible signs of Islam. [...] Despite the abrupt political change of François Hollande's election victory, Pour une pédagogie de la laïcité à l'école is used to legitimise and

explain the reason for these measures that restrict freedom of expression in schools. (Mercier, 2016, p. 44f.)

Mercier particularly questions whether "secularism creates a feeling of community", an idea that has shaped the school system since 1911 and which underlies the current government measures (Livret laïcité, 2015, p. 3). Writing in the magazine *Etudes* in January 2016, he goes against calls for secularism that aims to be neutral, and advocates instead teaching methods that recognise different cultures, making reference to the German social philosopher, Axel Honneth. In this context he links secularism with the concepts of integration and inclusion:

"Ce courant de pensée permet d'appréhender différemment la relation entre « laïcité » et « intégration ». La lecture des travaux d'Axel Honneth permet ainsi de penser la con-struction du lien social non pas à partir de la neutralisation des identités individuelles, mais par leur reconnaissance positive comme des ressources permettant de contribuer à un projet commun. Cette procédure permet de satisfaire au besoin fondamental des personnes d'être appréciées dans leur singularité pour pouvoir s'engager dans un collectif. Elle ne s'inscrit pas dans un horizon communautariste, mais consi-dère que l'adhésion aux valeurs et au projet de la société globale suppose une valorisation préalable des affiliations par lesquelles l'individu se définit. […] Dans un groupe inclusif, la différence n'est plus vue comme un écart par rapport à une norme mais comme une richesse pour chacun.

Les membres les plus intégrés ont le devoir, non pas d'assimiler ceux qui sont à la périphérie, mais de leur donner les moyens d'être mis en situation d'apporter quelque chose au projet commun, à partir de leurs singularités respectées. Chacun, quelle que soit sa position, le centre ou les marges, alimente la dynamique centripète. […] La laïcisation du système éducatif a renforcé la cohésion de la société. Elle ne s'est pas faite par la neutralisation des appartenances des élèves mais par leur inscription dans un cadre pluraliste. (Mercier, 2016, 51)

"This school of thought allows a different understanding of the relationship between "secularism" and "integration". The work of Axel Honneth indicates a way of building social links without neutralising individual identities, but rather through positive recognition of these identities as resources that can contribute to a common project. This procedure allows peo-ple to satisfy their fundamental need to be appreciated as individuals so they can be involved in a collective. It does not focus on minorities, but rather it considers that for people to adhere to the values and the project of society as a whole, one must first respect the affiliations that define the individual. […] In an inclusive group, difference is no longer seen as a separation from the standard, but rather as something that enriches everyone.

The members who are most integrated have the duty not to assimilate those who are on the periphery, but to give them the means to be in a position to contribute something to the common project, on the basis of their respected unique characteristics. Everyone, whatever their position, be it at the centre or on the periphery, helps build a unifying process. […] Secularisation of the educational system has strengthened social cohesion. It has not been achieved by neutralising pupils' sense of belonging but

rather by including them in a pluralist framework. (Mercier, 2016, p. 51)

The measures of the *Grande mobilisation* provide a much-needed evaluation of experiences in schools and stimulate university research. They should also provide a useful boost for integration debates in other European countries.

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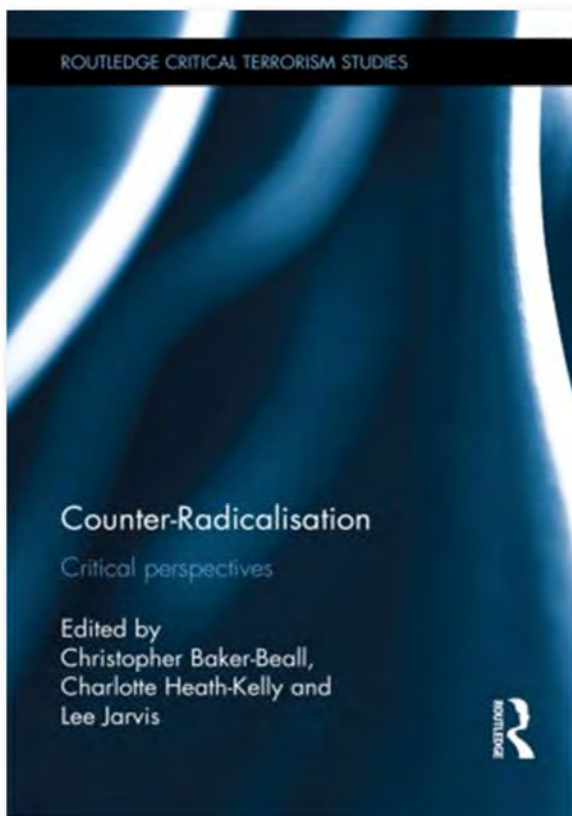
Review of the Book:

Christopher Baker-Beall/Charlotte Heath-Kelly and Lee Jarvis (Ed.). 2015. Counter-Radicalisation. Critical perspectives, London / New York: Routledge, ISBN: 978-1-138-77663-0
250 pp., $ 28

certain social communities or environments and for which certain individuals are susceptible (p. 1).

"Counter-terrorism has invented a feedback loop between vulnerability and ideology to explain away the resurgence of violence in the supposed heartlands of liberty, democracy and equality. (p. 2)

The idea of radicalisation serves the purpose of changing the political agenda in order to thematise menaces as being an apparent threat to the existing social order (p. 6). The discourse on radicalisation also serves to place certain groups of society under suspicion and to make them the object of counter-radicalisation; in this way politicians can externalise the responsibility for dissatisfaction, and even more:

"…they construct a religious and racial ‚other' who takes the blame for violence, while simultaneously making claim to provide solutions that will prevent future instances of violence. (p. 7)

This kind of "othering" succeeds in the political community - as in the case of "homegrown terrorists" - when it is a matter of naturalised citizens or people who have been living for in "western" countries for many years. It is insinuated that the idea of counter-radicalisation in research and the practice of prevention is connected with the so-called "war on terror".

Even if you do not share this headstrong, politically very accentuated view of the world of the publishing team, the omnibus is nevertheless well-worth a read. There are at least two reasons for this. First of all, not all the articles are housed under this ideological roof but bring out various other perspectives. Secondly, the meticulousness and acrimony of the arguments of the authors - amongst them several junior researchers - point out the blind spots and inconsistency particularly evident in the British "Prevent" policy. Anyone engaged in education and learning for the prevention of extremism can find several concrete tips for their work.

Dealing with all thirteen articles (chapters) would go beyond the scope of this review. Certain central themes should be mentioned, however, and particularly tangible reports on experience should be referred to. These include a critical report by Anne Aly on the Australian experience in dealing with violence-orientated radicalisation (chapter 4), the study by Julia Berczyk and Floris Vermeulen on measures implemented for the prevention of islamism in Berlin and an essay by Lasse

„Counter-Radicalisation" - A politically counterproductive approach?

In the last few years a new concept has come into view concerning the prevention of extremism and research into terrorism which up till today is still provoking many questions: „radicalisation". Government programs such as British „Prevent" connect their initial phases with the above ideas to start up a policy of „counter-radicalisation". From a democratic view of things, however, this has resulted in the posing of many questions. One of the most important is: How far is the concentration on terrorism prevention going to change the fabric of liberal, open societies?

It is to the credit of Christopher Baker-Beall, Charlotte Heath-Kelly and Lee Jarvis who as a team published an omnibus edition „Counter-Radicalisation – Critical Perspectives" (Routledge. 2015) bringing a series of critical voices from research and doctrines into view, their central point being to examine the effect anti-terrorism strategies have on a democratic multi-cultural society. The thirteen articles contributed mainly by British researchers dispute the extremist prevention policies started in 2005, but also dispute the Prevention policies of other countries with democratic constitutions such as Australia, Denmark, the Netherlands and Germany.

In their introduction the three publishers mark the framework of these critical thoughts. Their view is that the contemporary discussion on anti-terrorism diverts the attention of the public from the causes of political militancy, and with the concept of radicalisation construct a hypothesis according to which individual acts can be psychologically interpreted. Violence is attributed to the influence of ideologies allegedly widespread in

Lindekilde on the difficulties of intervention to deradicalize individuals in Denmark (chapter 13). Like other authors in the omnibus Aly also emphasizes that coherent evidence of a connection between ideological orientation and violence-orientated extremism is still missing. She connects this with an appeal to science to carry out more precise research on the relation between radicalisation as a psychological process and the development of extremist violence (p. 81). Prevention can only be effective when the concept integrates social cooperation, cultural awareness and the involvement of members of the public.

Considering the critical demands of the omnibus the Berlin prevention concept is doing comparably well. Berczyk/Vermeulen stress that in view of its Nazi history Germany upholds a militant democracy in which the fight against extremism has been firmly anchored in the constitution and penal law (p. 88 ff). They quote the "Böckenförde Theorem" according to which the state cannot defend a liberal democracy alone but by means of constant social discourse and by relying on the willingness of the public to defend it. Thus it is that the prevention of extremism plays a greater role in the German education system than elsewhere. In contrast to the British policy of "Prevent" the Germans focus on an active prevention function practised by their Muslim partners and on an

"… umbrella initiative that funds diverse projects undertaken by a variety of actors against radical influences (97).

In the way that the idea of Community Coaching is described by them, Lindekilde, in his Denmark article, analyses the possible effectiveness of an approach which focuses on the empowerment of prevention actors in amongst the general public. According to him there is in Denmark a feeling of uneasiness about the "securetisation" of the integration policy as a result of the way police are active within neighbourhoods and the formation of religious homogeneous communities.

Other than the German prevention orientation which considers a dispute with radical ideologies as important, in Denmark a concept has asserted itself, according to Lindekilde, that abstains from "battling extremist ideas". Particularly worth reading is what he writes about the new Danish strategy of counter-radicalisation. Its three columns are mentoring, counselling and education as well as the exit strategy. While the last of these is supervised by the security organisation, it is the local authority which takes responsibility for the first two - supported by the department of democracy and prevention of radicalisation (p. 227). Nevertheless, Lindekilde also sticks to the point - and among many other authors there is consensus in his criticism - that the Danish state has disconnected itself from its earlier supported goals of social cohesion and justice in its prevention agenda. In the sense of a neoliberal "gouvernementalité" (Foucault) the state is withdrawing itself from its social responsibility and instigating the solitary responsibility of the local prevention actors who often see themselves confronted with the dilemma as mentor faced with the mentees and having to take on all possible - and contradictory - functions (p. 234).

In the articles in chapters 2, 3, 8, 9 and 11 critical reflection is focused on the British "Prevent" policy. In chapter 2 Paul Thomas criticises the fact that the mixture of "Prevent" and other UK agendas for the promotion of Community Cohesion has lead to a highly problematic stress of prejudice in the relationships with Muslims and that stigmatisation of them is increased rather than reduced. Instead of democratic development it is the security authorities which are increasingly active in the creation of a society living together. Nadya Ali (chapter 8) and Francesco Ragazzi (chapter 9) also question the future of a multi-culturally aware social policy. Ali attempts to verify that the "Contest" strategy which was launched in 2005 after the London attacks emanated from a radicalisation concept according to which terrorism is researched and understood

"as a product of psychological, sociological and mental deviance (139)

and that it lead to a mapping of the Muslim community in Great Britain which thus became re-defined as a "governable entity" and as such the object of intervention and supervision. Ragazzi sketches out the dilemma of "preventive counter terrorism" resulting from the assumption that intentions of terrorist acts can be identified in good time if only the state security network is broad enough. A part of this prevention policy is the concept of close co-operation with a suspicious community and its simultaneous surveillance (p. 158). "Ethnic profiling" is one of the problematic consequences of this kind of policy.

What for some authors of the omnibus are the fatal accompanying consequences of a confused political approach there are others, such as Phil Edwards, who see it as an ideological state crusade. In his article (chapter 3) he considers the efforts of the state to comprehend the dispute with extremism as a confrontation of values, contrary to experience from the sphere of everyday crime, and submits differentiated proposals for a reform of the "Prevent" policy. These proposals are worth reading not only by education experts but also by political decision makers. Edwards brings criminological knowledge about the process of "desistance from crime" into the debate (p. 59) and recommends supporting the renunciation of violence not by arguing that offenders should renounce their ideological options but that they should realise them in other, peaceful ways. Under the provocative caption "How (not) to create ex-terrorists" Edwards alludes to the experience that leaving a criminal gang is bound up with the emergence of a personal counter-narrative that shatters the personal narrative that kept him in the gang. Similar to Arun Kundnani in chapter one Edwards considers it a failed approach when

the state rebuts ideologies in its prevention of extremism. Several authors recognise this in former Prime Minister Cameron's approach towards anti-terrorism prevention.

In a previous article (chapter 12) Mohammed Elshimi takes up the new "buzzword" de-radicalisation and puts it in the semantic context of comparable terms such as "disengagement" or re-socialisation. It is particularly since this article provides an analysis of meaning so rich in various facets, that it is an aid to practical work particularly as he engages himself with the specifics of jihadist ideology more than all the other authors do.

A final assessment of the complete omnibus. It is rather extraordinary that this publication in its 250 pages does not discuss aims and agendas of totalitarian ideologies and movements as essential impulses for politically motivated criminal acts despite the fact that right-wing extremism and jihadism provide a mass of material - even videos of suicide assailants. Full criticism about across-the-board evaluation of communities and religious associations is expressed against the authors as they have, for instance, blanked out the enormous differrences amongst mainstream Islam and Islamist minorities.

The fact that a democratically constitutional state has to protect the lives, freedom and security of its citizens should be the notional starting point of the criticism of the state's strategies for prevention. However, the authors' narrowed view of the world, mislead by Foucault's theory of rule, is reduced to a criticism of government, and the internal power relationships within society are not dealt with. And so the simple fact that prevention should occupy itself with the ideological overwhelming of individuals and whole communities remains untouched.

It remains a question of taste whether we should accept this systematically narrowed view as "critical studies" or whether we should recommend the request for critical reflection to the publishing team.

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