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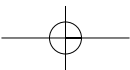
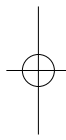
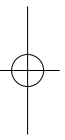
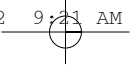
FROM A NATIONAL IDENTITY TO A EUROPEAN ONE

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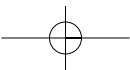
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What identity; national, European or something more?

The subject of what drives people to form, sustain, or to challenge, identification and notions of citizenship has attracted interest for decades. Identities are set in and constructed in action. Personal, social and educational development depends on various processes fundamental in the building and understanding of individual and group identities.

The theme of this special issue of the *Social Science Tribune* revolves around the question of which identity within the context of nation and Europe we seek. Will it be as Beck¹ argues that it "...cannot be conjured up from the past; it has to be developed... as a... response to the questions of the future, in every field such as the labor market, ecology and the social state, international migration, political freedoms and basic rights." Or will it respond to Kastoryano's² question on whether or not recognition and adoption of "multiculturalism" can offer a tangible opportunity to "reconcile the universality of its legal framework with the singularity of cultural identities so as to constitute a common political culture?"

Each of us has a unique identity, one which finds expression in both majority membership as well as minority membership within a culture and society. Our basic premise is that the building and fostering of identity within a European context is built on merging both the individual and the multiple. Whether presented and analyzed from a sociological identity theory or that of psychological social identity perspective, the emphasis is on a multifaceted and dynamic self that acts as a go-between the relationship amid social structure and individual behavior³; without ignoring the political⁴. To this we add the issue of citizenship. By linking identity and citizenship we relate to a Europe that includes the regional, national, suprana-

tional and even the post-national, thus adding a new component to the individual's choice of identity. The development of the post-national concept of citizenship is rooted in the larger processes of change in Europe⁵.

The issue of identity and citizenship status within the parameters of the development of modern democratic states is something that has drawn increasing attention. Citizenship typifies the link between person and state within the parameters of that state's laws, with corresponding duties and rights. The concept of citizenship in modern democracies involves everyone's equal participation in the assets of society and has come to incorporate rights of a diverse nature including the civil, social and political⁶. As Brubaker⁷ notes 'citizenship is not simply a legal formula: rather it is an increasingly salient social and cultural fact and a "powerful instrument of social closure". Therefore, while citizenship status has slowly been provided to members of the society irrespective of such factors as class, race, or gender, this unfortunately is not yet universal.

The question of citizenship constitutes one of the most important subjects in Europe as much socio-politically as it does from a scientific and research perspective. Given that the relative policies have developed into a configuration of varied policies, this special issue attempts to contribute to a discussion that we consider of critical importance to European coexistence.

Specifically, in this volume we attempt to document different aspects of the themes problematic by formulating two central axes. The first axis centers on questions being formulated within the European arena with regard to citizenship as a European policy problem. The second axis essentially through the prism of education examines the methodological and theoretical approaches of the phenomenon. Particularly interesting are the analyses that approach the subject of citizenship in terms of identity and power.

The papers that are contained in this edited volume represent contributions from eight European states and one seeking membership in the European Union. The authors come from Portugal, Hungary, Greece, France, England, Spain, Cyprus, Lithuania and Turkey. We believe that the volume takes on added importance given the fact that university academics are individuals who have been and continue to be involved in teaching and research in the volume thematic area.

The subject is quite complex and as such it is neither our intention nor is it possible to completely analyze it within the framework of this special issue. Rather, this volume presents a compilation of critical reflections

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and studies on the subject from within the work being done in the European arena and particularly from that of members of the Children's Identity and Citizenship European Association (CICea). Consequently the presentation of particular papers aims to contribute to the ongoing debate revolving around the issue of identity and citizenship in Europe. Finally, we also hope that this volume can also contribute to in the appointment of possibilities and weaknesses to a interdisciplinary comparative frame of analysis. Particular thanks are expressed towards the *Social Science Tribune* and to Professor Emeritus P. Terlexis.

In the first article of the current volume, Gil Baptista Ferreira in *What identity for Europe? Communication, memory, and citizenship*, focuses on the debate around the European identity. The author suggests the conception of a European identity that reflects, simultaneously, a historical and cultural ballast in which people can trust, and on its own civic culture that, respecting the identities, and recognizes sensibilities. According to Ferreira two types of political identification are taken into account, sustaining the idea of the nation from a cultural and ethnic point of view or from a civic and political perspective. From here, the discussion will centres on the possibility of a European identity and to what extent that identity will be shared by citizens from different nationalities.

In *Children's understanding of pupils' responsibility. A self-responsibility model* Beata Krzywosz-Rynkiewicz presents the concept of pupils' responsibility as understood by younger primary school children. A three year action research project was done. The interviews and responsibility dilemma tests conducted during the experiment on a group of 100 younger primary school pupils provided the basis for: (1) developing a model of self-responsibility, and (2) determining the factors that stimulate and promote responsibility. The self-responsibility model was verified empirically consisted of two dimensions: (1) subjective responsibility versus for mal responsibility, and (2) responsibility to be borne (negative) versus responsibility to be taken (positive). The obtained results are presented in the paper. The three-year action research project enabled us also to determine the factors stimulating the development of responsibility.

In the third article of the special issue Ioannis Kamarianos focuses on two basic Sociology of Education questions: the process of reproduction as well as the possibility for change. Educational change concerns structure on the one hand and the role of the subjects in a relationship of interdependence on the other hand. More specifically, in *Identity and ICT: The influence of Rationality, Market Society and ICT in the classroom* Ioannis

Kamarianos raises new perspectives in the sociological theory of education that consists of a framework through which to explain the resilience of the power structure as well as the subjects' role in participating in the educational process. According to the author the introduction and integration of ICT and the new technocratic reason in the school classroom which modifies the educational process, is one of the challenges that we are called upon not only to comprehend but also analyze in order to produce effective educational practices.

In Socialization for a cooperative and competitive citizen: a classroom observation study Márta Fülöp focuses on aspects of the good citizen. According to Fülöp the concept of the good citizen has at least two aspects: her/his relations to the state and to his/her fellow citizens. The article begins with an informative review and discussion of the literature surrounding the central theme. It goes on to discuss the issues related to socialization for a cooperative and competitive citizen and presents findings from a classroom observation study using qualitative case study material, from a relatively small set of schools, to build a more nuanced view of the ways in which competition and cooperation are manifested in the educational realm and to facilitate a more detailed analysis of local practices in a specific geographical and temporal context.

In Social judgments about ethnic exclusion among Latin-American children and adolescents living in Spain, Alejandra Navarro Sada, Sheila Troncoso and Lila Gómez & Miguel Gómez explore social judgments about ethnic exclusion from the perspective of ethnic minority children living in Spain. In order to focus on to this matter a developmental study was carried out with Latin American children and adolescents who has been part of this recent migratory process in Spain. The general purpose of the present study was to investigate the development of their perception about social exclusion and discrimination. The study was conducted in Madrid with a sample of 72 Latin American children and adolescents between 6-17 years of age. The authors used a clinical semi-structured interview. The specific interest was to explore the judgments and justifications on the part of Latin American children and adolescents regarding a social exclusion situation towards their own ethnic group, as well as their perceptions regarding their experiences of ethnic discrimination in the time they have lived in Spain, the possible causes and the solutions to solve them.

Christine Roland-Lévy, aims *in Switching from a National Identity to a European one*, at showing how, from individual attitudes, a new representation is gradually built and progressively it is shared by many, thus

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becoming a common social representation. The author seeks to do so by analyzing attitudes and social representations of a new social object, first in January and then in February 2002 when the euro became the common currency in France as well as in 11 other countries also belonging to the euro-zone; at this time, the French former national currency could still be used in parallel to the euro; and second, one year later, once the euro was the single currency that should be used in all the various financial transactions occurring in France.

Mary Koutselini in her article titled, *The role of informal curriculum on citizenship education: Gender representations in TV and students' gender stereotypes*, presents a long-term project funded for three years by the Cyprus Research Promotion Foundation. The project was entitled "Gender mainstreaming in the Mass Media of Cyprus and the relationship with the perceptions of youth - Comparison with the EU policy". The project aimed at awareness rising in gender issues at the Mass Media as well as in the role of informal curriculum in students' perceptions. The study was conducted in Cyprus during the period 2004-2007 with a threefold aim, first to investigate the gender representations in TV, second to compare them with primary and secondary students' perceptions and third to compare the gender representations and students' perceptions with the European Union's indicators of mainstreaming policy. In this context the present study investigated the role of TV broadcasting- as an important agent of informal education – in the formation of youth gender stereotypes.

In '*I felt really inspired by it, it was really interesting to interact with the pupils: active citizenship in the British undergraduate social science curriculum*', Paul Watt, Chris Gifford, Shirley Koster, Wayne Clark note that a formal citizenship curriculum has recently been introduced into schools in England following the publication of the Crick Report in 1998. This initiative has received considerable academic and political attention as its implementation is researched and evaluated. However, citizenship education is not restricted to schools and in recent years there have been number of publicly funded initiatives to develop citizenship education in U.K. universities, although the research base on these initiatives is thus far extremely limited. This study contributes to the literature in this area with reference to evaluation research undertaken in relation to the module, 'Citizenship and Identity', delivered to first year social science undergraduates at 'Rivershire University' in South East England.

In *Children and Mobility in TV Commercials*, Nilüfer Pembecioğlu aims to discuss the concept of children and mobility in commercials and ideal-

ization of the role models. The author notes that due to the increasing number of commercialized channels, children are even more under the impact of media. The children represented in the media are getting more and more mobile and this creates a kind of pseudo-reality. Today, most of the commercials concentrate on children as consumers and they seem to give more importance to 'adult-like decision making strategies' for children. The underlying argument is that these ads provide behaviours which could be taken as the role models for children in general.

Irena Zaleskené in *Citizenship Education in Changing Lithuanian Society* concentrates on some theoretical concepts of globalisation and citizenship and thus provides some thoughts about the changing role of citizenship education in transforming Lithuanian Society. The author points out that many problems in contemporary Lithuanian society arise from the fact that the relationship between individuals and the state is changing fundamentally. The state should broaden "positive" choices and support an individual by ensuring principles of equality in basic human rights and access to opportunities. On the other hand, an individual has to take the responsibility for his/her own life becoming a decisive factor in choosing personal life style and in building up civic community. In this respect it is expected that Citizenship Education plays an important role in educating competence and attitudes toward own responsibilities, in educating mental and practical skills for positive civic participation.

Uvanney Maylor and Alistair Ross in *Teacher education for multiple identities in Europe: a study*, report some of the findings of a study of how teacher education currently reflects the increasing diverse school population in five European countries: the United Kingdom, Greece, France, Iceland and Poland. Each of these has made distinctive changes in policy in recognition of the greater ethnic and national range of students in the school system. The authors analyse the views of teachers and teacher educators in each country, suggesting that most of the professionals involved see their role as to encourage pupils to view them selves as having multiple and overlapping identities, which may (interalia) be national, ethnic, linguistic and European. Within the scope of this project various strategies to achieve this, at the level of the school, local area and nation ally are briefly analysed and de scribed.

Our final paper is entitled, *Bringing together Multicultural Awareness and Citizenship in post graduate teacher education*. Julia Spinthourakis focuses on the need for teacher education programs and particularly post graduate education programs to include courses on issues linked to diver-

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sity in our society. Including diversity and specifically multiculturalism is important as teachers need to work successfully with diverse learners at the ideological level, practical level, political level and methodological level. This paper examines how Greek Master's degree candidates taking a Multicultural Education course understand the diversity around him and how it influences identity and citizenship. A description of the course, student activities and student-professor interaction is presented. The paper also includes an excerpt from a student's reflective journal and general observations from the analysis on the development of their knowledge, skills and awareness of diversity. From the analysis we note that an opportunity for focused, organized and active participation and reflection can positively influence the multicultural awareness of post graduate education students.

As the papers in this special issue illustrate, identity and citizenship cannot be viewed simply. They are shaped by the plurality of viewpoints expressed in the public and academic sphere. In highlighting the facets of identities and citizenship and what they convey, this special issue seeks to contribute to the reframing of the discussion on diversity, identity and citizenship.

In this editorial we have chosen to begin the framing of the volume's theme and to present key points of each of the articles included in the special English issue of the Social Science Tribune. The criterion used to select the articles to be included was predicated on our belief that they contain critical reflections, findings and information of interest to researchers working with issues of identity and citizenship.

Finally, it is our hope that the issues raised by the contributing authors in this volume will be useful and of crucial importance for other researchers involved in issues of identity, citizenship diversity along with policy making process.

J. A. Spinthourakis & I. Kamarianos
Guest Editors,
Patras, Summer 2009

Notes

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What identity for Europe? Communication, memory, and citizenship

*Gil Baptista Ferreira**

Abstract

The purpose of this article is the debate around the European identity. Two types of political identification are taken into account, sustaining the idea of the nation from a cultural and ethnic point of view or from a civic and political perspective. From here, the discussion will center on the possibility of a European identity and to what extent that identity will be shared by citizens from different nationalities. As will be demonstrated, communication plays a crucial role: as a form of participating and asserting the difference, and associating the universalism of the normative principles to the particularism of the concrete forms of identification. Finally, we suggest the conception of a European identity that reflects, simultaneously, a historical and cultural ballast in which people can trust, and on its own civic culture that, respecting the identities recognizes sensibilities, interests, the arguments.

Keywords: European identity, national identity, ethnicity, constitutional patriotism, communication.

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Introduction

The quick steps taken during the last few years geared towards European integration led to a spectacular resurgence of intellectual debate concerning the notion of political identity and its articulation with other identities, whether national, cultural, or others.

On one hand, the scheduled expansion of the European Union stimulates questions as to the eligibility criteria for new countries and on the true meaning of a "European" designation. And from here the questions: what do we mean when we talk about a political community; an enlarged family of States or an association of interests? When talking about Europe, are we referring to a geographical space, a civilization model, a political project, a new historical reality or a mere philosophical thought? On the other hand, it has been ascertained that as the European Union assumes a growing role in the everyday life of the people of the member States, it is accused of still not providing an identification mechanism that affects the civic body as a whole. A concerning aspect refers to the fact that the increased formal legitimacy of the European institutions, provided by the treaties of Maastricht and Amsterdam, seems to go side by side with a decrease in the legitimacy of a European integration in the eyes of public opinion.

We witness, today, a growing abyss amongst what Michael Walzer (1997) designates as the moral community (referring to the social, geographical, and cultural unity where the individuals share understandings) and the legal community (defined as the reach of the political measures that legally tie a community of citizens together). Walzer noted that if the overlapping of these two dimensions is not complete, individuals will begin to question the legitimacy of the policies under which they live – resulting in political risks we will come back to.

A famous definition provided by Ernest Haas defines political integration as "the process through which political actors in different national spaces are persuaded to re-direct their loyalties, hopes, and political activities towards a new center, with institutions that proceed or exercise jurisdiction over the preexisting national states" (1958: 16). This process allows considering the enunciation of two types of political identification that correspond to two identity types. The first identity sends us to the sphere of ethnic nationalism of a specific people, within a certain territory, culture, language, history and common destiny. The second identity concerns civ-

ic nationalism that has as its historical subject not so much a specific people, but a political community that shares a certain group of general values. It is under the framework of this dual picture that we can have a sustained discussion on the conditions for a possible European identity and on the degree to which this identity would be shared by citizens of different nationalities.

Once the consequences and the validity of the two previous proposals have been assessed, we will try to answer the following question: Can a European identity be conceived in terms that are simultaneously inclusive (universalistic) and that guarantee a pluralistic capacity (providing attention to specifics)? From this question, another is deduced, drawing upon the political perspective of a recognition theory: in political terms, Where is the balance point, in the formulation of the European identity, between global expression and localized voices? As will be demonstrated, communication plays a crucial role in the answer to this question: on one hand, as a form of participating and asserting difference; on the other hand, associating the universalism of the normative principles to the particularism of concrete forms of identification.

An “ethnic model” for Europe

In general terms, the ethnic model sees cultural identities as the result of generations of shared experiences and memories. Collective identities are the product of traditions, values, memories, and symbols from social, political, and cultural sources that, on a popular level, are consolidated throughout time, forming a common inheritance. In this perspective, and on a theoretical plane, a European identity will appear as a result of shared experiences, values, memories, traditions, and values, articulated with myths and symbols that unify several generations of European people. This materialization will grow in a slow, flowing process, basically without a planned strategy –in spite of conscious attempts towards this.

With this theoretical model as a background, it is important to ascertain if in Europe there is a pan-European base of values, symbols, experiences, and popular traditions available, which could serve as a mold for European construction and integration. This is a central issue, which several authors attempt to provide answers to - those dependent essentially on the theoretical place where they are located. Anthony Smith considers

that we can only foresee a true European cultural identity, at a popular level, as a result of shared experiences, memories, and values, as well as myths and symbols that unify various generations of the people of Europe –without which we will be merging politics and culture, levels that although strictly related in some particular cases, should be maintained separate. Thus, his arguments are strongly skeptical as to the success of a Europe that surpasses nation-States (cf. 1997: 215).

There are two main problems that the ethnic approaches identify relative to the European integration process and to the definition of a European identity, as we witness today.

The first problem resides in the "reversed" nature of the European unification, developed through elite (business, administrative, and intellectual) actions and programs, with needs that were not already satisfied within the context of the national State, and which, therefore, tried to build an infrastructure and a favorable political framework through the creation of a wider European union. Additionally, the logic behind this approach is intended to prevent War, not negatively, maintaining separate States, but positively, articulating them in united strategies. The European Union would thus become the comfortable answer to renouncing violence to solve conflicts, and would represent the victory of political reason over national passions and selfish interests; economic dimensions, more than the main objective, would be nothing other than subterfuges. Integration is achieved by implementing a common jurisdiction, at the same time that supranational institutions act over States as national institutions over the nation, with the same unifying purposes. Acting as social bodies, those institutions would be at the root of the formation of the European citizens, united in spite of their different nationalities for European interest, defined from now on as general interest (cf. Kastoryano, 2004: 23). In accordance with this perspective, an entire culture of masses proceeds behind elite political and economic action, and after a stabilizing period, begins accompanying economic and political changes. In other words: where politics directs, the masses will proceed, with some delay, as a result of a "downward filtering" of new elite ideas, practices, and institutional standards.

The frailness of an approach like this has been noted for quite some time. This is related with the excessive trust that this interpretation attributed to the role of the elite and to leadership –which, without the "capacity of vision" of previous generations (sixties), are finding great skepticism today relative to their proposals, and are, thus, facing serious difficulties in

mobilizing the popular masses (cf. Hoffman, 1994). As demonstrated by the popular answers to the Treaty of Maastricht in Denmark, France, and United Kingdom, as some cooling off is noted with regards to the European project in the Scandinavian countries and since (surprising only to a few) some popular referenda on the ratification of the European Constitution took place, particularly in France and Holland, governments may lead, but their people do not always seem anxious in following them in the sense of a European Union formed within these molds.

In general, empirical data reveals the great distance between the consensual support granted by the elites to the European project and the wide skepticism noted throughout the popular masses. According to Risse, the different identification levels with Europe ascertained by the elites and citizens can be explained largely by "how real Europe is for each person." As is thoroughly demonstrated (Gellner, Anderson), an imagined community becomes real in people's lives when they share cultural values, identify a common destiny, and know the delimitation line of that community; therefore, the European identity is very real for the political, economic, and social elites, but distant and thinly outlined for citizens in general (cf. Risse, 2005: 297). In A. Smith's words, there is "a calculating side to attitudes regarding Europe in many quadrants that suggests an absence of deep cultural or emotional ties amongst the people of the European continent and little notion of any specific value or belief system exclusively shared by the European people" (1999: 108). In sum: if many Europeans have a desire to cooperate and live together, it is questionable if at the basis of that desire is a popular idea of unification insofar as culture, values, ideals, and traditions, and much less a strong feeling of belonging to a family of European people.

The second problem, which is very much related to the situation described above, has to do with the difficulty of defining the nature of "European ties" and its specific culture. In order to achieve this definition, cultural nationalisms on a large scale attempted, many times, to bring together States and people on the basis of criterion of a shared culture and common cultural inheritance, trying to unite them in a single supranational entity—we refer to "pan-nationalist" movements, amongst which pan-Turkism, the pan-Slavism, the pan-Africanism and also the pan-Europeanism of Counhove-Kalergie, Jean Monet and the European Movement founded in 1948 in The Hague (cf. Smith, 1999: 108-109). In this same sense, within the cultural domain, a "cooperation" principle was introduced amongst States in 1983, with the proposal to "Europeanize culture", through stand-

ardized teaching and information programs that assured cultural flows and contributed to the emerging of a "euro culture" meant to make Europe a distinctive unit (cf. Kastoryano, 2004: 24).

However, in spite of the grandiose ideals that serve as support to pan-Europeanism (that in its limit seeks to institutionally promote the figure of a new man, "the European man"), this is also a downward move, in a process that begins at the top and works its way down to society, where institutions, norms, leaders, and elite reflect in a planned manner a message of European unity and the appeal for the creation of European ties as a unique answer to contemporary challenges. As Hoffman writes, "especially in times of unhappiness and domestic difficulties, there is no hope of a popular push towards a wider unit, of a movement sprouting from below towards a wider and deeper Union. As in other historical moments, initiatives must come from the top (...) it is up to the elite and the governments to take the decisive steps" (1994, s/p). Noteworthy is that from the top, what we witness are ambivalent signs. On the one hand, statements associated to the construction of an identity and the correlative civic community, of values and traditions, are provided but, on the other hand, they exalt the nation-State in the relationship with Brussels and, to locally justify community decisions adopt the populist rhetoric of "community impositions" (cf. Risse, 2005: 297). Thus, the problem appears precisely when we try to define European ties -delineated from a system of values and common experiences that sustains the consolidation of an identity-, when it is difficult to stabilize repertoires of memories, symbols, myths, traditions, and projects with enough strength to awaken a sense of loyalty (and no rivalry) amongst the inhabitants of modern Europe.

In a certain way, many experiences, traditions, symbols, and shared values possess an "ambivalent facade", with an equal capacity to separate and unite, as they also illustrate the diversity of Europe, revealing an entire kaleidoscope of different ethnicities and counter-cultures of minorities, immigrants, foreigners, as well as the socially excluded. As a result, the task at hand includes a simultaneous process of forgetting and remembering, that is, of remembering what is common to an entire European culture and forgetting all that along history has divided it. However, this effort possesses a correlative risk: of remembering divisions and forgetting shared ties - an option that is particularly valued as a safety measure in times of greater difficulties. Thus, any European identity project should include, besides remembering and forgetting, the task of conceiving, in the sense of imagining new alternatives and mobilizing possibilities (cf. Schlesinger, 1991).

Given this, in its intangibility, the European identity is seen today as vacuous and imprecise, as a true arena or field for demonstrating strength, for identities and cultures in conflict: "to speak about Europe is to enter into a battlefield of discourse", to which each intervening party is committed both cognitively and emotionally. In the simultaneous game of memory and amnesia, to provide light also leads to the emerging of shadows, and, as a result, the search for a common identity faces the risk of reviving different nationalist identities (cf. Schlesinger, 1992). If many cultural and political traditions appear marked by ambivalence and few (and unevenly) mobilize Europeans, in general, any attempt to build a European identity around these shared cultural elements needs to compete and coexist with myths, values, and preexisting memories, deeply rooted in nations and ethnicities.

However, according to Smith, within this dynamic game, on a collective level, loyalty to a nation overlaps all other forms of identification and this shall continue throughout the predictable future. From an ethnic point of view, a European identity still has a long way to go - centuries, if we want it to be genuine. At present, a European political community with popular resonance should be founded by a movement capable of forging memories, values, myths, and symbols from the common inheritance, so that these do not compete with national cultures that are still powerful and vigorous; only in this way will it be possible to create a new type of collective identity that embraces, but does not abolish, national identities (cf. 1997: 210-2).

The Constitutional Patriotism model

In response to ethnic model, constitutional patriotism thinkers have essentially two types of arguments concerning Europe.

Firstly, they assume the impossibility of a European Union divided into multiple cultures and national sub-cultures, associated to any mythical ideal of an ancestral European homeland, also refusing the hypothesis of a European nation. It is neither reasonable nor desirable to assume that the secular phenomenon of building a nation should take place on a European scale; we should remember that national institutions have been created, in general, with a more or less variable dose of internal and external violence, which makes this phenomenon currently inconceivable

(cf. Lacroix, 2002: 946). Secondly, a peaceful strategy to construct an identity, sustained by traditions and cultural ties, is also not very appealing because it is chauvinist, and would have as a result the "duplicating of national principles on a supranational level" (Ferry, 1992: 53).

Jürgen Habermas refutes, precisely as the starting point for his proposal, the ethnic argument of the inexistence of a European people. If what is lacking is the actual subject of the self-constitution process of the European identity, a people capable of defining itself as a European "nation", Habermas considers that a nation of citizens should not be confused with a destination community configured by an origin, a language, and a common memory. The idea of a European identity should emerge from a democratic process and must reflect, on the one hand, the historical path of European nation-States and, on the other, the fact that democratic citizenship could foster an abstract, legally-mediated solidarity amongst unknown individuals (cf. Habermas, 2001).

Democratic citizenship should not be sustained on the individuals' national identities: social ties in the democratic-liberal states must be legal, moral, and political, more than historical, cultural, and geographical (cf. Ferry and Thibaud, 1992: 174). According to the post-conventional stage of development of an individual identity, Habermas suggests a phase for the moral development of societies, characterized by a collective identity through which modern universalistic principles would finally achieve a facticity that responds to the promises. Current society conditions, with pronounced differences and complexity, determine an inevitable pluralism in the ways of life. In contemporary societies, rights are not characteristics that the individuals possess naturally, they are, instead, relationships based on dynamics of mutual recognition (Habermas, 1998a:131, 134-135).

According to this model, individuals mutually confer each other rights as of the moment that they agree to regulate their common life through Law. It is in this framework that the political identity of the citizens from a post-national community, as is the European Union, should be channeled to a "constitutional patriotism", that is, to a form of political identification that is not sustained by any particular ties (ethnic, language, historical), but by values and ideals, as is the case of human rights. To achieve this purpose, political thought must abandon the idea that politics is anything other than a communication exchange that has as basic requirement to reach a rational agreement on what we want to say when we speak to others. Within this perspective, the political dimension is impossible to distin-

guish from the communication modality of everyday conversations. Just as with everyday language, the individuals' goal should be to make the communicative nucleus of politics more efficient, because that will automatically strengthen each citizen's identification with his/her community based only on its constitutional rules.

In a liberal democracy, the common pattern demanded from individuals is loyalty to the Constitution, understood as the political incarnation of an ideal of a moral community, with standards and practices that are completely accepted by its members. Loyalty to the Constitution means loyalty to a society in which an agreement is reached amongst all free and equal partners independently of imposition and manipulation. In this perspective, the Constitution of a democratic republican State is suggested as the most sophisticated model of discursive validation. Constitutional procedures are what enable the majority to remain critically involved in all decisions –recognizing themselves in them and feeling recognized by them. Noteworthy is the effort to associate the universalism of democratic and liberal normative principles to the particularism of each concrete form of identification– a tense and conflicting association. Being an emancipation mode, constitutional patriotism will unavoidably recognize the controversial, incomplete, and ongoing constructive nature of any and all particular identification with universal principles. In sum: Habermas' proposal consists of conceiving a particular identification for a specific Constitution (which configures a political identity) as a specification for universal moral principles (legal statute) through a group of democratic deliberation and decision-making (civic participation) procedures.

Constitutional Patriotism and European integration

It is today tacitly accepted that the current official design of the European Union is underlined by the constitutional patriotism paradigm. In the treaties that define the access conditions to the European Union, it is very difficult to find any reference to a historical and cultural community, as a way of characterizing European politics (cf. Lacroix, 2002: 946). Article 6 of the Treaty of the European Union defined at the Copenhagen European Council in 1993, simply mentions that the Union is founded on the principles of freedom, democracy, respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, and on the observance of the law, principles common to all the Member-States.

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In the current state of affairs, Habermas praises the European victory over nationalism as proof of maturity and prudence. He considers, however, that the possibility of conceiving international law from a new cosmopolitan perspective will only take place after the nation-States have left the scene. As that begins to take place, other alliances on a continental level as a whole may emerge and become main intervening parties on the international scene (similar to ASAN in the Asian Southeast and NAPHTHA in North America, two existing examples). It is keeping this possibility in mind that Habermas announces the necessary empirical circumstances to produce an expansion in the processes of forming an identity beyond the national borders. "These circumstances are as follow: the emerging of a European civil society; the construction of a public sphere on a European scale; and the formation of a political culture that can be shared by all European citizens" (2001: 16).

Without constraining the validity of the constitutional patriotism model as a form of answering European integration demands, there are some questions relative to its being applied to identity.

In the first place, we believe that Habermas operates with a dichotomy that is too strict insofar as the inherited notions of identity and the identity built through rational speech, which will have as an underlying factor a choice between identities inherited non-rationally (passive, non-voluntarily), and rational identities (that result willingly). The inadequacy of this opposition consists in assuming that, from an alternative model, the only source of social integration is belonging to the same ethnic group. But we understand that no matter how important sharing a cultural and ethnic universe may be, this will not be the only source of solidarity amongst individuals. In many interactive contexts, very complex and vast ties of solidarity (rights, environment, and gender) are generated, having little or nothing to do with the sharing of the same ethnicity by the individuals in question.

This first assertion is linked to a second: which is that "sharing common civic values is not enough to foster a durable national bond. Something more than adhering to abstract political principles is necessary to unite a society. That is because constitutional patriotism, appreciated by Jürgen Habermas, seems to us somewhat scarce" (Dieckhoff, 2001: 262). Reservations as to considering the ties of social unity created by constitutional patriotism sufficiently strong leads some analysts to consider the nation as the top unit in which a "limited universal form" can acquire practical meaning (Rosanvallon, 1997: 43-44). In other words, there are some who considers that "only within the national realm can ethnos become de-

mos, by being the only plan where the values of freedom, civic responsibility, and political justice obtain true meaning.” This because human beings are constituted as much by passion as by reason. This is the paradox under which modern democracies are founded: even if they belong to the rational sphere, they don’t have an option, if they intend to survive, than to use the language of ethnicity, history or mythology. The pure democracy dreamt by post-national identity champions shall continue to be too frail when deprived of the strong emotions associated to historical and cultural peculiarities (cf. Lacroix, 2002: 947). “The moments in which people get to innovate and make efforts to idealize new political forms are rare, if they do not preserve history at least in their dreams. (...) It is underestimating the difficulties and elaborating the issue of a new political form for Europe with an excessively rational view” (Wolton, 2004: 71).

It is given inadequacies such as those mentioned above that a pure model of constitutional patriotism may be unable to generate the necessary social trust needed to reach a political decision - the kind of trust that makes commitment possible given conflicting interests, or in situations of scarce resources. This type of trust is much more common amongst people that share a national identity, speak the same language, and share values. On the other hand, in multinational states, where trust is stronger within each of the groups rather than amongst them, politics tends to assume the form of a negotiation in which each decision is looked upon as a victory or a defeat by each of the groups. Paradoxically, this model can contain within itself the seeds of two dangers that threaten contemporary democracies: uncontrolled growth of individual autonomy on the one hand, and indifference for public affairs on the other, leading to attitudes of cynicism for democratic rules, reluctance given the burden of social justice, resentment in light of distant elites, and the decline in civic provisions (cf. Laborde, 2002), with individuals assuming themselves more as legal subjects and less as agents actively involved in deliberation processes.

Europe, citizenship, and memory

If a merely civic, political, and contractual Europe, as a rational result of the conjugation of wills does not emotionally mobilize its members, we suggest, on the other hand, that the current frailness of the national identities, or even its backward move combined with the implementation of

common political projects, can mobilize an identity of a more dynamic and flexible nature, that will find new and specific references in a European space. For this purpose, it will first be necessary to ascertain the conditions for the emerging of a civil society that characterizes itself as more than the European market, that is constituted above all as a political society, with political debate and common motivations –creating the supranational space where private interests and national political passions are confronted and redefined, being mutually recognized. Once this is understood, for the most part, the basic aspect of a European identity should reflect the diversity of the political cultures within a framework of a universal democracy, i.e. satisfying, at the same time, universalistic claims and the substantial roots of specific identities.

In the current discussion on this matter, there are very different assessments as to what can unite individuals in Europe. We believe that, however incisive the leaderships and the institutions are, it will not be possible to forge a genuine European unity on a popular level unless there is intense intersubjective work carried out which, progressively moves away from the realm of the nation and the national State towards another form of inclusive identity, thus linking the formation of a self-identity to a new form of collective identity. During the last two decades, the European Community/Union has shown some work within the symbolic realm by promoting symbols (flag, hymn, and currency), as well as by invoking strong symbolic and emotional moments, with the recent celebrations of World War I and II, remembering the losses undergone by all European people. As has been widely demonstrated, identities - but also interests, sensibilities, and everything that allows effective recognition - are built in the intersection between self-images and the images built by others. Given this work, it is important to ascertain to what extent the designation "Europe" affects the identification of each one's self-image or is understood as the image of an Other - knowing that in countries such as England, Sweden or Norway, Europe is equated to the Continent, i.e. the dimension of Others, or that for the Greeks, the European identity appears as a form of wanted opposition of a "We" to the Turks (cf. Klein et al, 2003: 252).

Whatever the perspective or proposed solution, it must be considered that, in general terms, neither the problem of the identity nor of the management of the differences is resolved, but is rather subject to permanent, open adjustments. Thus, the European space is the space where all the identities that compose it interact: and, whether national, regional, linguistic, religious, majority or minority, identities are redefined through complex

games of interaction and identification within the European space, as an open space where everything has a relation. And here, there are multiple views of Europe that, throughout time and location, transpose the different speeches, accounted for by other forms of identity –gender, age, ethnicity, social class, etc.– that confer to it a very special sense, and that finally, enables the European identity to appear essentially as a concept and as discourse (cf. Strath, 2002: 388, 391). Now, what is today and what will be in the future the impact of the concept and discourse on "Europe" on these cultures and identities? And, inversely, what will be the impact of these cultures and identities on the discourse on Europe? In effect, if it is from the interactions and the confrontation amongst the several specific cultures that make up the European Union that a European political culture can be born, it is important not to forget that this process has today, more than ever, a correlation on a global scale with profound consequences both within an internal realm, as well as on a planetary level (as the past incident of the caricatures of the prophet Mohammed showed so well), in which the interaction with other transnational agents within a global sphere necessarily implies a self-evaluation and a review of "our" identity, as well as those of "others".

We consider, thus, the possibility of an intersubjective model for forming an identity as a necessary condition for the sustained formation of a European identity, in which the symbolic dimension occupies an essential role. In accordance with this model, it will be the set of relationships between the individuals that make up the European space, the interactions between the members-States and with the significant Others (foreign to the European identity) that will lead to a redefinition of the concepts of universality, particularity, nationality, and citizenship, concepts that are today intended to create a European identity. Thus, going back to the two models mentioned above (ethnic and civic), a process of European construction must simultaneously contemplate a historical and cultural inheritance in which people can believe, and a specific civic culture that, in respecting identities, recognizes sensibilities, interests, and arguments. If, on the one hand, like George Steiner stated recently, there is a generalized feeling that "Europe will die if it does not fight for its languages, local traditions, and social autonomies" (2006: 50), we believe that (not being sufficient) it is on the level of constitutional patriotism that a European conscience is clearer – it is particularly as a community of essentially political values that the European identity, in times such as those today, are most defined: democracy, human rights, freedoms, social State, and State of law. In sum:

what our proposal points to is the need to (re)build the modern condition of citizenship according to the social, historical, and particular conditions of the space in which we live.

As has been ascertained, communication assumes a crucial role in this mission. In Habermas' words, "under a normative perspective, there cannot be a federal European state worthy of the designation of European democracy without an open public European sphere, integrated and developed within the context of a common political culture" (1998b: 160). At once, due to the notion of communication as a form of participation, of sharing with other human beings, asserting and delimiting its own identity in relation to others – the entire collective and individual definition is based on the enunciation of texts and signs, of individual and collectives references that specify self interpretations, as well as those of others.

Communication thus understood - with an essential public dimension - has three dimensions of great importance for the constitution of a European identity. First of all, it allows participation in the collective choices, both with regards to specific political goals, as well as to instituting more basic proceedings. Secondly, public communication makes the production, reproduction or transformation of the social imaginary possible, providing form to cultural integration and making Europe truly real, since it could be imagined in a particular form. Lastly, sustained by communication, a public sphere is, in and of itself, as an arena for debate and intersubjective confrontation (of struggles for recognition), a form of social integration and formation of an identity. This is, basically, about recovering the classic conception of a public space as an arena of creative production of actual human and social reality. In other words: it is through public action that we become human; now, what unites us is precisely the world we create, imagine, and where we live together. Therefore, any proposal that considers constitutional patriotism depends on the vitality of the public sphere. Despite this evidence, it has been ascertained that the self-constitution of Europe through public communication is one of the relatively most neglected aspects in the process of European integration (cf. Calhoun, 2003: 244).

To finish, there is an essential characteristic of the notion of identity that should not be forgotten and should be carried out. As mentioned by Huntington (although within a different context and in a varied sense), "we know who we are when we know who we are not and against who we are" (1996: 21). If both self-image, as well as the images of the Others that we build are not static entities, but rather elements subject to a continuous

process, each encounter with an Other works simultaneously as an opportunity to reassess our own conception, as well as that of others, throughout time - in the European case, along generations. Within this measure and as an example, the migratory flows that currently go through the European space work as an important catalyst for questioning and reformulating our own identity, of what we are but also of what we were. It is considering the issue under this perspective, within a vaster historical framework, that we suggest that the definition (and above all the determination) of a European identity has, as any definition of identity, a historically circumscribed and profoundly relative value, with a quality that shall not stop being questioned in the future under the backdrop of the current historical circumstances, just as we critically assess today our eurocratic past, also marked by difficult and demanding circumstances.

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Children's understanding of pupils' responsibility. A self-responsibility model

*Beata Krzywosz-Rynkiewicz**

Abstract

The aim of the study was to present the concept of pupils' responsibility as understood by younger primary school children. The interviews and responsibility dilemma tests conducted during the experiment on a group of 100 younger primary school pupils provided the basis for: (1) developing a model of self-responsibility, and (2) determining the factors that stimulate and promote responsibility. The self-responsibility model was verified empirically to consist of two dimensions: (1) subjective responsibility versus formal responsibility, and (2) responsibility to be borne (negative) versus responsibility to be taken (positive). The obtained results are presented in the paper. The three-year action research project enabled us also to determine the factors stimulating the development of responsibility.

Key words: subjective versus formal responsibility, pupil's responsibility, self-responsibility, responsibility dilemma tests, younger primary school children, longitudinal study.

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Introduction

The phenomenon of responsibility has recently drawn the attention of public opinion as well as of philosophers, psychologists and sociologists. The transformation connected with globalization and technological development that is being observed in societies at present results in new choice possibilities. Consequently, people face the variety of options on a previously unknown scale; however, they also have the feeling of lost chances. The research conducted by Polish psychologists and sociologists shows that the increase of pessimism is followed by the decrease in civic activity of Polish society which manifests itself in, for example, a gradually lower percentage of citizens taking part in general election as well as a gradually lower percentage of members and volunteer activists in social associations and organizations (Krzemiński, 2005). The majority of adult Poles show passivity and withdrawal (Grzelak, 2005). The ability to find one's place in the world of social changes calls for a re-formulation of a self-concept both as a member of a social group and an autonomous person. In order to stimulate personal development and to experience satisfaction stemming from activity, a person should perceive (1) himself/herself as the source of his/her behaviour, (2) their own goals as the object of his/her intentions, (3) the world around them as the chance for his/her own possibilities (Obuchowski, 1997).

These changes, that from the point of view of an individual can be termed a revolution of subjects (Obuchowski 2000), influence the turning point in thinking about education – not only about the role of the educational system in a child's development but also about the role of the child in this educational system. Education ceases to be treated as a tool for transmitting the culturally accepted message and starts to be understood in terms of constructivist categories – as organizing an environment in which students construct knowledge on their own. The said turning point is connected with the change in our perception of the student: now he/she is no longer subordinated to the system but becomes an autonomous person who is the creator of the world of his/her personal meanings. Therefore, in the context of the changes, the readiness on the part of the student to assume a subjective control over his/her behaviour, as well as to take responsibility for own actions, becomes especially important.

Traditionally, responsibility is understood as bearing the consequences for breaking the rules and regulations prevailing within the society.

Philosophers, however, point out the ambiguity of the term responsibility. It may be used in the context of (1) bearing the responsibility – understood as guilt, (2) holding a person responsible – associated with punishment, (3) taking the responsibility – inner readiness to act and (4) responsible behaviour – a conscious action undertaken while understanding the situation one is acting in (Ingarden, 1987). Many philosophical theories underline the fact that responsibility is a typically human phenomenon. Therefore, among all living creatures, it belongs solely to man since it is linked to an awareness of acting that is possessed only by a human being alone (Ingarden, 1987). The following two philosophical approaches are important for the contemporary understanding of responsibility:

1. Existentialism – which draws our attention to the necessity of placing the instance of responsibility in man himself who is regarded as a free person (Heidegger and Sartre, after: Nowicka-Kozio?, 1993)
2. Personalism – which draws our attention to the subjective character of responsibility, stressing at the same time that being responsible lies in human nature – he/she creates an inner set of norms to which he/she is responsible. Responsibility is in man and its existence does not depend on whether it is exacted by the external norms or not (Wojtyła, 1995, 1992).

In psychology, there are three main approaches regarding the perception of responsibility:

1. An attributive approach focusing on examining and describing the conditions and means of ascribing responsibility to the consequences stemming from own actions as well as from the actions of others (Heider, 1958; Wright, 1964; Fishbein, 1973; Reykowski, 1986; Daszkowski, 1983).
2. A cognitive theories of moral development approach; although not answering the questions connected with the readiness to bear or to take the responsibility, nevertheless point to a mature way of moral reasoning which may be the basis for the development of self-responsibility. From the perspective of responsibility, the period of autonomy (Piaget, 1967) or conventional morality (Kohlberg, 1984), both concerned with one's personal standard, norm and rule determination, make the assuming of selfresponsibility possible.
3. A personal approach related to the creation of a self-concept of a responsible person, stresses responsibility as a subjective phenomenon

is stressed. Zimny (1984) and Derbis (1987) point to the existence of a psychological phenomenon they label sense of responsibility. The term is understood as the readiness to undertake responsible actions due to the fact that the person perceives himself/herself as a responsible one. In this depiction, responsibility respects both subjective and moral approaches. Firstly, it refers to the responsibility connected with accepting the consequences of one's own actions in the situation when they violate the rights of some other person, i.e. bearing responsibility. Secondly, understanding the responsibility as taking responsibility, thus controlling one's actions so they do not bring negative effects.

The discussed approaches demonstrate the complexity and multi-dimensional character of the responsibility phenomenon. However, they also show the evolution of contexts in which responsibility appears: from the ascribed meaning of guilt to a broadly understood subjective regulation of one's behaviour.

There is the need, therefore, to arrange the meanings and contexts related to responsibility (in its traditional, i.e. moral, as well as more contemporary, subjective, approaches) and to answer the question about the extent to which responsibility in its different forms is manifested by people. It is especially interesting, both from scientific and practical points of view, whether the youngest children, being on the brink of their social 'career', are ready to demonstrate responsible behaviour and, what might be even more important, how to stimulate the development of their responsibility.

This study presents the concept of a subjective responsibility, which is the result of a three-year research project conducted with a group of younger primary school pupils. Both the model and the tests concerning its verification point to the readiness of children to take as well as to bear the responsibility subjective in nature. Additionally, the so-called action research allowed us to determine the educational factors that might stimulate the development of children's responsibility.

Methodology

The research was conducted in two dimensions. The main examination was based on the action research methodology and in practice meant the participation of the researcher-educator in the classes of one of the primary school forms for three years (thus it started when the pupils were 7 years old and lasted until they were 10). Therefore, it was a longitudinal study. The class participation was both passive (observation) and active – conducting specially designed classes stimulating the development of those factors that stimulate responsibility. This type of research also required keeping a researcher's diary. The majority of classes were either filmed or recorded on audio tapes. Moreover, the children were asked to write their thoughts on special work cards that were later collected. As a result, a theoretical model of responsibility was constructed and educational factors influencing the formation of self-responsibility in children were determined.

The second type of examination was based on a quantitative research and it aimed at verification of the self-responsibility model. It was composed of 92 pupils aged 7-11 to whom individual responsibility dilemma tests were administered. The interviews with children were recorded and then categorized by competent judges. Next sections will deal respectively with:

- Self-responsibility model and its empirical verification
- factors stimulating the development of self-responsibility and fragments of children's comments illustrating the mechanisms behind the development of these factors.
- Self-responsibility Model
- While constructing the model, two responsibility dimensions, which are present in the definitions of the phenomenon, were considered:
 - responsibility FOR the actions,
 - responsibility TOWARDS the instance.

In the literature, the responsibility **for** the actions is understood in two ways. Firstly, this is the responsibility **for** compensating negative consequences of one's own behaviour, secondly, responsibility **for** such an action which will not allow for these negative consequences to appear/happen. A straightforward reference to such understanding of responsibility may be found in the concept of Derbis (1993) who points out two types of

responsibility, namely: (1) negative responsibility connected with bearing the consequences resulting from certain actions and (2) positive responsibility, related to taking the readiness to plan, control and correcting the behaviour because of the laws of nature and culture.

The second dimension of responsibility refers to the responsibility **towards** some instance. In psychology and philosophy alike responsibility is understood in terms of moral development, having its origins in natural or cultural laws (Zawadzki, 1983). There is also responsibility **towards** oneself. This approach is stressed most vividly in existential philosophy as

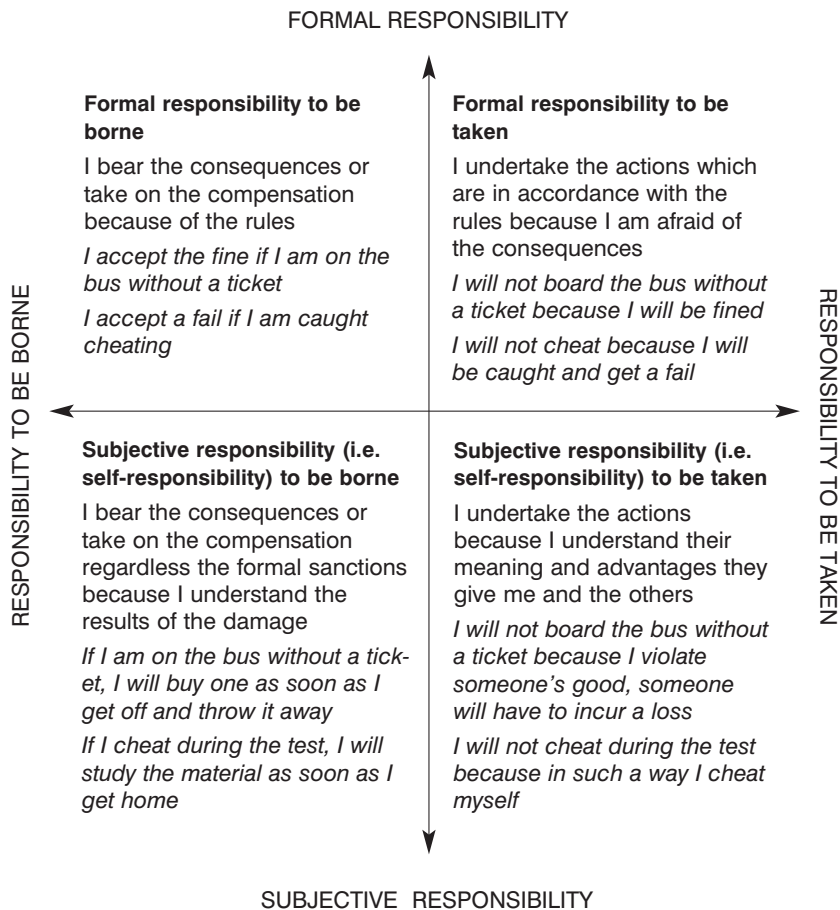


Figure 1. Model of self-responsibility.

well as in personalistic philosophy. Therefore, it is possible to determine the responsibility **towards** moral norms and the responsibility **towards** oneself, an individual who is both an element and a creator of social life. These elements include two kinds of responsibility:

- (1) the responsibility towards oneself, that is a self-responsibility, and
- (2) the responsibility towards moral norms, laws of nature of culture, that is a formal responsibility.

Combining these two dimensions of responsibility **for** and **towards** creates the model of responsibility illustrated in Figure 1. According to this model, there are four types of responsibility:

Type 1: *Formal responsibility to be borne* is the responsibility towards certain rules of behaviour. It is connected with bearing the consequences or supplying compensation because of the existing rules that have been violated. In case of this type of responsibility, this is the rule, which is external in relation to the person, which regulates our behaviour. The presence of a guard of the rule stimulates responsible actions, however, the lack of such a guard (i.e. a policeman, a ticket collector, a parent, a teacher) releases the person from the duty to comply with it. Pupils who manifest this kind of responsibility negate neither the consequences of their own actions nor the legitimacy of compensation when it comes to disclosure of the rule violation. They agree with the consequences if they "are caught" while breaking the rule. Moreover, they show understanding and rebel neither against the consequences nor the compensation they must supply. Yet, when breaking of the rule is not disclosed, the pupils avoid the consequences or compensation.

Type 2: *Formal responsibility to be taken* is connected with controlling our own behaviour in such a way that it does not interfere with the good of others and respects the prevailing rules. The manifestation of this kind of responsibility is related to the undertaking of actions characterized by responsibility. Here the behaviour is regulated by the norm and the rule just because they exist and not because they have any special meaning for the subject. In terms of education, formal responsibility to be taken is demonstrated in such a control over the behaviour that it does not violate the rules established at school (in class) and/or it does not lead to breaking of the said rules.

Type 3: *Subjective responsibility to be taken* means the readiness to plan, control and correct our own behaviour because of the existing rules. The

principles are respected because their meaning is understood. In terms of education, a person who manifests this type of responsibility controls or plans his/her behaviour in such a way that the established rules (either formal or informal ones) prevailing in class or at school are not violated and his/her actions do not lead to their breaking. This behaviour is related to respecting the rules because of their regulatory meaning for the person or for others as well as to not leading to breaking the rules because of a potential individual loss or personal values.

Type 4: *Subjective responsibility to be borne* means the taking on of the consequences, or the compensation, if it comes to the violation of rules or the infringement of somebody's good. The consequences are accepted not because of the existence of the rule but because of the understanding of its regulatory values and consequences, both for the person and for the others. Its nature is external and it does not need any "sanctions" in form of a punishment in order to demonstrate a responsible behaviour. Its subjective character is the sole reason that such a person selects a sanction himself/herself and becomes responsible for the compensation before himself/herself. In terms of education, this type of responsibility means bearing the consequences of own actions while respecting the rules but at the same time without relating to them. Accepting the outcomes of own actions does not stem merely from the fact that a certain rule exists but from the awareness of the damage for the subject. A person who manifests subjective responsibility to be borne is ready to supply compensation even when the breaking of the rule is not disclosed, and at the same time, despite the compensation related to the rules, he/she supplies a personal compensation, i.e. the one that aims at compensating the loss to the subject.

The presented model is not a dynamic one although it assumes that certain types of responsibility are more mature than others. For instance, formal responsibility seems to refer rather to the term of diligence or subordination whereas subjective responsibility goes with the term autonomy. Responsibility to be borne will thus be more adaptive and reactive in nature and responsibility to be taken will be more proactive, i.e. connected with own influence, self-consciousness and control.

Determination of the suggested dimensions of the responsibility model poses a question about the nature of children's responsibility and whether and to what extent they are ready to take and bear the self-responsibility. In order to find the answer to the question, the tests on a group of pu-

pils on the brink of an institutional (school) education aged 7-11 were carried out. 100 pupils participated in the examination. Due to the lack of some data and the factors interfering with the process of examination (e.g. going back to the class or going home), the comments of 92 children out of the total number were analyzed. The examination was conducted individually. Each participant was presented with a set of eight dilemmas of responsibility. Each dilemma was presented in two different forms:

1. As an open dilemma – here a typical school situation known to the pupil or pupils from his/her own experience was presented. After the presentation the child was asked the following question: what would you do if you were these pupils?
2. Next, the same situation was presented as a closed dilemma – here two different ways of dealing with the described situation chosen by two different pupils were presented. The child was asked about the way she would choose herself – whether it would be similar to pupil A or to pupil B's one – and why the child had decided for this very option.
3. The aim of these two ways of presenting the dilemmas was to obtain both spontaneous interpretations disclosing the potential type of responsibility and the readiness to choose between the two types of responsibility considering the dimensions of the model: formal and subjective.

All the dilemmas dealt with the situations related to the responsibility of a role of a pupil and touched upon the following questions: a) the process of obtaining and presenting the knowledge – doing the homework, studying at home or cheating during class tests, b) respecting the rules operative during the process of learning – working with work books, talking during classes and c) respecting the rules operative outside the class and connected with social responsibility like, for example, fulfilling the tasks while being on duty or helping other pupils with lessons.

Our analysis of the results indicated that with respect to the group of children taking part in our study that:

- a. in case of open dilemmas, 43% of children manifest the readiness to take the subjective responsibility while supplying the following explanation: e.g. I would do the homework in order: to get to a good secondary school (lyceum), to have a good job, to be able to learn more, because it is better if you know more, the knowledge is for knowing, I would bring my work books because: there are many interesting

things in them, without them I would work less and remember less, I would be bored during classes and so I could disturb others; 56% of children demonstrate the readiness to take the formal responsibility such as, for example: I would do my homework in order: to have good marks, to get a final certificate with good marks and thus to get a “perfect pupil” distinction, to pass to the next form, because I won’t have any negative comments in my teacher-parents correspondence book and so the parents won’t be angry with me, because the teacher says so and that’s why you have to do it. I would bring my work books because: there is my homework there and it’s our obligation to do it, if I am not prepared, I will get 1 (i.e. the lowest mark) or a negative comment, why should I get a bad mark only because of forgetting.

- b. in case of closed dilemmas, the number of pupils choosing the solutions subjective in nature is much higher. 71% of all the participants manifested the choice of such a behaviour in which the child either took or borne the self-responsibility: e.g. they were for Kasia who did not do her homework but in the afternoon she would catch up with it despite the fact that the teacher will not check it anymore, or Jacek who claims that he brings his exercise book to class in order not to sit doing nothing during the lesson because without that exercise book he would waste time and wouldn’t learn much. 29% of the pupils decided for the behaviour in which the children take or bear only the formal responsibility: e.g. they were for Agnieszka who did not do her homework and she agrees with the negative comment she gets for its lack; yet, she spent the whole afternoon reading an interesting book, or Bartek who claims that he brings his work book to class because of the rules at school and if he doesn’t bring it, he may get a negative comment or the teacher may talk to the parent about it, that is why it doesn’t make any sense to forget about the work book.
- c. in case of the dilemmas connected with the violation of the rules, in other words those that generate the readiness to bear the responsibility – the majority of children (59%) limited their behaviour to formal responsibility, for instance: if I were on duty and forgot to water the plants and so the plants withered: I would get a reproof from the teacher, the teacher would be angry with me, I would never again be on duty, I would promise not to do it again; if I happened to cheat during a test: I would get 1 (i.e. the lowest mark), if the teacher noticed, she would be angry, I would get a negative comment to show parents. However, there is a certain group of children, 40%, which points to the

bearing of subjective consequences. The children facing the dilemma of the pupil on duty, who neglected the school plants, say: I would buy back the plants, I would give the next pupil on duty some money to buy plant fertilizer and maybe the plants could come back to life. As for the cheating during a test, they claim that: I would learn the material later on at home, you have to know it anyway, such cheating would have to be made up for with studying. When it comes to closed dilemmas, as many as 82% of pupils would choose the solution connected with an additional subjective compensation. In case of the boy who cheated during the test, the pupils opted for the behaviour of the boy who, despite the fact that the teacher did not notice his cheating, decided to catch up with the material from the test later on at home. 65% of pupils were able to justify their choice by pointing to the subjective behaviour of the protagonist, i.e. because he finally learnt the material and it may be useful in the future, he will want to know more, because he will not be a cheater, he will feel better with it.

- d. in case of the dilemmas connected with the possibility of taking the responsibility, almost half of the pupils (47%) opts for the subjective solutions, e.g. there is no point in talking during the class, because you might miss something interesting, important the teacher is saying, the others want to know it and the talking disturbs them, when you talk the others don't learn. 52% agree with taking the responsibility because of its formal nature, e.g. there is no use talking during the class because the teacher will give us a negative comment, you may have your mark lowered. With closed dilemmas, the number of children choosing subjective justifications goes up to 59%.

It seems that a large group of children spontaneously manifests the readiness to take and bear the responsibility subjective in nature. In case of a closed dilemma, when the child can compare the subjective behaviour versus the formal one, the degree of this readiness is higher. What is interesting, the responsibility more often tends to become subjective in the situations related to the responsibility to be taken rather than to be borne.

Educational factors stimulating the development of self-responsibility

As a result of the research conducted, including both the observation and the workshop, certain educational factors stimulating the development of self-responsibility were determined. They are linked to the specific skills and abilities of the teacher who shares with the pupils the knowledge related to responsibility, develops the skills and abilities required to either taking or bearing it, but also who shapes the attitudes that stimulate subjective forms of responsibility.

The factors are centered around four questions. Below there are short presentations and descriptions of each factor. A more detailed analysis, including examples and suggested communication models, was presented in the book *Odpowiedzialność podmiotowa dzieci [Self-responsibility of Children]* (Krzywosz-Rynkiewicz, 2007).

Factor 1: Understanding the effects of the undertaken actions – connected with the development on the part of a pupil:

- (1) the ability to differentiate facts from interpretations,
- (2) understanding the effects of actions from different perspectives,
- (3) using by the teacher the consequences of pupils' actions to change the pupil's behaviour
- (4) making it possible for the pupils to take on the responsibility.

Many of the philosophical concepts (existential and personal) point out that it is not possible to bear the responsibility without being aware of the results of our actions. Otherwise, we face a case of a simple compulsion but not responsibility. From such a perspective, it is especially important to develop the ability to tell the facts from interpretations while perceiving the behaviour of others as well as our own – this strengthens the responsibility by showing the relations between the actions and their outcomes. During one of the workshops an 8-year-old boy said: If you get cheated once than you may always think that people only cheat and you can even blame all of them (...). When you think about facts, it is easier to understand what is real and what only seems to be real. Another important factor for developing self-responsibility is understanding the actions from different angles since it allows us to realize the diver-

sity stemming from our own influence which affects not only our lives but also the lives of others. During the workshop on family budgeting, one of the boys said: ...if you do something it may have different results for others than for us, for example if I take the money for a trip, grandma may not have any left for her medicines, or if mum buys herself some clothes, there might not be enough left for the books for the child. One has to think about everybody. Developing the understanding of consequences, is important in that the teacher is able to use them to change the way the pupils behave – not only by showing the inevitability of the results but also by making it possible for the pupils to take the responsibility and not merely to bear it. During one of the workshops an 8-year-old Adam said: Because when there is an adult and a child, it is immediately known that he who is older is responsible and he behaves in such a [*responsible*] way all the time and so the child doesn't feel like being responsible anymore.

Factor 2: Experiencing the feeling of being able to influence and the possibility of making a choice understood as:

- (1) showing the importance of including the needs and perspectives of others in case of a free choice
- (2) creating the possibility for a pupil to exert an influence on school situations, clearly stating and communicating the limits at the same time
- (3) teacher's ability to communicate and enforce the standards.

The balance between *influence* and *limits* seems to be significant as for the development of responsibility. This balance is frequently upset in teachers' behaviour. According to the transmission theory of education, the pupils/students experience a high influence from the teacher who sets certain limits, leaving the pupils/students with very little possibility to decide themselves (a strong lesson structuring, issues for discussion, school books to be used and even the one and only correct interpretations to supply are planned in advance on the basis of the directive "from above"). The teacher working within such a model will say: Here you have 10 tasks. You have one hour to solve them by applying such and such rules. Although the pupil is stimulated to work, the responsibility for fulfilling the task is shifted on to the teacher who sets the rules and standards. Creating the possibility to influence school situations, clearly communicating the limits at the same time, makes the pupils/students "co-owners" of these limits and thus responsible for both the way they work and the re-

sults they obtain from it. The teacher, who wants to balance the need of influence and the necessity of limits, will say: Here you have 15 tasks. Do 10 of them, choosing yourself those you want to do. The ability to communicate and exact the limits, understood as necessary and nonnegotiable, skillfully showing the pupils the area of their influence at the same time, seems to be critical in this field.

Factor 3: Understanding the rules from a perspective – ‘I’ understood as implementing of a class behaviour code:

- (1) in co-operation with the pupils and
- (2) with consideration of the analysis of the rules from the perspective of advantages gained by different members of the interaction: the pupils, the teacher, the parent.

This is related to the joined work over the school rules code with the focus on the regulatory function of the said rules and not the restrictive one – in other words, the attention is drawn to the advantages stemming from them (depending on the perspective – for the class, the teacher, the pupil) and not only on the consequences. Such an approach stimulates the development of responsibility to be taken and results in a situation when respecting the rules is not just a simple compulsion and thus breaking them is linked to the awareness of violation. Therefore, taking the responsibility and compensation will not be associated with the feeling of being wronged and the presence of the “external” instance (e.g. the teacher). This will create an opportunity for a subjective regulation of the awareness of the rule violation and the compensation may be initiated by a person not a sanction. Here are a few examples of the advantages stemming from the principle: We volunteer to answer the teacher’s questions, worked out by 9-year-old pupils. They consider various perspectives: 1. For the whole class: It’s quiet, no-one shouts. There is no mess. You can think in silence. You can understand what somebody is saying. 2. For the teacher: he/she is not nervous. He/she can find out what is each pupil’s opinion. 3. For the pupil: You may say something in peaceful surroundings. You know there is justice. You do not get angry with a classmate who interrupts. When no-one shouts, you can remember what you wanted to say.

Factor 4: Creating an active orientation understood as:

- (1) developing the openness towards the feedback perceived as the source of knowledge about potential dangers,

- (2) using the mistakes and evaluation as positive feedback characterized by development, and
- (3) creating the openness towards drawing conclusions from own experience.

According to the responsibility model proposed in this study, responsibility is related not only to bearing the consequences stemming from ones own actions but, above all, also to the ability of controlling our own behaviour in such a way that it does not interfere with the good of others and at the same time helps to reach the goals important for us. Manifestation of the activity conducted in order to realize own plans is an important element of the responsibility for our own person because it shifts the responsibility from external conditions onto the very person himself/herself who becomes the creator of the reality and not merely its passive observer. In psychology an active orientation towards the reality, the readiness to influence it in order to succeed is known under the name of proactivity (Seibert et al., 1999). The research shows (Bateman & Crant, 1993; Robitschek, 1998; Baum & Locke, 2004) that persons whose behaviour tends to be proactive are characterized by specific features and abilities: they are capable of initiative, can foresee problems and while acting out, they generally focus on seeking the possibilities to solve them and actively look for new abilities. An interesting question about the extent to which the children are ready to manifest proactive behaviour at school appears. To answer it, certain categories connected with different types of activity were determined. The observations of the work performed by the pupils during the realization of the project led to the determination of the group of active types of behaviour related to the pupils' work during the lesson in the following areas: (1) work organization, (2) building relations with others, (3) participation in task realization, and (4) self-reliance. Next, these types of behaviour were classified by competent judges in two deferent dimensions:

Re-active – understood as undertaking the tasks presented for realization, with the focus on the realization, without the consideration of the process

Pro-active – understood as taking the initiative, influencing the realization of the tasks, their modification, with the focus not only on the goal but also on the process of the task realization.

The two dimensions partially refer to the theory of Murray (1964) which selects certain types of behaviour determined by external (reactive) stimuli and circumstances and those having their source in an active personality creating the reality around.

Each dimension considers certain behaviour categories that make up a continuum. Their comparison and respective descriptions are presented in Table 1 below.

Table 1.

REACTIVE BEHAVIOUR	PROACTIVE BEHAVIOUR
TASK-ORIENTED CATEGORY MANAGEMENT Supervises the group work, gives orders connected with work organization, focuses on the earlier determined goal, and manifests managerial behaviour characterized by firmness and the lack of openness towards the discussion about it.	INITIATIVE Makes suggestions concerning the group work organization and the contentious issues settlement.
INTERPERSONAL CONTACT DIRECTIVENESS in contacts with others Makes the decisions for others, does the work for them	ENCOURAGEMENT in contacts with others Helps others, supports them in their work, boosts their courage and encourages co-operation
GIVING ONE'S CONSENT OBEDIENCE Quickly starts the realization of the tasks, voices neither approvals nor protests, does what he/she is supposed to do without any personal engagement.	APPROVAL Quickly starts the realization of the tasks, shows the approval for the project before commencing any action, either expresses the agreement directly or manifest it clearly.
PERFORMANCE-REALIZATION SUBMISSION Realizes the tasks according to the pattern, participates in the works at a clear request or when provided with an incentive.	INDEPENDENCE Fulfills the tasks independently, participates in the works without any incentive or request, solves the problems himself/herself and does not involve others unnecessarily.

In order to establish the profile of the younger primary school pupils' activity, individual interviews with 42 of them were conducted. Each pupil

was presented with a set of closed questions in which the pupil was asked to point out to the way of behaving in a given situation. Answering the questions, each time the pupils could choose from three different types of behaviour: (1) proactive (2) reactive or (3) passive.

The interviewer would first ask the pupil to imagine a certain situation that takes place during the lesson, than to listen to three possible ways of behaving in such a situation and finally to choose the option that harmonizes with him/her best. Below there are two examples of tasks:

Example 1 – A proactive choice versus a reactive one in the dimension of: Independence:

When I work in a group, I:

- a. work willingly if somebody tells me exactly what to do [Subordination]
- b. eagerly watch what the others are doing [Passivity]
- c. eagerly start working without waiting for a request [Independence]

Example 2 – A proactive choice versus a reactive one in the dimension of: Relations with others:

When we work in a group and somebody is sitting aside and does not work, I:

- a. show the person what we are doing to make him/her join us [Encouragement]
- b. tell the person to start working with us [Directiveness]
- c. wait until the person joins us from his/her own accord [Passivity]

The results show the following:

- 22% of the pupils describe themselves as passive when it comes to work during the lesson. The highest rate of passivity (27%) was observed in the dimension of relationship building with others during group work whereas the lowest (5%) in the dimension of independence.
- The majority of the pupils expresses the readiness to take a proactive action:
- The pupils perceive themselves as being of scant directiveness (18%) and showing the tendency to initiative (35%) in relations with others during group work.
- The pupils also have a subjective feeling of manifesting an organizational incentive (58%) rather than of an authoritative supervision of the group work (14%).

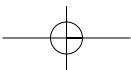
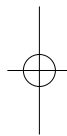
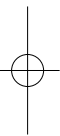
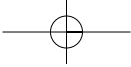
- The largest group of pupils indicates towards the manifestation of reactive types of behaviour in the dimensions of: Independence (Subordination – 42%) and Realization (Obedience – 39%).

The pupils are convinced about their own proactivity. This proactivity is greater in the area related to relations in comparison with the area related to task functioning. The examination of the level of pupils' activity during the classes when the competent judges were evaluating the number of actions of each type showed that when the class is conducted with the use of traditional school methods, the pupils generally tend to manifest reactivity. However, when the teacher while conducting the class introduces group work methods, the level of proactivity increases significantly, both in the task-oriented and relation-oriented areas (Krzywosz-Rynkiewicz, 2004).

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Identity and ICT: The influence of Rationality, Market Society and ICT in the classroom

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Abstract

The integration of ICT in the school classroom raises new perspectives in the sociological theory of education that consists of a framework to explain the resilience of the power structure as well as the subjects' role in participating in the educational process.

More specifically, this presentation considers two basic questions of the Sociology of Education: the process of reproduction as well as the possibility for change. Educational change concerns structure on the one hand; the role of the subjects in a relation of interdependence on the other hand.

The introduction and integration of ICT and the new technocratic reason in the school classroom which modifies the educational process, is one of the challenges that we are called upon not only to comprehend but also analyze in order to produce effective educational practices.

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Introduction

The introduction and integration of ICT (Information and Communication Technology) in the school classroom has created a new form of educational inequalities. The study of the digital divide as a social and educational phenomenon constitutes a new theoretical and research framework for the sociology of education.

Thus, western societies draw particular attention to the analysis of the import and the integration of the ICT as a particular process that shapes social relations and social structure globally since it concerns the macro and micro level of analysis. Social science increasingly and intensively is turning to the study of accessing capabilities, emerging digital infrastructure, acquiring dexterities in using digital machines, and the symbolic production of knowledge. Economic, social and political cohesion in the European space is directly connected with the results of the above studies.

This presentation considers two basic questions of the New Sociology of Education: the process of reproduction as well as the possibility for change. Educational change concerns structure on the one hand and the role of the subjects in a relation of interdependence on the other hand (Ball 2004). More specifically, the integration of ICT in the school classroom raises new perspectives in the sociological theory of education that consists of a framework to explain the resilience of the power structure as well as the subjects' role in participating in the educational process (Lam-nias & Kamarianos 2000).

The introduction and integration of ICT and the new technocratic reason in the school classroom which modifies the educational process, is one of the challenges that we are called upon not only to comprehend but also analyze in order to produce effective educational practices.

More specifically, in the first part of this paper we attempt to present concisely through the thoughts of intellectuals such as Habermas, Wise (1997), Agamben (1995, 2005), and Virilio (1998, 2005), the significance of the essence and the assimilation of the New Technologies in the creation of the social structure of modern western societies. The incorporation of ICT in the economic aspects of globalisation is particularly important. Remarkable also are the repercussions of the import and assimilation of ICT in education. Thus, in this first part we conclude that it is particularly interesting to comprehend the ways of the subjects' action in the particular process of educational changes.

In the second half of this paper we attempt to critically present an argument of change of educational practices as a consequence of using ICT in education. We argue that the educational processes constitute processes of daily life and consequently can be also considered as processes of interaction among the social subjects who use the digital machine and therefore it is particularly important to be analyzed under the prism of interaction ritual theory (Collins 1988, 1990).

Rationality, Market Society and ICT

It is not the first time that western societies particularly Europeans discuss the importance of new technologies. In the beginning of the 20th century social subjects were particularly impressed by technological breakthrough (Benson and Loyd 1983). Eminent intellectuals such as Emile Durkheim and Max Weber integrated the analysis of rationalism as a crucial part of their theoretical structure, while their work was inspired mainly up to the First World War by the optimism of this important new reason in the configuration of European societies (Alexander 1995, Dodd 1999, Stedman 2001).

When considering western modernity and ICT, the instrumental rationale must be reconceptualized. ICT, through the instrumental redefinition of modern organisational reasons and technocratic practices, outlines both the existing socio-economic structure and social change. The above observation is particularly obvious in the case of the sphere of economy at the world level.

The market society attempted and accomplished the integration of new technologies and the development of a technocratic rationale. The definition of the new economic rationalism is dictated by the goals of effectiveness and efficiency. The integration of the ICT in the field of economics through processes such as e-commerce or e-banking are indicative of the way that the economic, social and political sectors of modern western societies stem from the use of concrete codes of symbolic interaction. The prospect of the digital tool mediating in the manufacture and change of the economic and the social space constitutes the starting point of articulations of power and control. This possibility precisely in direct connection with the spirit of productivity and effectiveness produces a sovereign way of everyday life (Goldsmith and Wu 2006, Agamben 1995, 2005).

The new and necessary economic dexterities have increased the demands of the market society on education. These requirements are particularly articulated in the individual fields, such as economic and political and it is sensible to increase the intensity in the relationships of economy, society, technology and education.

As the new economy is one of knowledge, education constitutes a strategic institution for the economies of knowledge. The repercussions on the economic field are proportional with those to the changes in the school system. The possibilities of production and transmission of knowledge vary qualitatively and quantitatively.

In its connection with the social and economic areas, education and daily educational practice are directly connected with the market and the society of citizens as education is integrated in the whole social regulation (Castells 1996). Thus, the school is found directly in the path of the winds of change. The digitalisation of educational process, according to the analyses of thinkers such as Virilio, Habermas, Wise, create a new legitimate frame with techno-educational characteristics (David 1994, Lamnias & Kamarianos 2000a, 2000b).

The successful form of educational adaptations and uses of the new reason that are produced in the form of techno-pedagogic regulation will determine both the macro-level and micro-level of the social subjects' needs.

Consequently, we consider that educational operation is a strategic process, which determines the future uses of ICT and provides certain significance to their content and also will determine the potential variations of the subjects' sociability, wherein young people will be motivated and actualized as social subjects (Steinbock 2005).

Thus, consumption, playing, learning, politics and even interpersonal relations are disrupted by the use or the wish of use of the digital tool. It is obvious that these processes convert the tool itself and the reason that it brings, as a sovereign objective of a reproduction process (Goldsmith & Wu 2006).

It is consequently particularly interesting to understand the way in which social subjects participate either individually or collectively, both in the production of structural meanings and in the process of social change. Therefore, we will attempt to approach the manner in which the subjects comprehend and use not only the tool but the combination of symbol and tool and the final production of the technological code.

Changing frameworks and the role of the ICT

The import and use of the new digital tool in economy, society and particularly the school cannot but concurrently also mean the adoption of this “internal nature” by the educational process. It follows that understanding the importance of the incorporation of the New Technologies both in the terms of structure of the social subject is indicative of the importance of the New Technologies in the operation of the educational system and the school classroom.

On the whole the quantitative and qualitative development of the increased importance of digital machine use for communication, consumption, amusement and briefing has rendered it a machine of symbolic expression, as well as a medium of perceiving social phenomena and relations (Wise 1997; Deleuze & Guattari, 1987; Lamnias & Kamarianos 2000a, 2000b).

Bearing this criterion in mind initially codes and criteria of symbolic interaction are articulated in the framework of which configuration of the social subjects is related with the comprehension and employment of these codes. Satisfaction of human contacts more and more requires the tools, the codes and the logic of digital technology (Kamarianos 1998)

The above processes as the ones of everyday use and concretely as processes of interaction between the social subjects using the digital machine are particularly important to be analyzed under the prism of interaction ritual theory (Collins 1988).

As the social subject uses the ICT, as we showed above, for communication, education or amusement experiences, according to Collins (1990) certain types of emotions, such as joy, fear, anger, sadness, as part of his/her everyday life. Most important however is that the person using the personal computer communicates with other social subjects with whom he/she experiences the feeling of ‘belonging’. This observation refers us to the theoretical form of energy outlined by Collins (1990). According to Collins (1990) the sense of social connectedness experienced by the social subject for example, is a certain emotion which he defines as emotional energy. According to that theoretical framework in Stratification Emotional Energy and the Transient Emotions social subjects tend to maximize their level of emotional energy (Collins 1990).

Of course the sense of social connectedness is not the only feeling that

tends to maximize the subject's emotional energy. According to Collins (1990, 2000), the social subjects tend to increase the levels of emotional energy, seeking the feeling not only of enthusiasm, but also of personal power. Thus, the maximization of the subject's emotional energy, can be achieved either through his sense of social connectedness from solidarity experiences or through hierarchical interactions (Collins 2000:33 - 36). In our case where in we want to investigate the use of ICT in the creation of new social structures, we must consider if basic requirements like those that are fixed in Collins model are in effect.

In digital communication the condition of interpersonal contact is changed. Proportionally also the conditions of the shared emotion are differentiated, as well as the shared focus of attention condition. Specifically, the characteristics of personal contact of shared emotion and mutual awareness raise important aspects of digital structure that shift the analytic interest from the use of computer and digital communication as processes of individualization to the digital interaction as a process of the formation of social structures, as they lead the subject from isolation to the team. Consequently, the knowledge of digital techniques and uses today constitutes a nodal and critical part of the identity that the social subject is asked to acquire in order to be included both in the society of citizens and in the society of the market (Castells, 2003).

In this process the use of the tool, the comprehension of the content, and especially the adoption of the techno-pedagogic code, will determine the degree to which the student may be part of the common process of 'contagion' and generation of emotional energy. The knowledge of using the digital machine is a dexterity which the student is called upon to acquire. This dexterity is vital, as it will determine the terms of the subjects' participation in the team of production of educational reality, through the growth of long term feelings of solidarity with the group.

The personal computer constitutes the symbol and instrument of this solidarity interaction (Lamnias & Kamarianos 2000a, 2000b). In a continuous feedback the new model that is produced by the use of the digital tool places in the core of the educational process, not the teacher-authority or the student-researcher, but the process of production of solidarity and of the feeling of the subject that he/she belongs somewhere and that he/she is contributing critically to the production of energy that we call educational practice. Teacher and student are asked to search and discover the means of producing the necessary emotional dynamics, to collaborate in shaping a new dominating frame, in contrast to the classic approach of

power with the teacher as a knowledge transmission source through the culture of critical consciousness as a factor of change and improvement (Guile, 1998).

Conclusion

Regarding the educational change and concretely the role of social subjects, the incorporation of new technologies is proven equally important for the individual both in local societies and at the global level. Thus, interaction ritual theory can constitute one more theoretical tool for the interpretation of repercussions that the incorporation of new technologies in the education involves as a process of interaction. This hermeneutical framework shifts the focus from the use of the personal computer to the digital interaction as a process of formation of social structures that is important both for the market society and for the citizenship society.

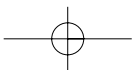
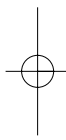
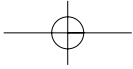
Therefore it is a new theoretical approach of power distribution in the school classroom. Under this micro-theoretical approach the relation between teacher and pupil concerns not only the imposition of authority but also the production of the classroom dynamics.

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Socialization for a cooperative and competitive citizen: a classroom observation study

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Abstract

Activities that are cooperative and competitive are considered to be significant aspects of social behaviour. Therefore these activities should matter to educationalists, social theorists and those concerned with citizenship issues. Furthermore, the concept of the good citizen has at least two aspects: her/his relations to the state and to his/her fellow citizens.

This paper discusses the issues related to socialization for a cooperative and competitive citizen and presents findings from a classroom observation study using qualitative case study material, from a relatively small set of schools, to build a more nuanced view of the ways in which competition and cooperation are manifested in the educational realm and to facilitate a more detailed analysis of local practices in a specific geographical and temporal context.(1)(2)

Keywords: social behavior, cooperative and competitive activities, citizens, qualitative study, economic and political life, capitalistic market economy, pluralistic democratic society.

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Introduction

Cooperative and competitive activities are significant aspects of social behaviour, and as such, should matter to educationalists, social theorists and those concerned with citizenship issues. The concept of the good citizen has at least two aspects: her/his relations to the state and to his/her fellow citizens (Heater, 1990). Interpersonal cooperation and competition are both significant aspects of the way citizens in a particular society relate to each other. In spite of this, citizenship research does not devote major attention to them, especially not to competition, even though competition is a crucial aspect of the economic and political life in a capitalist market economy and in a pluralistic democratic society. More emphasis is put on those behavioral requirements of citizenship that imply cooperation among members of the society. For example, according to Heater (1999) the notion of citizenship is some sort of compound of a legal status (together with the formal rights and responsibilities associated with that status), a sense of identity in which one's attachments to a geographical or political or cultural group are emphasised and, finally, a willingness and ability to act in or for the achievement of a democratic public context. Therefore the most important characteristic of a good citizen in a liberal democratic state is being helpful to his/her fellows and co-operativeness. He lists participation in public affairs, integrity and honesty and abiding the law only after these requirements. Yates & Youniss (1999) just like Heater (1990) consider pro-social activities, like community service, voluntary work and contributing actively to an immediate improvement of social conditions to be the roots of civic identity among young people and important qualities of the adult citizen. The Final Report of the Advisory Group on Citizenship in Great Britain (DfEE, 1998) also describes volunteering and community involvement as necessary conditions of civil society and democracy. In Davies et al's (1999) study English teachers ranked 'Social concern characteristics', for instance, participation in community or school affairs (that might require cooperation) and concern for the welfare of others (that might imply helping behavior), among the most important assets of a good citizen.

The concept of citizenship and the good citizen both imply the necessity and importance of cooperation as a kind of 'civic virtue'. Oliver & Heater (1994) emphasize that citizens should be persons who want to behave in a way that brings benefit to the community. Competition or being com-

petitive however are mentioned in connection to capitalism and market economy leading to personality traits such as egoism, greed and selfishness (Heater, 1990), that are contradictory with the ideal of the good citizen, who has to endow integrity and must struggle with these 'temptations'. Heater (1999) stresses that charity and not greed is the characteristic of the model citizen. It seems to be difficult to reconcile the socially responsible, moral and cooperative citizen with the traditional liberal notion of the individual citizen living in a capitalist society who is free, selfish, follows his/her self-interest and is competitive. This was the case within psychological research too. For several decades, cooperation and competition as main forms of social interaction were symbiotically handled in social and educational psychology (Deutsch, 1949, 1973; Johnson & Johnson, 1989) but at the same time they had been conceptualized as two extremes of a single behavioral dimension or polar opposites. Related to the tendency to dichotomize competition and cooperation has been the assumption that competition is a destructive force that should be eliminated as much as possible from the environments in which children and adolescents grow i.e. from schools (Kohn, 1986, Johnson & Johnson, 1989). In those literatures, teamwork and cooperation have been extolled as healthy forms of interaction that encourage open and honest communication and trust, and increase the willingness to respond helpfully to the other's needs and requests (Fülöp et al, 2007). Quite the opposite was the case with competition. Competitive processes were characterized by either lack of communication or misleading communication, suspicious and hostile attitude and readiness to exploit others (Deutsch, 1990). While cooperation was connected to the idea of equality and solidarity orientation, competition was linked to economic orientation, meritocracy and equity resulting in increasing differences among parties in terms of their outcomes. Therefore educational psychologists came up with the advice that teachers should motivate their students to cooperate rather than to compete and give them a lot of small group assignments that give possibility for cooperation among the group members. At the same time, in order to improve relationships among students, teachers were admonished to attempt to eliminate those educational practices that may result in individual competition that is detrimental to group cohesion, equal treatment, tolerance and solidarity towards those in need (Deutsch, 1990). According to this concept it is not competition but cooperation that has to be taught to educate good citizens who respect and care about others and about those in need (Ryan, 2006), who are helpful and considerate and do not

place their own interest above others' or above the public interest. The question, of how to be a successful and responsible citizen in a market economy that is based on economic competition and competition in the job market, and in a democratic political system, the essence of which is competition among the different political forces, without being socialized to competition, was not addressed.

From the beginning of nineties there has been a gradual change in the literature on cooperation and competition towards a less dichotomous concept. More and more researchers argued that competition and cooperation are rarely found in their "pure" form in nature, but, instead, are found more typically mixed together (Van de Vliert, 1998). Many forms of interpersonal and inter-group functioning are a mixture of competitive and cooperative processes and the course of the relationship and its consequences are heavily dependent upon the nature of the cooperative-competitive mix (Deutsch, 1990). Research results also increasingly indicate that competition and cooperation should not be viewed as mutually inconsistent. Such dichotomization is irreconcilable with biosocial theories of human behavior that emphasize the subtle interweaving of cooperation and competition as strategies used by individual primates and humans (Chapais, 1996; Charlesworth, 1996). Competition and cooperation are not mutually exclusive in the business world either (Lado et al. 1997, Brandenburger & Nalebuff, 1998). Many commercial environments are characterized by simultaneous intense competition and extensive inter-organizational collaboration (Bengsston, 2004).

Due to that fact that competition was typically compared to cooperation and handled as something negative there was no interest to reveal those conditions among which it can be positive and constructive. If a phenomenon is studied chiefly by juxtaposing it against another phenomenon, the features that differentiate the two are highlighted while other potentially important features may be obscured. In this way, the multidimensional nature of competition eluded researchers as qualitatively different processes got lumped together within a single and one-dimensional construct of competition. (Fülöp 2003; Schneider et al. 2006).

In the last decade there have been a growing number of research that studied competitive relationships and processes and differentiated between constructive and destructive competitions and identified those factors that can contribute to a constructive competitive relationship. A competitive process is considered constructive if the competing parties are not enemies wanting to destroy the other, but opponents who establish re-

spectful and correct relationships with the rival and who bring out the best from themselves and each other thus contributing not only to their own development but also to the development of the group and the society (Fülöp 2004). This is possible if the competing parties are fair and honest and keep the rules of competition (Fülöp 1995; Tjosvold et al, 2003) if they have similar chances to win (Fülöp 2003; Tjosvold et al, 2003), if there are clear criteria of evaluation (Fülöp 1995, if the rivals concentrate on the task or goal and not on proving their superiority to others (Tassi and Schneider, 1997) and there is a degree of respect among them.

The paradigm shift that occurred in relation to cooperation and competition within psychology coincided with the collapse of the socialist system in East-Central Europe. The socialist system was not based on competition and at least at the ideological level emphasized cooperation. The poorly functioning state-controlled economy of the socialist block and the lack of a democratic political system with no competition among different political actors made at least questionable the notion that competition has only negative consequences. Citizenship research so far has not followed this trend. In spite of the fact that constructive competition is a necessary skill in the world of employment (DfEE, 1998) and it is useful for citizens living in a competitive market economy and in a democratic society with different political forces competing for governance, the ability and skill to compete constructively are not part of the image of the good citizen and are not seen as having significance in civic attitudes.

Cooperation and competition and the society's political past, cultural traditions and educational practices

In the transition of post-communist states to market economy, competition –a previously ideologically denied and banned phenomenon– has been a key concept and became a highly required and praised one at all levels of the society, from politics to everyday individual life (Fülöp 1999). This was the case in Hungary too. After the political changes, collective goals and public interest have become denigrated and private interests gained priority. Instead of the notion of the collectivistic citizen, the ideal

citizen is individualistic, competitive and entrepreneurial and is able to be successful in the job market.

Individualism was present in Hungary during the socialist years too. In spite of several decades of ideological emphasis on the collective, Hungarians perceived themselves as individualists and non-cooperative already in 1973 when Hunyady (1998) asked respondents of a national representative sample about the good and bad qualities of Hungarians. He found that among the negative qualities individualism, envy and selfishness were mentioned. Two years later in 1975, young and adult workers and intellectuals were asked to characterize Hungarians and cooperativity got the third lowest average among 20 characteristics (Hunyady, 1998).

Hollos (1980) investigated social-perspectivism (role-taking and communicative ability) and cooperation of two groups of Hungarian children who grew up in two different social environments: in a village attending a collective educational setting of a kindergarten and in a rural nuclear family. Her idea was that children in Hungary had been trained from an early age for a collective existence in the educational institutions. Therefore she expected that those children who spent a significant amount of time in these institutions would have been more cooperative than those who were mainly in their rural home-family environment. She found just the opposite. Village children were more competitive in spite of the fact that they attended the kindergarten where according to Hollos they received a very collectivistic education, with constant emphasis on pro-social behaviour. As she noted "as far as the aims of collective socialist education are concerned, it seems that these are better achieved away from the kindergarten/school setting." (p.21.) In other words they were not achieved in the educational context. "Although activities are strictly scheduled and coordinated in the kindergartens and children are brought up with an ideology that stresses cooperation, this does not produce cooperative individuals (p.21)".

The GLOBE study (Global Leadership and Organizational Behavior Effectiveness) compared mid-level managers in 61 culturally diverse countries along nine cultural dimensions at the end of the nineties (House et al. 2004). Hungary scored second highest on institutional individualism, i.e. leaders emphasize individual goals and individual interests rather than collective interest or group loyalty. People were generally seen as low (58th among 61 countries) in humane orientation (being concerned about others and being sensitive towards others), but high (third highest) in assertiveness (dominance, competition and aggressiveness). All these refer to competitiveness with a low degree of cooperation and concern for others.

In another study carried out with secondary school students and teachers Fülöp (2002) found that both groups elaborated at greater length on the negative consequences of competition in the Hungarian society than they had done on positive consequences. The most frequently mentioned negative aspects were immorality (corruption, bribery, fraud, theft, cheating, lying, misleading and misinforming others as a result of competition in both the political and the economic sphere) followed by aggression and interpersonal conflict, pragmatic and money oriented people, increased stress, self-centredness (extreme individualism), and discrimination (inequality, large gap between poor and rich, losers and winners).

Fouts (2005) has suggested that the meaning of citizenship is dependent upon contemporary individual and societal considerations relating to geography and culture and that the concept is determined – among others – by historical circumstances. Fülöp et al. (2002) compared Hungarian and English teachers' ideas on citizenship and the good citizen. English teachers placed much more emphasis on the need to educate pupils to be responsible members of society and they spoke a great deal about the importance of cooperating and behaving in a way that will benefit the community, while Hungarian teachers stressed the importance of individual rights and did not consider the community so important. Self-interest has eclipsed public interest in the goals of young people too. Young people have retreated from politics and civic concerns, commitment to the welfare of the broader community has declined and materialist aspirations have increased. Hungarian adolescents do not perceive their local society as cohesive and caring and they like to be engaged in individual activities and can be characterized by lack of interest in communities (Macek et al., 1998). They feel that most students only care for their friends and only look out for themselves, rather than helping others (Flanagan et al., 2003).

The educational arena shows a similar picture. The first PISA study by the OECD in 2000 created comparative international indices for cooperative and competitive learning. The cooperative indices consisted of questions about whether students liked working with others and helping others, etc., while the competitive index was based on responses to questions about whether students liked to do better than others (being the best, learning better when trying to be better than others). In this study Hungary scored third lowest among the 24 countries on cooperative learning (OECD, 2001, Table 4.8) and eighth highest on competitive learning (OECD, 2001, Table 4.9). Commenting on this Education in Hungary (Lantern & Halász, 2004) suggested that cooperative learning strategies are

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used to a lesser extent, and there is a tradition of the prevalent classroom management, which displays a dominance of frontal teaching. This leads to a competitive, performance-orientated environment – in addition to the process of individualization also perceptible at societal level – in which the youth display less solidarity towards each other and less cohesion is shown among schoolmates.

The OECD results are however in sharp contrast to the goals of the National Basic Curriculum (Nemzeti Alaptanterv, NAT, 2003). There are relatively few direct references to competition in it but there are many more to encourage cooperation as a socially desirable behavior to be developed in schools. Working and debating in pairs and in small groups are recommended. As a clear goal it is postulated that pupils have to plan, organize and distribute work together, have to take into consideration during the joint work each of their individual abilities and characteristics in order to achieve a good joint result, and they have to respect these in order to promote each of their individual development during the joint work. They also have to be able to cooperate in long-term projects (from NAT, 2003).

Education of a cooperative and competitive citizen

Education for citizenship is developing knowledge, skills and attitudes necessary for exercising responsibilities and rights in a democratic society (Carr, 1991). Civic duties and social obligations are commonly taught in a factual manner, incorporated into a school subject i.e. history. However, education of the good citizen goes on in the ‘hidden curriculum’, the daily almost subliminal messages which pupils absorb i.e. via relationships with teachers, the organisation of the class teaching etc. The role of educators and schools in the process of acquiring cooperative and constructive competitive behaviour is clearly of great interest. The balance of competitiveness and co-operation, teamwork and individual initiative, self-assurance and deference are all part of the socialisation to establish skills and attitudes to cooperate and compete. The study described in this paper is set in this context. Its main goal was to reveal how teachers in the Hungarian school whether intentionally or otherwise foster cooperative and competitive behaviours in their practices.

The Study

We decided that we would focus on observation of real school practice, i.e. on qualitative case study material, from a relatively small set of schools, to build a more nuanced view of the ways in which competition and cooperation are manifested in the educational realm and to facilitate a more detailed analysis of local practices in a specific geographical and temporal context.

We decided to study teachers' practices at two levels in the educational system: primary teachers working with 8 to 9 year olds (in Hungary Grade 2) and secondary teachers working with 16 year olds (in Hungary Grade 10). The primary teachers were essentially working with the same group of children all the time, across almost all subjects. At the secondary level we focused only on literature and mathematics teachers.

We confined our study to schools that were in the middle ranking of school achievement, esteem and social intake in Budapest, the capital of Hungary. We avoided schools that were considered, for any reason, to be particularly 'good' or particularly 'disadvantaged'. We observed five primary teachers (from two primary schools) and eight secondary teachers (four teachers of mathematics and four teachers of literature – from two different secondary schools). They were all females. Their average age was 43 years with a teaching experience of approximately twenty years.

The observed teachers had only been told that we were interested in pupil-teacher interactions, and the words 'competition' and 'cooperation' were not used before the observations began. The observations made it possible to watch the phenomena of interest in their natural setting and note the teachers' practice and behaviour directly, without relying on their own reports and accounts of their behaviour or intentions.

The observations were carried out by three observers sitting in different corners of the classrooms. Two of them were sitting in the back of the class, one of them in the right, the other in the left corner. A third observer was sitting facing the class. After the observations the notes were put together and a joint record was prepared. Altogether 4 reading and 4 mathematics lessons in the primary and 4 literature and 4 mathematics lessons in the secondary school were observed. We observed various interactions between the teacher and the pupils and interactions occurring among the pupils.

Observations were recorded and categorised in following categories:

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- Teacher encourages cooperation
- Teacher encourages competition
- Teacher discourages/regulates competition
- Teacher discourages/regulates cooperation
- Pupils compete
- Pupil cooperate
- Pupils resist competition
- Pupils resist cooperation

This gave us a very straightforward observational matrix and also a framework to analyze what we have seen.

In our analysis we differentiated between structured (formal) and spontaneous competition and structured (formal) and spontaneous cooperation during the lessons (Kohn, 1986, Sommer, 1995). Structured competitive and cooperative activity took place only in case the teacher initiated that. It was considered a structured competitive task if there were clearly defined competitors; it was called a competition and if there were more or less explicit rules and criteria of evaluation defined (e.g. groups competing with each other over the speed and correctness of the solutions of a series of mathematic problems). A structured cooperative situation was where pupils were expected and instructed to contribute jointly to a common result as members of clearly defined groups or pairs. There were also spontaneous attempts, on the teachers' side to invoke competition or cooperation and indirect methods applied to encourage these behaviours. Teachers sometimes seemed to be aware of the results of these actions and sometimes not at all. We observed spontaneous competitions and cooperations among the pupils too, that were either indirectly encouraged by the teacher's spontaneous interventions or derived from the students own, intrinsic desire. Social comparison processes i.e. 'I am faster, than you!' were considered as examples of spontaneous competition and different kinds of pro-social activities like helping and sharing as examples of spontaneous cooperation.

Results

Competition in the class

Both in primary and secondary school teachers introduced structured competitive tasks for pupils. During the four observed primary school lessons teachers gave an explicitly competitively structured task nine times in total, and during the eight secondary school lessons only three times in total. In the primary school there were competitions among groups, pairs and among all members of the class as individuals, in the secondary school only one was among pairs, the other two among individuals.

An example of a structured competitive task was when in a primary school maths lesson Mrs. Pataki, the teacher set up three groups based on the three columns of desks where the children sat in the class, and the three groups had to compete with each other. One after another children had to solve simple mathematical problems (addition) at the blackboard. They had to run to the blackboard, solve a problem then run back to their seat. Both speed and the number of correct/incorrect answers were taken into consideration when the winning group was decided. The teacher announced these criteria in advance. "It is not enough to be fast you also have to be correct."

When primary teachers announced structured competitive tasks that required children to compete in groups they jumped up, raised their arms and shouted in English (!) "Yeah!" We could not observe any resistance or withdrawal. During group competitions children became especially active, excited and very much involved and tried to do their best. They not only enjoyed these situations, but they asked for more competitive tasks on all lessons where the teacher introduced a structured competition. Individual forms of competition seemed to evoke a little bit less enthusiasm than group ones.

We observed 23 cases in total where the primary teacher spontaneously encouraged competition among pupils during the lesson. Teachers evoked competition sometimes being seemingly unaware of the effect of their action. The most frequent type of indirect encouragement to compete was when the teacher offered a reward to those who could solve a problem well or carried out a task faster or better than others. For example: "Red points for good results, if you worked well, if you were the first" or "Who can list all the vowels for a 5 grade?" or "Who would like to open

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this pack? That person who has a correct result and counts fast." These situations were not explicitly structured as competitions but the comparative aspect, the teacher's expressions i.e. "first" and the reward being contingent on the speed etc. established a competitive atmosphere.

Primary school teachers created several situations where children could directly compare themselves in relation to each other: "Those who can continue please put your hands up!" "Who has no mistakes?" "That person who thinks fast is already ready. Let me see!" "The person, who is clever, shows four." "Those who have the wrong answer, sit down!" "How many points do you have, please show!" Teachers sometimes explicitly announced ranks or made children aware of their comparative rank: "Tomi is the first!"

Raising hands is a type of competition that is basically structurally in-built into the process of frontal classroom learning. The teaching and learning process takes place not in an individual teacher-pupil dyadic situation where the student can be fully active, but in a group situation where the individual's activity is limited. Therefore every frontal lesson is a scarce resource situation where many children want to make sure that it is he or she who is called. It was observed that teachers encouraged this type of competition by regularly asking questions like "Who can show the number on the ruler?" "Who is that clever, that can answer this?" "Who dares to read it aloud?" "Who remembers what was the last lesson about?", "Who can do this again but better than before?" These questions made children answer: "I can do that!", "I am the one!" By encouraging them to put themselves into the foreground teachers wanted to, and according to the observations, not only wanted to, but really motivated pupils' competitive participation even if the reward was not tangible (red point, seal or a good grade) but social: being the one who knows!

We observed many different types of competitive tactics on behalf of the pupils: half standing up at the desk to be more visible, moaning and groaning, moving their hand left to right and back as the teachers notice movements easier than inactive "objects", they desperately shouted "Me! Me!" or "I know, I know!" They were happy if the teacher asked them to answer and they were disappointed if the teacher asked someone else. Sometimes they expressed this only with gestures and grimaces but sometimes loudly.

Pupils also competed in being cooperative with the teacher. The teacher asked: "Who helps the teacher distribute the books?" and children were trying to outdo each other.

Most of pupils' competitive actions took place outside of the structured competitive situations and, arose spontaneously. Apart from putting hands up, we could identify children behaving competitively altogether 63 times.

Secondary school teachers applied very similar methods to primary teachers. For example in one math lesson the teacher presented a problem to the whole class. "I will give a prize to those who will solve the problem first – let's say the first three will get a prize." The students started to work on the problem and when the first three students were ready the teacher closed the competition. "OK. We have got the third one, now!"

During the structured competitive situations secondary school students behaved in different ways. Most of them worked on the given task individually, not showing interest towards their competitors, however there were a couple of students who regularly tried to see where others were in their problem solving process or tried to copy others' solutions (cheat). Sometimes the classmates noticed this and 'cooperated' and let the copying happen in spite of being in competition with each other, only once we observed a student hiding the solution and behaving according to the rules.

In terms of spontaneous encouragement of competition in the secondary school occurred only in nine cases when the teacher tried to motivate students by direct or indirect social comparison, using similar techniques as the primary school teachers. Frontal questions like 'Whose solutions were all correct? Put your hand up!' or giving reward (e.g. a star like in the primary school) to those who had no mistake and doing this after a frontal question to the whole class, making direct comparison between students such as 'this was much better' or asking students to put up their hands if they are ready with a task and then setting up a rank order according to speed, were the examples.

Competition of raising hands and being called on by the teacher was observed less frequently among secondary school students than among primary school students and sometimes even evoked laughter among classmates if a student like a second grader said "Me! Me!" when she wanted the teacher to choose her. In all observed secondary classes there was a rule that everybody who wants to say something has to put up his or her hand. There were however, many situations when there was a conversation between the class and the teacher and the rule was broken and the students joined the discussion freely without the teacher's explicit, but with the teacher's implicit permission. This caused conflict when several students joined in at the same time and they started to raise their voice and compete for attention, or when some students raised their

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hands while others (including the teacher) ignored them and conversed parallel freely.

Apart from of the “raising hands” competition, spontaneous competition was observed in 18 cases among secondary students. Several times students interpreted a clearly non-competitive exercise as a competitive task. For instance after an individual task a student announced: “I won!” and in a math lesson when a student was determined to have the right solution, she looked around the class and showed everybody a V (a victory sign) like an Olympic winner. Students also asked about each others’ results and compared them. Those, whose results were not so good, tried to hide them, others whose results were better than their classmates, were satisfied.

In literature lessons spontaneous competition took the form of long intellectual debates among students. They tried to come up with better and better arguments and many times it could be seen that boys also applied humour in order to focus the attention of the audience on them, especially that of the girls’. It was observed that after a good argument they looked around and tried to see the impact.

In primary school generally the whole class was active during a structured competition and in cases where the teacher’s spontaneously encouraged competition a large majority of the class reacted. It was very rare that children withdrew from competing. This was not the case in the secondary school. Neither the structured competitions, nor the spontaneous encouragements had as much of an enthusiastic reception as among the primary school students. However, there was a behavioural effect as the majority of students worked harder and in a more serious and concentrated way when there was a competition. They asked the teacher to define the not well explained conditions of the competition and were motivated to compete in a manner that the teacher prescribed. They also became more animated and worked harder in cases where there was a potential reward (good grade), but they did not seem to react as strongly, with a visibly higher activity level (like the primary school pupils did) in case of the teachers’ indirect competition evoking interventions.

Regulation of competition

We paid special attention to how teachers set up, managed, regulated and discouraged competition among their pupils and also in what kind of

situations they did or did not intervene. During our primary school observations, we found altogether 39 examples when teachers tried to regulate, control or discourage competition among the pupils, meaning that they had many more interactions related to the management of the already existing competition than to the initiation of it. In the secondary school there were less competitive events, therefore too there was less need of regulating interventions, altogether eight of them were counted.

Establishing optimal circumstances

One type of regulation was the striving to ensure the best conditions for the competitive process. For instance, in order to be able to concentrate to the task pupils need relative silence. Therefore the primary teachers tried to discipline those, who were not quiet and in this way disturbed the work of others "Mate, please respect your partner and do not disturb him." – the teacher said to a boy.

Keeping the rules

One significant aspect of competition management is, how teachers establish a fair competitive process and how they monitor if the rules of competition are kept. Teachers can indirectly encourage unfair competition among pupils if they do not regulate those who break the rules in a competitive situation. For instance, if the teacher asks a question the explicit rule is to raise their hand and wait until the teacher calls somebody. If a child shouts out the result and does not raise his/her hand the teacher should control this type of behaviour. In fact many times children broke the rules of waiting until they were called. Teachers had very different reactions to this. Sometimes they did not react at all (let the rule-breaker go), in other instances sometimes they stated that this was not right and emphasized the principle. The lack of a well monitored explicit rule basically kept the number of rule breakers stable in all classes.

Primary teachers also tried to ensure rule keeping in the case of structured competitive tasks: "If we discussed a rule and agreed upon that, then we have to keep to them" They also discouraged cheating when they noticed it themselves (this happened three times). In one maths lesson, only those children who managed to collect five red points for their good

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solutions during the lesson were meant to raise their hands. One boy, who clearly did not collect enough points, still raised his hand. The teacher noticed this and turned to him: "We will talk about this later face to face. Now you get the reward like others, but we will discuss this!" – and she did discuss it during the break. Other interventions were: "Barbara, don't look at David's work! Try to use your own mind!" or "Don't take an extra breath secretly!" (when there was a competition about who can speak the longest with one breath).

Surprisingly, when they were the fellow pupil who noticed cheating during competition and they reported it to the teacher, all primary school teachers interpreted this as a sign of destructive competition, trying to cause social harm to their competitor, they did not examine if there was any truth in this announcement but in all cases they morally condemned the pupil who reported the cheating ("Mind your own business!") and not the pupil who committed the cheating. This happened in spite of the fact that we as, observers could see that in all cases the pupil who reported the cheating was right. In fact primary teachers noticed only one-third of those cheatings that the observers noticed, therefore most of the incorrect competition went unattended, moreover the pupil who broke the rules could experience that it is possible to get ahead by cheating and only the 'authority' (the teacher) has the right to regulate this, and that there cannot be peer or community control on it. Apart from shouting out the result without being asked, we observed cheating eight times: copying from the other's work (2), false correction of the results (5) copying the good result from the blackboard (1).

In secondary school we observed several times that students copied each other's work during an individual/competitive task, but it never happened that this was reported by another student who noticed the cheating. On the contrary, a kind of solidarity surrounded these students and even in case of competition students let each other copy their solutions. Teachers, when they noticed the cheating, intervened and discouraged this kind of 'cooperation' and reminded the students to work individually.

Ensuring equal opportunities

Sometimes teachers tried to discourage those children who were too competitive and tried to encourage those who were not active enough, tryin in this way to set up equal opportunities for everybody. The most

common instance of this was not to call on those students who were competing to give an answer to the teacher's question by raising their hands, but deliberately calling those who were inactive. Sometimes this was accompanied by an explicit remark such as, "I don't want to always hear Orsi give an explanation." or "Now I want to hear somebody who has not read yet today." or "That is not fair that always the same children answer." If no explicit explanation was given, it was more probable that the rule was broken and a pupil who was not asked shouted out the solution, not giving an opportunity to others who were either passive or behaved according to the rules.

Coping with winning and losing

Another type of behaviour regulation was related to the interpersonal relationship among the competitors, primarily to the winners' or better performing children's behaviour towards the weaker ones. For instance teachers did not like when pupils were openly happy with winning, for example by happily jumping. "I don't like this behaviour. I am sad!" – said the teacher. Self-enhancement: for instance calling the teacher's attention loudly to the fact that he or she is ready with the work or showing off, saying aloud that he or she is better than others evoked the teacher's intervention. When a child boasted that he has a task sheet for which he got as a reward for his fastest solution, the teacher said: "I gave you the task sheet not to be showed around, but to be solved!" Concern for the weaker was expressed by explicit instructions to pay attention to those who are less able, by, for instance, slowing down.

Teachers also tried to deal with the losers. If someone was unhappy or sad because of losing in a game, the teacher showed understanding and empathy. "I know that it hurts that you did not win, but try to endure it." Mrs. Pataki consoled and encouraged a pupil who was slower in solving a task than her classmate. "Yes, she was very skilful, but you will also be ready soon." One teacher, who wanted to avoid the negative effect of losing even tried to influence the results of the competition and tried to make a tie. After losing in a structured competition we observed pupils scolding each other within the group but we could also observe that a group applauded the others when they won.

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Controlling destructive competition

We also saw examples of destructive ways of competing - however only in a few cases - for instance trying to downgrade the "rival" and telling the teacher not to give a 5 to another pupil, devaluing the others' achievement, hitting or pushing a rival, forming an alliance against a third party and denigrating another pupil for lower achievement.

Primary school teachers several times did not comment when the pupils expressed their scorn towards weaker students who made more mistakes or solved several problems in a wrong way. They did not ask the mocking children to be more understanding with their less able classmate.

Destructive competition was more frequent though in secondary than in primary school. For instance when a female student answered a question well and got two stars from the teacher (five stars equalled a grade 5) one of her classmates turned to another girl sitting next to her and asked aloud: 'Why did you whisper to her the solution and not me?' her intention being clearly to devalue the girl's achievement in front of the class and giving the message to the others that it was not she who knew the answer but somebody else.

In literature lessons during debates boys especially laughed disdainfully at each other's arguments, made sarcastic remarks, tried to turn the class against their partner in the debate etc. The emotional intensity of these debates rose quickly, and quite a chaotic situation was generated in a short period of time. In one of the lessons the teacher had to intervene strongly as the debate about Dante's Divine Comedy became such an aggressive verbal fight among boys: 'There is an order, give room to everybody to express his/her opinion, let others speak too, don't interrupt your partner, listen to your partner etc.' When a boy said about his classmate during a debate: 'He is mad!' the teacher told him: 'Sir, refrain yourself from these types of remarks. Express your opinion in a more acceptable way!' The teacher also intervened when a student laughed with disdain at his classmate who gave a good answer and got a reward. 'Why don't you laugh this way when you yourself get a reward for your good achievement?'

Cooperation in the class

Both primary and secondary school teachers organized situations where cooperation within pairs or among group members was a necessary part of accomplishing the task. We observed five situations like this over four observed lessons in the primary school and only two over eight observed lessons in the secondary school. In all but one case the overall framework of the structured cooperative activity was in fact competition, cooperation was an implicit but not explicit part of an overtly competitive situation. In a primary school reading lesson children had to work in pairs finding words in a text together. The teacher emphasized the competitive aspect the most: "The pair who works well and is the first to be ready, gets a 'seal' " (a rabbit figure). At the end of the task the teacher told the pairs: "The pair that had no mistakes put your hand up! The pair that had one mistake put your hands up! The pair that had two mistakes etc. " This way she created a clear ranking among the pairs and rewarded the best one.

Within the competitive set up the tasks required different levels of cooperation among the members. When at a math lesson children of each group had to run to the blackboard and solve a problem individually and the group achievement was basically the simple sum of the speed and correctness of the individual solutions, only a low level of cooperation was required.

Only two of the observed situations required children to collaborate and think together. One example was when children had to solve mathematic tasks together in smaller groups while these groups were competing with each other.

In the mixed competitive and cooperative situations, teachers paid more attention to the competitive aspect of the task, emphasizing rules, setting up priorities (correctness over speed), etc. However, a few remarks showed that they were also following the cooperative aspect, e.g. "You can put your heads together at one of the tables" – when children solved problems in small groups. In the case of the pair work, Mrs Pataki said: "Work in a smart way and help each other!" Then later she repeated: "Pairs please help each other, but whisper so you do not disturb the work of other pairs!" When at the end of the competition the whole class discussed the solutions together the teacher noticed that some pairs did not have the same solution, so they clearly worked individually when they were supposed to collaborate. She said: "Why did not you work the same way? The main point was to help each other!" When during the pair work

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one child left her pair to go to the toilet she said: "This is the worst moment!" – referring to the fact that the girl left her partner to work alone.

In secondary school there were two structured cooperative tasks, both in literature lessons. One required pairs to work together on a quiz. Although all pairs that came up with a perfect solution were entitled to get a 5 as a grade, the teacher constantly accompanied the process with competition evoking remarks, such as: "Let me see, which pair finishes first!" creating from an originally cooperative situation, one that was blended with competition among pairs. The other was a collective drama game. The teacher formed small groups and each group had to represent a common ideology (enlightenment, positivism, Christian religiousness etc.) and the members had to argue and have a debate. The task required a joint effort to find the best arguments within a group and also paying thorough attention to group members' arguments. Students turned this task into a fiercely competitive debate among groups in spite of the lack of any message in this direction from the teacher.

The 16 observed spontaneous interventions of teachers in primary school and 12 in secondary school that were considered to emphasize cooperation among pupils were in fact very different in nature and referred more to pro-social behaviour than cooperation. One kind of spontaneous encouragement in primary school was to ask children to share resources and another was asking for cooperation in keeping the rules in order to establish optimal conditions for work e.g. "Don't disturb your peers during reading!". Teachers also tried to develop empathy (taking others into consideration) in their pupils by saying: or "Choose quickly! So the others do not have to wait for you!" or "You should not do this, the whole group is waiting for you!" When the teacher praised someone openly in front of the class for a good achievement and she asked the children to applaud him/her she socialized them to be able to acknowledge jointly, as a group, another person's better achievement.

Encouragement of intellectual help and joint problem solving without the presence of structured competition was rare. One example was when in a primary math lesson a boy ended up with a wrong solution and the teacher asked the class: "Let's think together and try to find where he makes a mistake." In a secondary school math lesson students were solving a problem individually but the teacher told them: "You may help each other, if it doesn't work individually."

We observed spontaneous cooperation among pupils in 30 cases in the primary school.. This was less than half of the forms of behaviour that

were categorized as spontaneously competitive (63). The most common form of cooperation was sharing and helping. But these were not two-way cooperation but one-way interactions, a child giving a pencil or a card to the neighbour, sharing the book with him/her or showing where they are in the book in the reading lesson. Another form of cooperation happened when children had to read a text as a group aloud or recite a poem as a group aloud. These activities required all the children to adapt to each other's rhythm and speed in order to come up with a comprehensible joint product. Only twice was it observed that children spontaneously started to discuss a task and work on it jointly or corrected each other's mistakes. It happened however more often, that children were supposed to work individually and instead one pupil whispered the solution to the other or let the other copy her solution, acts that can be considered expressions of solidarity or unfair rule breaking behaviour as they were against the explicit requirement of individual work. A destructive form of cooperation was observed three times when two children formed an alliance against a third one and jointly reported on him/her to the teacher with the clear intention to cause harm to the third party.

During the 8 secondary school lessons 21 spontaneous cooperative actions were observed, i.e. sharing, helping, and explaining. When students were supposed to work in pairs a whole scale of different levels of cooperation could be observed. There were pairs where only one student worked and the other did nothing, there were pairs where one of them tried to work and the other deliberately disturbed his/her partner's work, there were pairs who collaborated in an exemplary way and there were pairs who started to collaborate with other pairs (however this was against the explicit rule of pair competition). The teacher did not monitor the quality of cooperation, did not make any effort to socialize students to cooperate in a better way.

It was observed that during individual tasks and even during individual competitions students helped each other. In this latter situation there were two norms that contradict each other: the norm of individual achievement, that dictates that the student should compete and aim for better and better individual results, and the norm of solidarity and cooperation among students. If a student who is well-prepared doesn't want to share his/her solution with others, he/she very quickly becomes unpopular among his/her classmates. In all but one case the observed students violated the norm of individual competition and answered and helped if a classmate asked for it.

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We observed pupils avoiding cooperation both in primary and in secondary school. For instance when children who were meant to be working in a group worked individually instead, or did other things. In the secondary school during the pair work there were a number of students who took part passively and did not contribute to the joint results or even behaved in a disruptive way. We observed refusal to help or share both in primary and in secondary school.

Regulation of cooperation

Primary school teachers regulated cooperation strikingly less times than they regulated competition (only 10 times versus 39). This was more balanced in the secondary school (10 versus 8). These were mainly situations when the pupils were supposed to work individually on a task and instead of this they tried to help each other. For example Mrs. Pi?csi said: “Don’t tell it to your neighbour! Not because it has to be a secret, but because I want you to find the solution yourself!” In competitive situations cooperation among the students was considered cheating and the teacher tried to stop and regulate that and protect the rules of the competition. If it was not a competitive context, then teachers in most of the cases let students who sat next to each other briefly discuss the tasks and solutions even if they had announced explicitly that they expect individual work. However, when it was frontal teaching they did not let students clarify the learning material with each other, but instructed them to turn to the teacher for help.

Interestingly enough there were instances when both primary and secondary school teachers discouraged cooperation even if pupils were supposed to cooperate, or they blocked the spontaneously emerged cooperation among students. For instance in the primary school during group competition, where members of the same group were supposed to discuss joint solutions, Ms. Pogany asked them to work silently and Ms. Pataki said not to help each other and not to tell each other anything!

Teachers in one primary school undermined cooperation by not enforcing the rules, because they did not regulate those children who shouted out answers to questions and did not wait to be called – which was the explicit rule. Those children who were waiting nicely to be called, with their hands raised, were clearly disappointed and during the course of the lesson gradually deviated towards the rule-breaking behaviour. The lack of

regulation on the teacher's side resulted in reduced cooperation and increased unfair competition.

Discussion

Being pro-social and the ability to cooperate effectively with fellow citizens is typically part of the concept of the 'good citizen'. The skill to be successful in a competitive world and compete constructively is traditionally not included in this discourse. However, constructive competition ability, i.e. to establish and to maintain a competitive relationship among the competing parties that contributes to the development of both and brings out their best potentials, while keeping the rules of competition and a respectful and cooperative relationship among the competitive parties, is a significant requirement in a society that constructs competitive situations in many different realms from everyday community life to economics and politics.

Education for citizenship goes on at different levels: *cognitively*, transferring knowledge about the functioning of the society, about civic rights and duties etc.; *attitudinally*, establishing a participative, tolerant, non-discriminative, respectful, relationship among members of the society (both in cooperative and competitive relationships) and *behaviourally*, developing skills that make it possible to function as a knowledgeable, responsible, respectful citizen, who contributes to society with his/her potentials in the best possible way.

In our study we observed the 'hidden curriculum' in connection with cooperative and competitive attitudes and behavioural skills in schools in a society, that is under transition from socialism that ideologically advocated the priority of the collective and the public interest and banned competition, to a capitalist market economy, emphasizing the priority of the individual and his/her interests. The Hungarian society reacted to this challenge with strengthened individualism (House, et al, 2004) the roots of which were already there during socialism (Hunyady, 1998, Hollós, 1980), with overheated competition (Fülöp 1999, 2004) and lack of concern for the community (Macek et al, 1998). However, a newly established market economy and democracy need a workforce that is competitive and entrepreneurial but at the same time is able to cooperate.

According to our observation study while the Hungarian National Curriculum (2002) speaks mainly about the encouragement of cooperation,

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teachers instead socialize 'citizens' that are competitive and not so much cooperative. Teachers both deliberately and spontaneously encourage competition more in their teaching practice: they more often apply competitive problem solving than cooperative ones, they have many more spontaneous interactions with students that aim to increase their competitive spirit, and they spend more time with regulating different aspects of competition than with teaching their students how to cooperate effectively. Helping and sharing and caring as civic virtues are encouraged and also rewarded, but higher level cooperation i.e. collaboration and working together are not. Even if teachers combine competition with cooperation among group members, for instance in the form of inter-group competitions, they mainly focus on the competitive aspects of these situations and the role of cooperation almost exclusively is to serve successful competition. According to our observations cooperation in the form of distribution of meaningful tasks and collaboration without the structurally introduced element of competition is a rare.

In a previous study, Fülöp (2002) found that both secondary school students and teachers considered immorality (cheating, lying etc.) as the main negative aspect of competition in the Hungarian society. In our study several times we observed students cheating during a competition. Most of these were not noticed by teachers, therefore remained unattended and uncontrolled. At the primary school level, 8-9 year-old children still reported rule breaking to the teachers, but in each of these instances teachers morally condemned the child who announced the cheating and did not examine if he/she is right or not. This behaviour was in clear contradiction to the teacher's explicit interventions (emphasizing the importance of competing according to the rules) in case she noticed herself the rule-breaking. The hidden message of this was that 'community control' is not acceptable and trustworthy, only the 'authorities' have the right to react to misbehavior. Our observations showed that by the secondary school, the 'community' of 16-17 year old students instead protected and helped those who did not keep the rules of competition against the 'authority' and were very cooperative in this kind of 'rule-breaking'.

Conclusion

Our study demonstrates that everyday school practices are not necessarily the intended outcome of policy initiatives: for the most part, they are unplanned, even unnoticed, consequences of educational cultural traditions that are entrenched or implicit and largely uncharted. Our case study showed that the general cultural, political and economical contexts overwrite the written educational guidelines and teachers' conscious intentions. Principles and ideals advocating the cooperative citizen do not coincide with everyday educational practice. This demonstrates that educational policy suggestions might be independent of the socio-historical context and if they are not coupled with explicit professional training that makes teachers aware of their 'hidden curriculum', they are bound to fail to get across to real educational practice.

Endnotes

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Social judgments about ethnic exclusion among Latin-American children and adolescents living in Spain

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Abstract

This study explores social judgments about ethnic exclusion from the perspective of ethnic minority children living in Spain. The study was conducted in Madrid with a sample of 72 Latin American children and adolescents between 6-17 years of age. We used a clinical semi-structured interview. Participants were presented with a picture depicting a Latin American child being excluded from a birthday party. They had to describe the exclusion situation and provide an evaluation of it (right or wrong). Also, they had to justify their judgment. Additionally, an unexpected finding was obtained: some children tended to blame the excluded child, attributing to him/her responsibility for his/her own exclusion.

Key words: social judgments, ethnic exclusion, ethnic minority children, Latin American children and adolescents, Spain.

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Introduction

Different political, economic and social conditions have been changing the demographic composition of the world and, in European countries, the results are often striking. Generally, the massive migration movements are towards the, so-called, 'developed' countries. The case of Spain is particularly striking. Over the last 10 years the number of registered immigrants in Spain has quadrupled mainly by immigrants from Latin American countries. Spain's relatively good development in different areas represents a good opportunity for some immigrant families to enhance their lives. This situation has brought some modifications in the way that social groups relate to each other. Issues such as prejudice, discrimination, and cultural stereotypes provoke conflicts in every day interactions.

Indeed, despite various social analyses having demonstrated the positive impact of immigrants in Spain, such as economic growth and the increase of the birth rate, the most recent sociological survey with adults (CIS, 2006) shows an evident increase in the percentage of participants, 19.3 % in 2005 and 40.1 % in 2006, who consider immigration as the second of the three most important problems that Spain currently faces.

However, what are the implications of leaving one's own country to live in a different one? The answer is complicated and depends on diverse factors. Among them, it is important to stress the fact that immigrants themselves need to mourn for all the things they left behind and, at the same time, they must adjust to a new life inserted in a 'new' society with economic, political, social, and psychological changes. It is well known that contemporary societies increasingly oppose the expression of discriminatory behaviours based on prejudices. Nevertheless, in spite of the development of social policies in several countries around the world, people keep holding negative stereotypes, discriminatory attitudes, and prejudices towards other social groups.

In order to focus on this matter a developmental study was carried out with Latin American children and adolescents who have been part of this recent migratory process in Spain. The general purpose of the present study was to investigate the development of their perception about social exclusion and discrimination. The specific interest was to explore the judgments and justifications on the part of Latin American children and adolescents regarding a social exclusion situation towards their own ethnic group, as well as their perceptions regarding their experiences of ethnic

discrimination in the time they have lived in Spain, the possible causes and the solutions to solve them¹.

For such a purpose, a semi-structured interview and a projective measure were designed, in the form of a picture showing a Latin American child being excluded from a birthday party. This study had two focal points. On the one hand, there were no developmental studies in Spain that deal with ethnic minority groups about ethnic exclusion on the basis of ethnic reasons. In view of the present social situation in Spain this study was of a great relevance. On the other hand, the projective measure used as a visual support to the verbal interview represents, in a way, an indirect measure that allows assessing children's judgments about intergroup relations through ambiguous yet familiar situations avoiding the difficulties implied in direct measures that assess prejudice (Aboud, 2003; Cameron, Alvarez, Ruble, & Fulgini, 2001; Margie, Killen, Sinno, & McGlothlin, 2005; McGlothlin, Killen, & Edmonds, 2005).

In order to explain the origin and nature of the processes that lead to the acquisition of beliefs and prejudiced attitudes, researchers in the area of developmental psychology have carried out diverse studies with children and adolescents mainly from two different perspectives.

On the one hand, the socio-cognitive approach developed by the Canadian Frances Aboud (1988) is possibly the one that better explains the development of intergroup attitudes in the early years (for a complete review see Aboud, 1988, 2005; Aboud & Amato, 2001; Aboud, 2005). Contrary to the traditional approaches, Aboud ascribes a more active role on the part of the infant regarding prejudice. According to her, prejudice in the early years is the result of the children's errors in processing information due to their reduced cognitive skills which induce the perception of people belonging to different ethnic groups as interchangeable individuals.

From this point of view, it is argued that young children, who are cognitively immature, show a tendency towards prejudice since they don't as yet have the capacity to process, in a simultaneous way, multiple classifications and to be aware of two or more different perspectives: they are not able to become less self-centered. During the early years, their perception of the world is basically bipolar so that they are not capable of processing at the same time the internal qualities of an individual and his/her bond to a social group. That is, they are not aware of either the similarities among individuals who belong to different groups or the differences among people within the same group. It is through their cognitive development that children can make social judgments in terms of unique interpersonal char-

acteristics rather than in terms of intergroup qualities. But even if this perspective stresses the importance of the young children's cognitive abilities, it also highlights the role of diverse social agents such as family, peers, and social environment in maintaining or reducing prejudice. According to Aboud, the biased attitude that children show to favour their own group and to neglect the others reaches its peak around the 5 and 7 years of age. It is from the latter age, along with the development of cognitive abilities, when this negative bias shows a systematic decrease that follows a developmental sequence in the form of an inverted U. Several studies that have been carried out in the last decades have provided support to these assumptions (Aboud & Doyle, 1993; Bigler & Liben, 1993; Clark, 1980; Enesco, I., Navarro, A., Gimenez, M. y Del Olmo, C., 1999; Hocevard & Dembo, 1980; Doyle, Beaudet & Aboud, 1988; Katz & Zalk, 1978; Semaj, 1980, among others).

Closely related to the socio-cognitive perspective, there are some other proposals such as the levels of development in children's understanding of the ethnicity model proposed by Quintana (1994, 1998). This model, based on Selman's (1980) theory of social perspective-taking ability, describes four stages that go from level 0) the integration of affective and perceptual understanding of ethnicity, level 1) literal understanding of ethnicity, level 2) social perspective of ethnicity, and level 3) ethnic-group consciousness and ethnic identity (1998, p. 29).

In contrast, some approaches closer to social psychology as the Social Identity Theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979; Turner, 1982), and Self-Categorization Theory (Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, & Wetherell, 1987) affirm that such bias is the result of affective and motivational factors related to social differentiation processes. They emphasize the importance of intergroup processes on the development of discrimination and prejudice (Benett, Barret, Karakozov, Kipiani, Lyons, Pavlenko & Riazanova, 2004; Nesdale, 2001, 2004; Nesdale & Fresser, 2001; Rutland, 1999, 2004; Verkuyten, 2001, 2005).

On the basis of Social Identity Theory, Nesdale (2001, 2004) developed his Social Identity Development theory that accentuates the importance of social identification and social context on the intergroup processes. Furthermore, this model distinguishes between bias for one's in-group (preference), and derogation for the out-groups (prejudice). According to this view, young children are unaware of ethnic differences among people. Later on, they start to become aware of ethnic categories (around 4-5 years of age) and show certain tendency to favour their own group. The

transition from this phase to that of ethnic prejudice, characterized by explicit expressions of negative attitudes towards the out-groups, is only possible when children are capable of identifying with the social groups which is around 6-7 years of age. However, it is possible that prejudice arises earlier if the social context instigates it. That is the case when a social group pronounces rules that express prejudice against another one (Pfeifer, Ruble, Bachean, Alvarez, Cameron, & Fullgini, 2007, p. 497).

Minority groups, ethnic identification and attitudes, and discrimination

According to numerous studies, the status that an ethnic group has in society is a very important variable in the socialization process. That is, belonging to the majority or minority groups determines people's beliefs, feelings, and attitudes towards the in- group and the out-groups.

The study of intergroup attitudes on the part of minority children has become of great interest for many decades. Diverse studies that have been conducted through years have shown that early in life, minority group children express significant differences in their ethnic attitudes and identification depending on the status of their in-group (Asher & Allen, 1969; Brand, Ruiz & Padilla, 1974; Cantor, 1972; Clark, Hocesvar & Dembo, 1980; Clark & Clark, 1947, Gomez, 2005; Jahoda, Thompson, & Bhatt, 1972; Milner, 1973; Vaughan, 1987; Porter, 1971). Thus, as indicated by some studies ethnic minority children perceive more negatively their in-group and attribute more positive adjectives to the majority group. Furthermore, while majority children at age 5 identify adequately with their in-group, it takes 2 or 3 more years to minority children to complete such identification process.

However, these findings, as stated by Lo Coco, Inguglia, & Pace (2005), can neither be generalized nor analyzed without taking into account the particular social and political factors that characterize the country of origin as well as the social and psychological relationships among majority and minority groups as the result of diverse social changes (p. 243). For that matter, it is not surprising that according to the results obtained for the last 15 years, 4-to 7-year old minority children show a more evident preference toward the peers of the in-group, while it is not until the age of 8 to 10 years

when they show a preference for both majority group and their own ethnic group peers (Aboud, 1987; Lo Coco, Pace, & Zapulla, 2000, 2002; Verkuyten, 1991, 1992; Verkuyten, Masson, & Effers, 1995).

What are the consequences when minority children and adolescents realize the differences between their own group and the majority group? Are they able to “become aware” of the disadvantages implied in their ethnic membership in relation to the majority group? Are they aware that they can face situations such as exclusion and discrimination?

Despite the study of social exclusion and discrimination with minority group an important component is of social group interaction, which has just recently received a good deal of attention from developmental psychologists.

In a recent paper, Christia Spears Brown & Rebecca Bigler (2005) indicate the importance of social discrimination and propose a developmental model of children’s perceptions of discriminations in which they declare that cognitive development (classification skills, social comparisons, moral reasoning), situational contexts (target of discrimination, knowledge of evaluator, relevance to stereotype, availability of a comparison, social support) and individual differences (social group membership, knowledge of discrimination, group attitudes, group identity, role of socialization) affect children’s perceptions of discrimination. This proposal, as the authors adduce, attempts to motivate the development of studies in this field so that it can be empirically assessed (p. 550).

Among the few developmental studies are those conducted in the 1970’s with African American kids from desegregated schools who claimed teasing as ethnic exclusion (Rosenberg, 1979). On the other hand, newly integrated children from the same ethnic group perceived discrimination from both their classmates and their peers (Patchen, 1982; Schofiel, 1980).

Nowadays, some researchers have found out that exclusion based on group membership seems to be the most recognizable form of exclusion. Thus, they have found that young children consider that excluding someone from an activity because of his/her ethnic group or gender is unfair (Theimer, Killen & Stangor, 2001). Later on, in elementary school most children are aware of ethnic discrimination and relate it to the unequal distribution of goods and social exclusion. However, some children avoid judging as negative the discriminatory behaviour of the perpetrator arguing that the victim was in part responsible. (Verkuyten, Kinket, & Van der Weilen, 1997). Towards the preadolescent years, minority group children

were found to (basically African Americans and Mexican Americans) have had experiences of verbal offences, racial slurs, exclusion from certain activities, and, in some cases, physical injuries (Simon, Murry, McLoyd, Lin, Kutrona, & Conger, 2002; Quintana, 1998). On the same line, research with preadolescents and adolescents has shown that they consider discrimination as a frequent experience in diverse scenarios such as public services and educational settings (Brown, 2006; Fisher, Wallace, & Fenton, 2000; Ronsenbloom & Way, 2004; Ruck & Wortley, 2002; Wong, Eccles, & Sameroff, 2003).

Aims and predictions

As it was previously mentioned, the main purpose of the present study was to investigate how 6 to 17 yr-old Latin American children and adolescents living in Spain judge a situation of ethnic exclusion of a member of their in-group. A group of Latin American participants was selected because among minority groups living in Spain, the citizens of Central and South America (Ecuador, Colombia, Peru, and Dominican Republic) are the most numerous ones. In addition, the Latin American group shares with the Spaniards a common cultural background that involves language, religion, and certain traditions.

Using a clinical semi-structured interview format, participants were presented with a picture showing a Latin American child being excluded from a birthday party. By presenting an indirect or projective measure, the intention was to find out if children and adolescents were able to spontaneously recognize the exclusion situation and if they considered it the result of membership to a minority group or to any other reason². Also, the goal was to know if they or any other person close to them had gone through a situation of exclusion or discrimination similar to the one presented in the picture during the time they had lived in Spain. In case they mentioned any of these situations they were asked to describe it and explain the possible reasons behind it. Lastly, the purpose was to explore what kind of solutions children and adolescents were able to provide in order to cease discrimination.

The general predictions, based principally on social cognitive perspective were:

- a) Most Latin American children and adolescents would be able to spontaneously recognize the situation of exclusion represented in the picture. However, there were expected developmental differences in the judgments about exclusion. For 6 to 9-year old participants, social exclusion would be more related to personal causes than to ethnic ones. Nevertheless, from 10 years on, group membership would be claimed as the main reason of exclusion
- b) Based on the cultural proximity between Latin America and Spain, it was predicted that the social conditions were more favourable to this group in comparison to other minority groups (Maghrebis, sub-Saharan, and Asians). As for that, it was expected that Latin American children and adolescents would not feel themselves excessively excluded or discriminated on the part of the Spanish majority group. Notwithstanding with the explicit explanation provided by the interviewer that the situation of exclusion was motivated by ethnic membership, developmental differences were expected in this respect after recognizing the situation of exclusion. Even if a slight increase in the arguments that referred to ethnicity was expected on the 6-9 year old participants, it would not be until the preadolescent stage that these would be mentioned by the majority of participants.
- c) According to some other findings in the social knowledge field, developmental differences were expected on the type of solutions to eradicate discrimination. On their part, young children would provide solutions from a more individualistic perspective while older children would express more social proposals.

Method

Participants

Participants were 72 students (an equal number of female and male) belonging to ethnic minority groups of Latin-American background, mainly from Ecuador (51.4%), Colombia (15.3%), and the Dominican Republic (12.5%). The mean (and SD) number of months they had been living in Spain was 44.97 (22.68). Our sample was drawn from public Primary and Secondary Schools in Madrid. Families of the children belonged to middle to-working SES. The sample was divided into three age groups: 6 to

9 (n=24), 10 to 13 (n=25), and 14 to 17 (n=23). The mean (and SD) ages of each age group were 92.17 (13.9), 141.08 (12.75), and 187.96 (12.9), respectively. All students were informed that the interviews were confidential, voluntary and anonymous. In order to include the participants in our study, parental permission forms were signed.

Measures

A semi-structured interview was administered to all the participants. Additionally, a drawing (210 x 297 mm) representing a situation that described a specific social exclusion situation of a Latino American child (an invitation to a birthday party) was used as visual prompt.

Initially, the objective was to explore children and adolescents' spontaneous evaluations and judgments about ethnic exclusion. For that matter, they were presented with the drawing and they were asked to describe what was occurring in it.



Figure 1. Social exclusion drawing presented to girls. An identical drawing depicting boys was presented to them.

At a different point in the interview, the main goal was to look at the personal experiences of exclusion related to that of the drawing (“Have you or anyone you know gone through a situation like the one shown in the picture? How was it?”), possible causes (“What happened? Why do you think people do such a thing?”), as well as their proposed solutions to avoid this kind of exclusion.

Procedure

Two female Latin American research assistants interviewed all the children and adolescents who participated in the study. The interview was conducted in a quiet room within the school context. All interviews were audio-recorded and transcribed into verbal protocols. Each interview was analyzed and discussed by three members of the research team in order to determine categories of analysis in a ‘bottom-up’ fashion. The same researchers who conducted the interviews scored the data according to these categories using SPSSPC + statistical software. The examples presented here show a letter M in the case of boys and a letter F in the case of girls, followed by the years and months of age.

Results

The predictions were tested conducting repeated measures ANOVAs. Post-hoc comparisons were performed using Tukey’s HSD. Follow-up t-tests were used to analyze the interactions effects.

Evaluations and judgments about exclusion

As it was expected, 100% of the sample recognized in a spontaneous way the situation of exclusion depicted in the picture. However, as it was also assumed, despite the fact that the ethnic traits of the boy or girl in the picture were the most mentioned causes (51.4% of the total sample), not all the participants mentioned them as the only cause of exclusion. For example, there were found some judgments that referred “interpersonal con-

flicts" (37.1%), "absence of interpersonal relations" (32.7%), and a "negative attitude" towards the boy or girl subject of exclusion. (27.9 %). For a description see Table 1.

Table 1. Descriptions of judgments about exclusion.

Issue	Categories	Description
Judgments	Ethnicity	Refers to all those answers in which the cause of exclusion was attributed to physical or ethnic traits, appearance, national origin, and cultural characteristics (i.e. because she is a foreigner, from another country, from another culture, because she is kind of brownish)
	Absence of interpersonal relations	These answers justify exclusion due to the absence of any relationship between the birthday child and the boy/girl being excluded (because he had never seen him before, because he is an immigrant, I suppose he doesn't know him).
	Interpersonal conflicts	Here, exclusion is attributed to conflicts or a poor relationship between the characters depicted on the picture. In this category the existing relationship is usually seen as a negative one. That is, some attitudes of teasing and mocking as well as conflicts of interests are described (i.e. they don't get along very well; they have fought and hit each other).
	Negative attitudes towards the excluded	The excluded boy/ girl is held responsible for his/ her own exclusion due to his /her personal characteristics or previous actions (i.e. because he ate the other kid's candies, because he bothered the other kid first, because he likes to be a mean kid)

Additionally, as it was predicted some significant differences were found related to age (for the percentages of participants for each age group ascribed to each category see Figure 2).

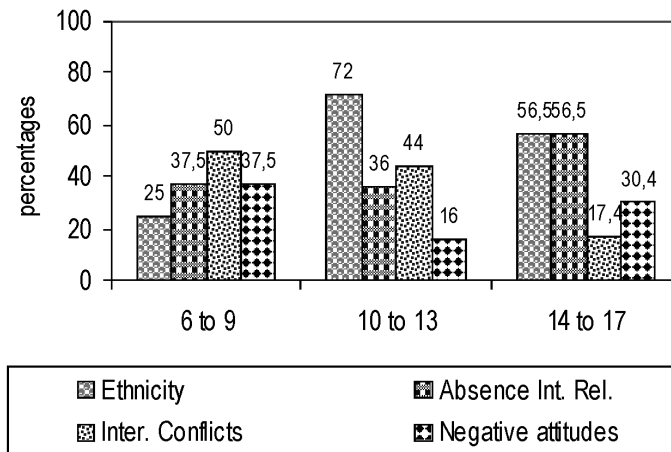


Figure 2. Age group related differences in judgements about exclusion.

The ANOVA 3 (Age groups: 6 to 9, 10 to 13, 14 to 17) X 4 (Judgments: “ethnic”, “absence of relations”, “conflict”, “negative attitudes to the excluded”) analysis detected an effect for age group in “ethnic” judgments $F(2, 69)=6.34, p < .003$, and “interpersonal conflict” $F(2, 69)=3.14, p < .049$ judgments. The DHS Tukey post hoc analyses revealed a difference between 6 to 9 age group ($M=.25, SD=.44$) and 10 to 13 age group ($M=.72, SD=.45$), $p < .002$ in the former, and a difference between 6 to 9 age group ($M=.50, SD=.51$) and 14 to 17 age group ($M=.17, SD=.38$), $p < .054$ in the latter. In other words, while “ethnic” arguments increase in the 6-9 and 10-13 years groups, those that refer “interpersonal conflicts” decrease constantly with age.

In the next section we can see some examples.

Ethnic Judgments

M 8;11 “(The kid) distributes birthday party invitations to the Spaniards only and not to the Ecuadorians. For example this child (the excluded one) could be Ecuadorian, Bolivian, or American. No matter where he’s from, he doesn’t get an invitation”.

F 13;0 “she doesn’t get a card...maybe because of her skin colour or because she’s from another country, from another, another race, because

she is not from here...she is different, she belongs to another culture or speaks different..."

Interpersonal Conflicts

F 6;3 [...] "...because they hate each other"

F 8;10 [...] "...seems like they don't get along very well because this kid has an angry face[...] Maybe they fought before or something"

M 14;2 [...] "...maybe she doesn't like them or something like that"

Although there are no statistically significant developmental differences in the remaining justifications, there are some interesting changes. For instance, we observed that arguments that refer to "absence of interpersonal relations" (M 7; 1 He never met him before. He doesn't give him one because he doesn't know him; M 16; 3 because she doesn't know her, because they're not friends, they don't go to the same class or school) tend to increase progressively with age. On the other hand, those judgments that adduce a "negative attitude towards the excluded kid" decrease between the 6-9 and 10-13 year old groups, and increase again in the group of 14-17 year olds.

F 6;3 [...] "...it is her fault because she destroyed the other kid's sand castle first"

M 14;4 [...] "...because he excludes himself, sometimes there are people who like to talk a lot and when they see him so quiet, he doesn't laugh or anything...it's like you don't feel like talking to him or something, approach him or ask him about anything, if he's always so serious and doesn't get closer or anything, he's goes by himself and all that..."

F 16;4 [...] "...because she likes to be alone"

Personal/others experiences of exclusion and nature of exclusion

Contrary to our expectations, results revealed that practically all Latin American children and adolescents expressed that they or someone they knew had gone through a situation of exclusion similar to that represented on the picture since their arrival to Spain (see Fig. 3).

Table 2. Descriptions of personal/others experiences of exclusion and nature of exclusion.

Issue	Categories	Description
	Personal/others experiences of exclusion	Responses that refers suffering or observing experiences of ethnic exclusion in Spain (identifying themselves with the situation on the picture).
Nature of exclusion	Verbal and/or physical aggression	Responses that refer having gone through situations of exclusion in the form of verbal or physical aggressions (i.e. they threw bottles to us because we are foreigners, go back to your country damn nigger, go back to your country)
	Social exclusion	This is the case of arguments that refer both implicit and explicit situations of exclusion or rejection towards the own ethnic group (i.e. they didn't want to be with him because he's from Ecuador, I don't have any friends...because I'm from Ecuador)

After analyzing their responses to determine the nature of the exclusion they had suffered, results revealed two kinds of tendencies. On the one hand, exclusion of a “social” nature was mentioned by 61.1% of the total sample, and, on the other hand, that exclusion related to “physical or verbal aggression” that was mentioned by 39.9% of the participants.

Social judgments about ethnic exclusion

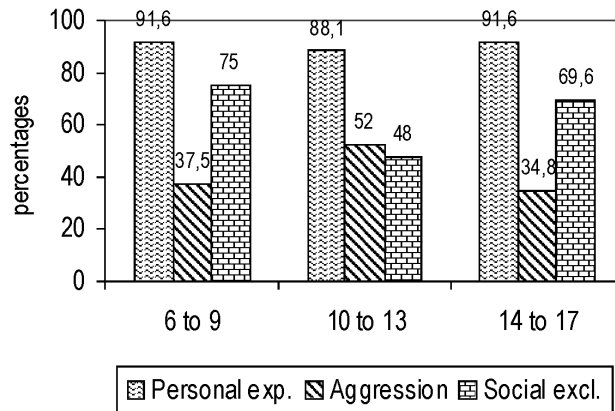


Figure 3. Age group related differences in personal and others experiences and nature of exclusion.

Despite the fact that there were no statistically significant developmental differences in any of the arguments, it is interesting to examine some examples provided by boys and girls of diverse ages.

“Social” Exclusion

F 8;5 “...they do that because they don’t want me to have friends...because I’m from Ecuador...Yes, I think they’re jealous of my handwriting because I always get good grades”

M 10;5 “They didn’t want to be with him, they didn’t even want to play or talk to him, they didn’t even want to be with him...He was from Ecuador”

F 13;0 “When I got here, the other kids didn’t want to talk to me or anything...they said I was black”

“Physical or verbal” Exclusion

F 8;7 “...last year... they were saying bad words about me and my friend...and later on they hit my friend on the leg...they messed with me first and then with my friend...They called us whores...son of a b...”

F 12;5 “...they say get out of my country or get out of here or who knows what, go back to your country, you have invaded us or something like that, then I try to stay cool but the brat goes on, and on, and on say-

ing worse things each time and I don't like that...What can I say? This is not really her country and she doesn't have to say that, nobody owns the country, maybe the king owns it, but nobody owns the whole world so you can't say that this is your country, I try to reason with her but then she starts yelling at me".

Table 3. Descriptions of causes of exclusion.

Issue	Categories	Description
Causes	Ethnicity	Exclusion is attributed to ethnic reasons. It is generally related to negative stereotypes that the majority group holds towards Latin Americans and their status of foreigners (i.e. since I'm from another country, I could start a fight in their house, because it is very hard for elder people to accept foreigners).
	Personal and cultural differentiations	Exclusion is originated by personal and cultural differences between majority and minority groups but not based on ethnic reasons, but on appearance, dress style, and behaviour (i.e. ...because we have or own way different to theirs...in the way we speak, the music, religion, in the way we dress)
	No interaction or conflict	It refers to the absence of interaction between the kids (being the new kid, be in different classes, don't know each other) and/or conflicts and disputes related to their age (they always chose those that they already know).

Causes of exclusion

It is important to recall that the interest was not only to explore the concrete exclusion experiences suffered by Latin American children and adolescents as well as their nature, but moreover to know the causes of such discrimination.

Among the main causes that were stated by the children and adolescents, as an attempt to explain why they or someone they knew had been excluded (see Table 3), was mainly the ethnicity of the person subject to exclusion (68.3%). In addition, we also observed responses that indicated

“personal and cultural differences” as the main cause of exclusion (52.9%) and causes attributed to “absence of relationship or the pre-existence of a conflict” among the characters depicted in the drawing (30.7%).

To test our predictions regarding developmental differences we conducted 3 (Age groups: 6 to 9, 10 to 13, 14 to 17) X 3 (Causes: “ethnicity”, “personal and cultural differences”, “no contact or conflict”) ANOVAs with repeated measures. The analysis detected an effect for age group in “ethnicity” $F(2, 69)=8.02, p<.001$, and “cultural and personal differences” $F(2, 69)=4.91, p<.01$. The DHS Tukey post hoc analyses in “ethnicity” causes showed developmental differences between 6 to 9 age group ($M = .42, SD=.50$) and 10 to 13 age group ($M=.72, SD=.45$), $p<.041$, and a difference between 6 to 9 age group ($M = .42, SD=.50$) and 14 to 17 age group ($M = .91, SD=.28$), $p<.001$. This revealed that the arguments related to ethnicity that explain exclusion tend to increase with age.

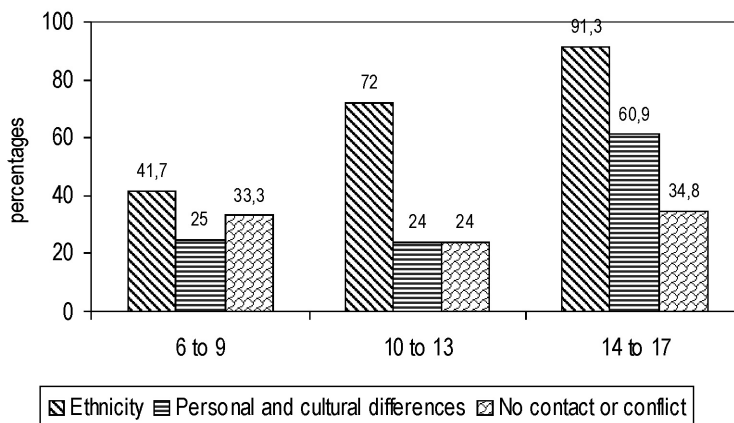


Figure 4. Age group related differences in causes of exclusion.

Conversely, DHS Tukey post hoc analyses in “cultural and personal differences” revealed a difference between 6 to 9 age group ($M = .25, SD=.44$) and 14 to 17 age group ($M = .61, SD=.49$), $p<.025$, and a difference between 10 to 13 age group ($M = .24, SD=.43$) and 14 to 17 age group ($M = .61, SD=.49$), $p<.019$.

Ethnicity

M 12;11 "...because they don't like so many immigrants"

F 12;4 "[...] because there are a lot of people who just came here to steal or sell drugs, and because of them we all have to pay the same price, that's why some people think we are all the same just because we come from the same place."

Personal and cultural differentiations

M 8;9 "[...] she doesn't like my face...weird...weird means ugly, a bit ugly. I think my face is a little ugly."

M 15;7 "because the way we are is different from theirs...the way we speak, they speak in a different way...In the kind of music they listen to".

Table 4. Descriptions of solutions to exclusion.

Issue	Categories	Description
Solutions	Out-group individual actions	These responses allude the active participation of the majority group so a positive change towards the minority group will take place (i.e. the Spaniards should try to change the way they act with the foreigners; they should be more tolerant)
	In-group individual actions	It refers specific actions on the part of the minority group so the majority group would change its stereotypes and negative prejudices towards the former (i.e. we shouldn't say bad words so they can forgive us...try to understand them)
	Social actions	Includes community interventions in social change processes based on principles of equality (i.e. the school should include a course of equality, put like a sign to remind us that we are all equal, educate for equality).

Solutions to exclusion

The type of actions mentioned by Latin American children in order to solve exclusion situations followed diverse directions. Some declared the

need for involving the majority group (48.2%), those that refer to their own group mobilization (37.7%), and those that refer the intervention of the community (14.1%) (see Table 4).

The ANOVA 3 (Age groups: 6 to 9, 10 to 13, 14 to 17) X 3 (Solutions: "out-group individual actions", "in-group individual actions", "social actions") analysis detected an effect for age group in "out-group individual actions" $F(2, 69)=5.14, p<.008$, and "in-group individual actions" $F(2, 69)=4.18, p<.019$. The DHS Tukey post hoc analyses in "out-group individual actions" solutions exposed developmental differences between 6 to 9 age group ($M=.29, SD=.46$) and 10 to 13 age group ($M=.72, SD=.45$), $p<.007$.

The DHS Tukey post hoc analyses in "in-group individual actions" revealed developmental differences between 6 to 9 age group ($M=.58, SD=.50$) and 10 to 13 age group ($M=.20, SD=.40$), $p<.015$.

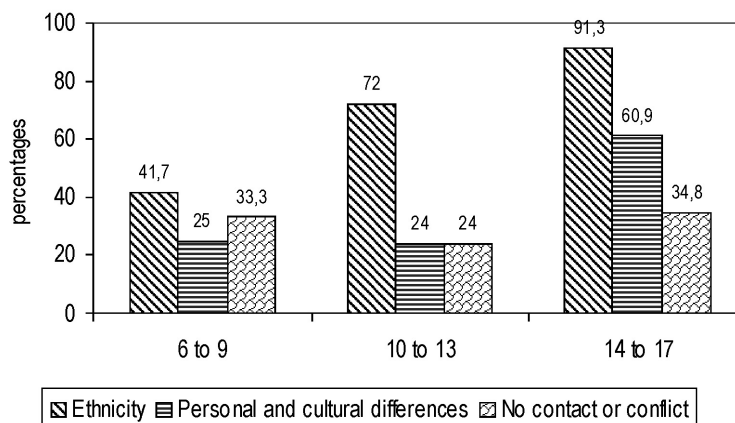


Figure 5. Age group related differences in solutions towards exclusion.

Out-group individual actions

F 10;7 "the parents of the Spanish kids who do such a thing (to exclude) should tell them that your country of origin is not important, what really matters is the way you are and not the place where you come from"

In-group individual actions

F 8;10 “ (We should) help the Spanish kids, bring them little presents so they can wish to be your friends”

F 17;0 “Foreigners should be more open, they should not stay with their own group or gang only; honestly, there are more and more gangs of foreigners each time”.

Social Actions

M 16;5 “ (They) should educate children while they are still little, because if they are educated in a way that can understand that we all are equal....that everyone, regardless of their origin or their skin colour is equal...in other words, if everyone was able to change its (electronic) chip, there will be no racism or anything like that.”

Discussion

The general purpose of the present study was to examine the development of minority children and adolescents’ judgments and justifications about social exclusion and discrimination.

As it was previously mentioned, developmental studies related to social exclusion and discrimination with minority groups are very limited. For that matter, the present study offers a very significant alternative since to the present moment there was no research in Spain associated to these aspects and, particularly, oriented in studying children and adolescents of Latin American background. As we initially stated, Spain, far from being considered as a culturally interethnic country like some other European nations (i.e. France, Holland, and United Kingdom, among others), has just in the last 15 years begun to host immigrants from all around the world. This situation has provoked the growth of the foreign population from 2.28% in the year 2000 to near 10% nowadays. In addition, the Latin American population represents the largest minority group among those that have settled in Spain. Therefore, this study has a very important relevance.

In addition to the interest in studying Latin American people living in Spain, the type of measure used in this study, the semi-structured inter-

view format as well as the drawing used, have proven to be reliable tools that have allowed us to explore aspects related to ethnic exclusion which are closer to the Latin American children's social reality. These topics are being deeply debated among notable researchers at the present moment. (Aboud, 2003; Cameron, Alvarez, Ruble, & Fulgini, 2001; Margie, Killen, Sinno, & McGlothlin, 2005; McGlothlin, Killen, & Edmonds, 2005, among others).

Overall, the findings support the general predictions. As the results have demonstrated, the first prediction was confirmed. All the participants have been capable of spontaneously recognizing the exclusion situation depicted in the picture. These results justify those researchers who have demonstrated how young minority group children are competent in differentiating their ethnic attitudes (Asher & Allen, 1969; Brand, Ruiz & Padilla, 1974; Cantor, 1972; Clark, Hocevar & Dembo, 1980; Clark & Clark, 1947, Gomez, 2005; Jahoda, Thompson, & Bhatt, 1972; Milner, 1973; Vaughan, 1987; Porter, 1971). Furthermore, as it was claimed, there were developmental differences in children and adolescents' arguments to justify the exclusion depicted in the drawing. It was observed how in the 6-9-year old group just a few participants indicated physical traits or country of origin of the person being excluded as the main reason for such exclusion. At this stage, the judgments are focused around interpersonal situations. That is, dual situations that don't have anything to do with the origin of the person subject of exclusion. For example, according to this perspective, exclusion is either the result of the absence of interpersonal relations (they're not friends because they don't know each other) or the result of a interpersonal conflict between the characters (he didn't give him an invitation because he hates him, he doesn't like him). Some very interesting types of judgments, not only because of their content but also from a developmental perspective, were those that we have called "negative attitudes toward the excluded". With respect to these judgments Latin American children tend to blame the excluded child for his own exclusion. That is, the excluded must have done something wrong that justifies why he is not being invited to the party. For instance, in the case of this group of age (6-9 year olds) children used arguments such as [She is not being invited because] "she eats all the candies", [...] "she is poor", "she is dumb and ugly". Some children even made up a story saying something like "She is going to give her an invitation", or "...she really wants to invite her, but she doesn't have any invitations left, she doesn't have invitations anymore". These responses coincide with those found in some other studies such as

Helm's (1995) and Phinney's (1990) in which it seems that children are passively developing stereotypes as well as negative thoughts and attitudes towards their own minority group. Thus, for example, they try to justify racist events in such a way that ethnic factors are not involved or that discriminatory attitudes are the result of simple misunderstandings. On the other hand, negative attitudes towards the excluded on the part of Latin American preadolescents and adolescents is reasonably different to those revealed by young children because they imply, to certain extent, self-exclusion behaviours (he doesn't want to belong, he is by himself, he doesn't talk to anyone...it's like you don't want to talk to him). These kind of answers could be seen as negative attitudes towards the own group or, as Verkuyten et al. (1997) indicate, it could be that the respondents omit the exclusion situation by blaming the excluded himself (p. 109).

As it was argued, the findings of the present study demonstrated that from 10 years of age and on, most Latin American children and adolescents judge the exclusion situation more as the result of an inter-ethnic circumstance than a personal one. Indeed, 72% of preadolescents from the 10-13year old group argues ethnic motives as the reason for exclusion (her skin colour is different, he is from another country, maybe he is from Ecuador, etc.). The adolescents group mentioned in the same proportion (56.5%) the category "ethnicity" and the one related with the "absence of interpersonal relations". Contrary to younger participants, when adolescents argue the absence of interpersonal relations, they clearly express that they don't have any relationship because they belong to different ethnic groups. For that reason, ethnic justifications are present in this form of answers also (because he is an immigrant, I guess [he rejects him] because he doesn't know him and [he] comes from a different country). The nature of this kind of responses on the part of adolescents is interesting because illustrate the tendency of Latin American adolescents to put distance between themselves and the majority group. Quintana (1988) describes this in his model as level 3 as an ethnic-group consciousness which is a second form of cognitive development. According to Quintana, this takes place during the adolescent years and involves the ability to assume a group perspective (Selman, 1980). That is, adolescents tend to delimitate in-group/out-group relationship due to their capacity to assume a group perspective. Therefore, the group is perceived as a social whole with a very strong bonding that usually results in the assumption of group rules as the effect of peer pressure. Consequently, adolescents tend to exaggerate the amount of consistency and affinities within groups and exag-

gerate the level of difference between in-group and out-group members (Quintana, 1998, p. 40).

The second prediction claimed that Latin American children and adolescents would not feel themselves excessively discriminated on the part of the Spanish group. The results obtained were contrary to our expectations. It's been surprising the fact that virtually all Latin American children and adolescents mentioned that either they or someone they knew had been victims of exclusion and/or discrimination during the time they had lived in Spain. This finding is extremely interesting because, as Brown and Bigler (2005) have recently indicated, there are no developmental studies that explore how and when children perceive themselves and the others as targets of discrimination (p. 533). As was previously mentioned, because of the cultural proximity between Spaniards and Latin Americans, we did not expect such a high level of exclusion and discrimination experience. Also, a significant number of participants referred to having suffered some kind of physical or verbal aggression (41.4%), in addition to more subtle or hidden ways of discrimination (they put me down, they don't talk to me) (61.1%). The discrimination contexts mentioned by the participants are various (at school, in the street, in the neighbourhood, etc.). For their part, the "aggressors" always belonged to the out-group, from adults to their peers. Similar results have been reported by some authors (Simon, Murry, McLoyd, Lin, Kutrona, & Conger, 2002; Quintana, 1998). Moreover, in a recent research with Spanish and Latin American children (Enesco, Navarro, Paradela, & Guerrero, 2005) about stereotypes and beliefs about different ethnic groups living in Spain, we found, as expected, that Latin American children attributed a highly positive perception of Spaniards and a rather negative perception of their in-group. But we did not expect Spanish children to attribute a rather negative perception to the Latin Americans (after the Gypsies).

As it was supposed, ethnic judgments were the most mentioned ones since during the interview explicitly present was the argument that the exclusion situation depicted on the picture was motivated by ethnic reasons. However, as we also hypothesized, these types of arguments were scarcely present in the 6-9 group of age, even if a small increase in their appearance was observed. In fact, despite the fact that in different moments of the interview it was obvious that the presence of exclusion was due to ethnic reasons, children from the 6-9 year old group showed certain amount of resistance to consider the exclusion situation as being the result of a conflict between ethnically different and subordinated groups.

They kept attributing the exclusion situation to interpersonal relationships of a dichotomy character. On the other hand, pre and adolescents made clearly explicit that their own experiences of discrimination were generally encouraged by their membership in a minority group different from the majority one. Besides the fact that the preadolescent years mark the beginning of ethnic awareness, as pointed out by Quintana (1998), it is from these years onward when an evident knowledge of the stereotypes towards the own group appears, ([The others] think that we are thieves, that we are mean, drug dealers). It is here where they start to use terms such as “racist”, “immigrant”, “foreigner”. In addition to ethnic membership, cultural and personal differences are also mentioned as causes of their own discrimination experiences (because we speak different...the music we listen to is different). Overall, these findings are in accordance to those of the socio-cognitive perspective because both demonstrate that it is not until preadolescence when children, due to their enhanced cognitive abilities, are capable of making social judgments in terms of intergroup attributes (Aboud, 1988). Furthermore, our results support previous research which has found that children belonging to minority groups perceive discrimination more than those of majority groups (Romero & Roberts, 1998; Ruck & Wortley, 2002; Verkuyten & Thies, 2001, among others).

The third prediction proposed was related to the developmental trends in connection to the solutions given by the Latin American children and adolescents about ethnic exclusion. The findings supported this assumption. As it was demonstrated, children from the 6-9 age group provided solutions that were focused on individual actions but generally on the part of the minority group members (we shouldn't say bad words, we should understand them [the Spaniards]). Once again, the idea of blaming or imputing the excluded for his/her exclusion, that was previously mentioned, reappears. In this sense, the solution to be accepted or welcomed depends on the excluded himself/herself. However, as children grow up, the responsibility to solve the discrimination problem is attributed to the out-group. Explicitly expressed is the urgent need to fight racist behaviours or to increase tolerance particularly during the teenage years. At the same time, the out-group efforts would be enhanced by specific actions on the part of the diverse social sectors represented in the community.

In summary, the general findings of the present study are in agreement with the socio-cognitive approach (Aboud, 1988, 2002, 2005; Quintana, 1998). For example, this research has demonstrated that younger children are still not aware of the differences among ethnic groups, they don't see

inter-group conflicts, so that, their solutions are, as well as their judgments and causes, individualized. From this perspective relationships are built among people and not among groups. For their part, pre adolescents and adolescents seemed to have developed the capacity understand the ethnic discrimination as a result of conflicts among groups as well as the capacity to use social comparison information in their judgments. However, we cannot limit the development of social judgments about social exclusion and discrimination for ethnic reasons to cognitive factors only. It is obvious that, as some researchers have recently stated (Aboud, 2005, Brown & Bigler, 2005; Pillen & McKown, 2005), some other factors such as affective or contextual ones cannot be left out of any attempt to explain how social judgments develop. In regards to social context, some studies that have been developed on the basis of social identity developmental theory (Nesdale, 2001, 2004), are contributing with interesting data that is helping us to better understand intergroup relations between majority and minority groups.

Future studies will have to deepen on the connections among the factors previously mentioned. In this sense, the present social circumstances in Spain provide the proper conditions for such studies.

Lastly, it has been mentioned that a clear impact of massive migrations, and because of that a greater ethnic diversity in some societies, is that there are schools which are not free of intergroup tensions and conflicts on the part of minority and majority group members. It is not in vain that policy makers are increasingly interested in promoting socio-educational policies that help combat prejudiced and discriminatory behaviours and, at the same time, can foster the acquisition of skills related to social justice and tolerance. Thus, for instance, just recently, the Council of Europe by means of the European Commission against Racism and Intolerance has published a General Policy Recommendation on combating racism and racial discrimination in and through school education (2007). In the case of Spain, the Act of Education (LOE 2/2006) sets among its principal objectives for compulsory primary and secondary education, the need to prepare students for an active role in citizenship and the respect for Human Rights, emphasizing the development of competences such as accepting cultural differences and conflict resolution, among others.

Integrating research, theory, and practice on inter-group relation is an increasing concern that has of late been expressed by some authors (Cameron & Rutland, 2006; Killen, McKnow, 2005; Nagda, Tropp, Paluck, 2006; Tropp & Bianchi, 2006, among others). Collaborative work between

scholarly and applied approaches should allow us to promote social inclusion as a mean to better understand and reduce inter-group prejudice.

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Endnotes

1. This study is part of some other research projects that have been presented previously to obtain the diploma of research sufficiency skills as the Universidad Autónoma de Madrid. Such projects were carried out by Lila Gómez (2005) and Sheila Troncoso (2006) and directed by the former. Data was recruited in 2003 and 2004. The measures used were created by Lila Gómez.

2. After the spontaneous recognition of the exclusion situation shown on the picture, a story about an imaginary birthday party was told to the participants. This story explicitly described a situation where a kid was being left out a dirthday party for ethnic reasons. After this, we kept deeply exploring the participans' judgments and justifications provided. If a child didn't mention an argument based on ethnic reason, the interviewer explicitly provided a suggesion on thin line.

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Switching from a National Identity to a European one

*Christine Roland-Lévy**

Abstract

This study aims at showing how, from individual attitudes, a new representation is gradually built and progressively it is shared by many, thus becoming a common social representation. It seeks to do so by analyzing attitudes and social representations of a new social object, first in January and then in February 2002 when the euro became the common currency in France as well as in 11 other countries also belonging to the euro-zone; at this time, the French former national currency could still be used in parallel to the euro; and second, one year later, once the euro was the single currency that should be used in all the various financial transactions occurring in France.

Keywords: Enational identity, European identity, territorial belonging, attitudes and social representations, national currency, European currency.

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Introduction

What do people understand about their economic environment? Even though most of us are 'naive' participants (Albou, 1984), we are familiar with some aspects of the political world and economic environment; we possess some knowledge and understanding of how they work. What affect could a change in the economic environment have on people? Through the example of the switch to the euro, which has affected the social, economic and political spheres of the euro-countries, this paper aims at showing how the social representation of a new object is be constructed, and how both social representation and attitudes can affect the feeling of belonging. This paper analyses the effect of the introduction of the eurocurrency on participants' perception of Europe over a period of one year.

It is assumed that the feeling of belonging to Europe, along with the impression of being European, might change with the simultaneous issuance of the common European currency in the twelve countries of the euro-zone. It is hypothesized that this perception varies according to several variables, related both to the participants themselves, to their attitude towards the new currency as well as to their degree of familiarity both with the euro and with Europe.

The paper compares attitudes towards the euro and its social representations in January 15th to February 15th 2002 when the euro first became the single currency of the European Monetary Union, and one year later, from January 15th to the end of February 2003. Teenagers (14- to 18-year-olds) were interviewed during these two distinct periods. Data concerning the influence of the euro on the participants' potential feeling of belonging to Europe are also discussed.

Social representation and attitudes

Social representation expresses the values, norms and attitudes of social groups. The concept is well suited to analyze how a new object, the euro, was perceived once it was introduced as the new currency in the twelve countries of the euro-zone and after one year of practical use of this

currency. As the representation of a social object is the description of how it is perceived, there should be a strong relationship between the social representation of this object and the participant's attitude towards it. This study aims at showing how, from individual attitudes, a new representation is gradually built and progressively it is shared by many, thus becoming a common social representation.

Attitudes tend to influence how one will act towards a specific object, such as the euro, or towards a new situation, such as the switch from a national currency to a new currency. Attitudes are known to be composed of three main structural characteristics: (i) a cognitive one linked to the perception and representation of that object or situation; (ii) an affective dimension related to the emotional aspect(s) in terms of attraction or repulsion towards the object or situation; (iii) an operational characteristic described as a predisposition towards action.

The comparison of samples provides interesting information, based on a description of attitudes and their evolution, and on how a new social representation is being constructed. In studying the general attitude towards the euro in our population, our goal is, on the one hand, to examine the relations between attitudes and social representations, and, on the other, to investigate potential links between them and national (e.g. French identity) versus supranational identity (e.g. European identity).

Initially conceived by Durkheim (1898) at the end of the nineteenth century, the concept of social representation was revived by Moscovici (1961) in his study of psychoanalysis in French society. Social representations are social forms of knowledge, free from scientific constraints and formalized in figurative schemata. They can serve as a basis for perceiving and interpreting reality, as well as for channeling people's behavior. Furthermore, they are related to the social characteristics of people. Empirical evidence shows that, most of the time it is possible to distinguish different social representations corresponding to particular groups, and/or at specific epochs, when specific changes occur. The initial formulation of Moscovici focuses on the genesis of social representations through two major processes: objectification and anchoring. Objectification translates some of the characteristics of an unfamiliar object, such as a new currency, into the terms of our reality. In this process, the individual selects some specific information of that unfamiliar object (this stage is called "selection of information"); with this selected information, the participant reorganizes his/her knowledge ("de-contextualizing"); and is then ready to reconstruct this unfamiliar object into something more familiar (this stage involves a

“reconstruction” into a new schema built with certain specific dimensions.)

Anchoring includes two different aspects: a cognitive aspect according to which the object is integrated into the previous thoughts of individuals; the second aspect is a social one, having to do with a social group giving meaning to a representation. Thus, interpretations of a particular object can differ from one group to another.

Since Moscovici's early work (1961), different theoretical approaches have been developed. One of them considers the cognitive organization of social representations in terms of different kinds of elements: central versus peripheral ones. According to Abric's structural approach (1984), social representations are composed of a central nucleus surrounded by peripheral elements. This theoretical approach, based on a hierarchical structure of representation, was completed by Flament (1981), and as such, deals with the idea of a specific internal structure of the representation. More recently, researchers have been interested in the problem of change in social representations. Guimelli (1989), through a survey about the social representations of hunting, showed that depending on the different social practices of hunters, ecological or traditional practices, it was possible to observe significant differences in the social representations of the two contrasted groups. Flament (1994) and Abric (1994) also argued that social practices were a major factor in the determination of representations in a changing process.

In order to study social representations, various tools can be applied. In this paper, the technique used to identify the elements which are mostly shared in the social representation of a new currency, is an adaptation of Guimelli's technique of selection of blocks of items forming the core of the representation.

Territorial belonging

One of the purposes of this project was also to explore identity: national identity compared to European identity in terms of feeling of belonging; this is linked to the fact that since the beginning of 2002, with the introduction of a 'single' currency in the euro-zone, Europe has reached a new concrete stage in the process of European integration.

In what way can currencies contribute to a sense of identity? Helleiner

(1998) initially studied this question. Based on insights of 19th- and early 20th-century observers, the author suggests that national currencies might foster national identities. He describes five ways in which the currency can stimulate the feeling of national identity. According to his studies, first the national currency can provide a vehicle for nationalist imagery that constructs a sense of collective tradition and memory; it can also act as a common medium of social communication that may facilitate the 'communicative efficiency' of members of the nation and encourage similar frameworks of thought. By creating collective monetary experiences, it can bolster the feeling of membership in a national community of shared fate. It also contributes, according to Helleiner, to a sense of popular sovereignty if the national currency is managed in a way that corresponds to the people's wishes; and it can strengthen the kind of quasi-religious faith that is associated with nationalism, especially when the currency is managed in a stable manner.

Recent research has addressed issues of monetary integration focusing on the euro. Müller-Peters et al. (1998) demonstrated that, in most countries, attitudes towards the euro are positively correlated with attitudes towards the European Union. Pepermans and Verleye (1998) showed that the latter are also linked to perceptions of national features. The results obtained by van Everdingen and van Raaij (1998) also specify that national identity has indirect effects on attitudes, by influencing expectations about the euro. Meier and Kirchler (1998) reported that opponents, indifferent respondents, and supporters of the euro, are distinguished on the basis of social representations, which may vary in content and structure. More importantly, the difference between opponents and supporters gravitates around preoccupations of national identity, this being directly linked to the feeling of belonging.

In previous studies it appears clearly that, in France, the sense of belonging, which used to be rooted in social classes, has recently been evolving towards a feeling of territorial belonging (Dirm, 1990). In a specific analysis of the European Values Survey, Bréchon (2000) states that, in 1999, the feeling of belonging seemed to be evolving from social belonging to territorial belonging, national and/or infra national (83% of the respondents selected 'town, region, or country'), as well as towards a supra-national (15% selected 'Europe or the world') feeling of belonging. The individual now seems to be faced with the choice of having either a dominant feeling of local territorial belonging, and/or a more global feeling of belonging. Answers to the question concerning geographical belonging

indicate that, as Europe comes into being, its population's potential spatial references are broadening (compared to previous European Values Survey) on account of the geographical mobility induced by professional factors and the growing popularity of traveling abroad. Nevertheless, in 1999, results showed that only 4% of the French interviewees selected Europe as their personal choice in terms of territorial belonging.

Using these recent analyses, completed with specific questions posed to the participants in our samples, the sense of national identity (regional and national) and the feeling of belonging to Europe and/or to the world (supranational), as they appear with the introduction of the euro and one year later, is explored in this paper.

This paper combines various theoretical ideas: an exploration of attitudes to and representations of the euro, both with males and females teenagers. A specific study of the feeling of national identity (feeling of belonging to one's own country) compared to the feeling of being part of Europe, in relation with knowledge about the European Union and about the European Monetary Union, is also carried out.

Methodology

As already stated, this paper aims at analyzing attitudes and social representations of a new social object, first in January and February 2002 when the euro became the common currency in France as well as in 11 other countries also belonging to the euro-zone; at this time, the French former national currency could still be used in parallel to the euro; and second, one year later, once the euro was the single currency that should be used in all the various financial transactions occurring in France. It was hypothesized that, at the arrival of the euro and after one year, with the increased practical use of the new currency, differences in terms of social representations and attitudes, would be found. It is also assumed that the use of the euro is likely to have an impact on the feeling of belonging to Europe.

A questionnaire was designed to investigate attitudes towards the national currency (French francs) and towards the euro, to study the social representation of the two currencies, and to explore the feeling of territorial belonging. In the first part of the questionnaire, participants' represen-

tations relating to the two currencies were considered. A series of attitude scales were introduced to measure the attitudes towards the euro and Europe. In both studies, during both phases, participants were also asked to identify the countries belonging to the European Monetary Union. Moreover, they were asked if they felt European; they also had to decide where they belong most, by selecting two choices among the five items proposed in the European Values Survey (EVS), thus allowing for the approach of feeling territorial belonging.

Population and samples for each phase of the two studies

Two samples of teenagers were studied during two periods.

In the first phase, 205 French teenage participants from varied social backgrounds and with a large variety of types and levels of education, were interviewed during this phase, also using a face-to-face questionnaire, half in the Paris area, the other half in the South West of France; this sample was composed of 107 teenage girls and 98 boys (13- to 18-year olds, mean age 14.5). All the teenagers were interviewed in January and February 2002.

In the second phase, 372 French teenage participants from different social backgrounds were selected, a third of the sample was selected in the Paris area while the other two thirds were selected in the South West of France; this sample was composed of an equal number of teenage girls and boys (13- to 18-year- olds, mean age 15.5). All these teenagers were interviewed in January and February 2003.

Material and procedures

With an adaptation of Guimelli's methodological tool, which involves a selection of provided items (Guimelli, 1989), participants' representations of the euro were tested in both phases. A list of 25 items was presented to the participants; this list was constructed from the words, which had

been often spontaneously produced in an exploratory phase of the study, via a task of free association. This production of terms linked, on the one hand to the national currency, and on the other hand to the euro, was produced by a sample of 50 teenagers, age 14. In this exploratory phase, participants' evocation of terms was analyzed according to Abric's central core hypothesis (1984); Vergés' methodological tools were used to investigate the composition of the social representation (Vergés, 1992), both in terms of frequency and of rank of appearance of the evoked terms. According to this theory, most participants express some of the terms belonging to the shared nucleus; this implies that these will be spontaneously produced by many participants (high frequency); as these terms are important to the group, they will also come to mind early (referred to as low rank). Conversely, the periphery, which takes into account individuality, categorizes terms which are not shared by many and which therefore have a low frequency; the peripheral elements usually appear later and have a higher rank.

On the basis of the exploratory study (Roland-Lévy, 2002), based on spontaneous free associations of terms, it was possible to identify terms, which seemed to be most characteristic of how the participants interviewed might perceive the two currencies. With this task of production of terms, Europe and money appeared to be the elements most often produced for the euro. Other terms appeared in the near periphery; for example, the notion of union which was produced with a low rank. Conversion was also often spontaneously evoked. Quite a few participants associated the euro with the dollar. The fact that life will be easier with a single currency and that it will facilitate international exchange also appeared in the periphery of the representation of the euro. Even though the franc and the euro appear to symbolize different objects, they are clearly linked to the concept of money.

The terms most often spontaneously produced to describe both currencies were used to construct the list of 25 terms to be proposed in the two phases of each study, in order to test the centrality of the above given terms. From the provided list of items, participants had to select the 5 items that, according to them, best characterized the euro (scored + 2), and the 5 that were least characteristic of the euro (scored - 2) then, among the remaining terms, the 5 items that best characterized the euro (scored + 1), and the 5 that were least characteristic of the euro (scored - 1); all remaining items were considered neutral (the score is 0). The same procedure, based on the same list of 25 terms, was also conducted

for the French franc. Participants' representations of the two currencies were analyzed, in both phases, on the basis of the similitude between items and by way of an analysis of the connections among them (cf. Flament, 1981; Vergés, 1992). The goal of this technique is to explore, not only the terms which are most often selected, but also to calculate how terms are related to each other, thus showing the internal structure of the representation. With this technique involving terms chosen as being most characteristic or least characteristic of the given object (here, the euro and/or the French franc), one can also analyze the connections between terms ("connexity") distinguishing the terms which are often selected in pairs, thus strongly linked together, via a score of similarity, and those which are not connected.

In both studies, participants were then asked to rank a series of eleven Likert-type attitude-scales related to the new currency. After conducting a factor analysis seven scales were kept, as they proved to be relatively reliable ($\alpha = .6590$.) When the scales were combined, they allowed an overall attitudinal score to be determined, a score thus defining the general tendency -pro-euro (from 3 to 5), anti-euro (from 0 to 2) or neutral- of the attitudes in the samples towards the euro.

In order to test whether the participants felt more French than European, or the other way around, or both French and European, a specific direct open-ended question was asked: 'Do you feel European? Explain how and why'. Participants were also asked to select among the five items proposed in the EVS, their first and second best choices in terms of territorial belonging by answering the question 'Where do you feel you belong most?' selecting among the followings: town, region, country, Europe and/or world.

A content analysis was carried out to categorize the different types of responses. In addition, a list of 20 countries was included – the 12 countries of the European Monetary Union, plus all the other European countries, as well as other countries of the world (e.g. Israel, Turkey, etc.) – in order to test the participants' knowledge of and familiarity with Europe. Participants had to identify, by selecting them, first the countries belonging to the euro-zone, second the new countries that will be joining the euro-zone in the near future.

Personal characteristics (age, gender, schooling, profession, etc.) were also recorded. It took about twenty minutes for participants to complete the different steps of the questionnaire.

Results

Representations, attitudes and feelings of belonging were compared for each phase. The results obtained are presented for each phase of the study, respectively. Since the samples were chosen to provide participants from diverse backgrounds (and not to be representative of the general population in France), the results obtained are to be taken as an indication of a tendency at the time of both studies, and should not be generalized to the French population.

Genesis of a social representation

When comparing the representation obtained as the euro was first introduced and one year later, we have to bear in mind the fact that an adaptation of Guimelli's methodological tool was used during each phase and for both studies: participants were presented a list of 25 items and they had to select from this list the terms best/least representative of the franc and the euro.

Investigation of teenagers' social representation

When analyzing the representations obtained in 2002 and one year later, some overall results appear.

In 2002, soon after the euro was introduced, when looking at the terms which were most often chosen by the teenagers, as closely linked to the euro, from the 25 provided terms, the euro is perceived as the symbol of Europe; it was selected by 69% of the participants as most representative of the euro. The group of 205 teenagers tends to have a shared representation of the euro, focused around four key notions: Europe, money, novelty and union. The last two notions were, a year before, in the periphery instead of in the centre of the representation (cf. Table 1 which shows first for 2002, second for 2003, on the one hand, the terms selected as 'most representative the euro', and, on the other, the terms selected as 'least well representing the euro', all terms being chosen by the participants from the same initial list of terms.)

Table 1 Percentage of terms selected by teenagers as 'most characteristic of the euro', or as 'least characterizing' it.

Most characteristic	2002	2003	Least characterizing	2002	2003
Europe	69%	49%	Dollar	50%	40%
Union	52%	36%	Complex	45%	36%
New, novelty	41%	35%	Easiness, easy	38%	27%
Notes, coins	38%	19%	France	30%	31%
Money	37%	26%	Conversion	28%	15%

When studying the main items selected as symbols contrasting with the euro, the dollar was chosen by 50% of the participants as not representing the euro; just after came the idea of complexity, which was selected as not linked to the euro by 45% of the sample - whereas it was a central item one year earlier (Roland-Lévy, 2002). On the other hand, the impression of easiness was also chosen by a large proportion of the group as not indicative of the euro (38%). This implies that, for them, the euro is not related to the dollar; it is not complex, or easy.

Concerning the shared representation of the former national currency, it is perceived by the teenage respondents as the national currency, which symbolizes France.

When comparing the results obtained between the two years, 2002 and 2003, very few differences occur, as if the new representation was just crystallizing. In the second phase, when looking at the terms which were most often chosen by the teenagers, as closely linked to the euro, the euro is still obviously perceived as the currency used in Europe. In 2003, the representation of the euro which is shared by the group of teenagers (372 participants) focuses around the idea that the euro is money, composed of new notes and coins, representing a symbol of a unified Europe; it is clearly not perceived as similar to the dollar. Even though it is still not linked to complexity - it is not evidently related to money conversion - it is not a sign of easiness; the euro does not yet characterize France (cf. Table 1.)

Teenagers' Attitudes towards the euro

Teenagers' attitudes were measured via the average score obtained through the 7 Likert scales¹ put together. The 205 teenagers interviewed while the euro was first being used as the new currency, tend to have a rather neutral overall attitude towards the euro ($M = 2.7$)² with a small dispersion of answers ($SD = .74$), implying that participants give answers which are not so scattered.

When comparing the attitudes towards the euro between the two phases, the tendency is to have a slightly more positive ($M = 3.2$) attitude in 2003 than in 2002, as if the general attitude towards the euro was just building up along with the practice of a new currency.

National or Supranational Feeling of Belonging

If we examine the question of the feeling of territorial belonging, during both periods, it is clear that with the introduction of the euro, the responses obtained are extremely different than those obtained in the previous years, before the euro. We should bear in mind that, in 1999, results from the European Values Survey showed that only 4% of the young participants (18 to 25 year olds) selected Europe, and/or the world, as their personal first choice in terms of belonging. When the question 'Do you feel European?' was asked during a previous phase of a similar study in 2001, the tendency of a great majority of young participants (85%) was to agree that, even though they agreed that 'France belongs to Europe' they definitely felt 'French and not European'.

When analyzing the answers to the same open-ended question along with the question related to 'Where do you feel you belong most?' in which two possible answers were to be selected among the followings: town, region, country, Europe and/or world, once the euro was introduced, at the beginning of the year 2002, the answers clearly changed. At that time, a large majority of the teenagers interviewed (77.28%) replied that they were European, since they use the same currency as 'so many' other European countries and people. For the teenage boys and girls of our sample, the concrete introduction and use of the new currency seems to have undeniably influenced their perception of being not only French but also European. No significant difference between boys and girls was found. It

seems that with a single currency in the 12 countries of the euro-zone, both national identity and supranational identity can now co-exist, whereas before, the answers inferred that these two identities could not be activated simultaneously: it had to be one or the other.

After one year of concrete use of the euro, as the single and unique currency in France, 65% of the teenage participants interviewed in 2003, responded that they belong to Europe and they are European. A significant difference (at $p=.05$) between the answers of boys (51% say they feel European) and of girls (79% say they feel European) was found.

This awareness of being European does not imply that the participants have abandoned their national identity or that their feeling of being French has decreased; it only shows that they now also have a feeling of territorial belonging, which includes Europe. In other words, both national identity and supranational identity can now co-exist, whereas, a year earlier, the answers inferred that these two identities could not be activated simultaneously: it had to be one or the other.

As mentioned, a list of 20 countries was included among the questions dealing with Europe. Participants had to circle the 12 countries that belong to the euro-zone. In fact, the average number of countries regarded as being part of the European Monetary Union is ten per participant. There are no difference between the answers for boys and girls. If we classify the countries selected by the 205 teenagers, the results obtained show increasing misinformation, which seems to be directly related to the distance between the countries mentioned and our sample's country of origin: the closer the other countries seem to be, the better the participant's knowledge. In this continuum, France is identified by all the teenagers as belonging to the euro-zone (205); besides France, the first set contains countries sharing common borders with France: we have answers ranging from 100% to 94.6% for Spain (204), Italy (198), Germany (196), and Belgium (194). The second set of countries, identified as belonging to the euro-zone, obtained nearly 90% of answers with the Netherlands, Luxembourg and Portugal. We then have two countries which are a little farther away from the French borders, both of which are mentioned more than 70% answers: Greece and Austria. The fourth group is composed of northern countries, including *Denmark*³ (52.8%), which precedes Finland, selected by 60% of the participants, and Ireland which was selected by 48%. Then, three countries, belonging to Europe but not yet to the euro-zone were selected: *Norway* by 31.7%, *Sweden* by 24.8%, and the *UK* by 10.7% of the participants. The last set of countries, identified by few participants

as belonging to the European Monetary Union, involves two countries which are applying to join the European Union: *Turkey* which was selected 9.3% of times and *Romania* which was chosen by 6.8% of the participants. Finally, very few participants chose the remaining countries, outside of Europe.

The most remarkable result which appears here is that the French teenagers consulted in this survey are not well informed about the 12 countries belonging to the euro-zone; they are not even certain of the countries belonging to Europe as some participants even selected countries outside the European Union.

Conclusion

The construction of the social representation of a new object was studied in parallel with the social representation of a well-known social object, the (former) national currency. During the phase of transition between the French franc and the euro, interviewed participants have selected information related to the French franc in order to reorganize their knowledge about the new currency (“de-contextualizing”); the representation of the euro was focused around the idea of a shared symbol of Europe, and they shared representation of the euro fixed around three key notions Europe, novelty and community. This representation goes along with a positive attitude towards the euro. In the second phase, the representation of the euro tends to terminate the process of objectification by reconstructing the initially unfamiliar object into something more familiar. The terms selected now clearly describe the euro as the new currency for the European Community. In 2003, the overall attitude is globally slightly more positive in 2003 than in 2002, as if their general attitude towards the euro was building up along with the practice of a new currency. An interesting comparison with adults can be found in Roland-Lévy (2004).

As predicted by the anchoring processes, the cognitive aspect involves the integration of a new object into the previous thoughts of individuals (the euro is perceived as money in a similar way as the French franc); the social aspect involves the production by a social group (here, teenagers) of a specific meaning for a representation (the new awareness of being part of Europe.) These two aspects, combined with the selection of infor-

mation (money and novelty), de-contextualizing (Europe instead of France), and later reconstruction (euro is money for Europe, thus bringing unity and/or community), allow a shared representation of the euro to be formed around the idea that the euro is a European currency in the Monetary Union.

From the data presented in this paper, it can be concluded that, via the example of the introduction of a single currency at the same time in the 12 countries belonging to the European Monetary Union, this important economic and political change has produced a specific fundamental modification, producing a much broader feeling of territorial belonging.

It is noteworthy that these modifications have already started to affect the feeling of territorial belonging. The concrete use of the single currency has clearly turned the participant's previously exclusive feeling of belonging, a national one, into an entirely new inclusive one, combining a national identity and a supranational identity. While 85% responded that they clearly felt French in 2001, 80% stated that they also belonged to Europe in 2002. In 2003, the percentage is somewhat weaker. They have not abandoned their national identity, or their feeling of being French, but they now also have a significant awareness of being European. With the introduction of the euro, our participants (who were not the same participants, but the samples were constituted on the same basis) have clearly enlarged their conception of territorial belonging. The difference is striking between 2001 and 2002. This fundamental change, as if the introduction of a single currency could really modify, in such a brief period, the conception of the feeling of belonging is not as strong in 2003.

This major change in the feeling of territorial belonging with the introduction of the euro, that is to say the switching from a unique national identity to a combination of a national one and a supranational feeling of belonging, needs to be further verified, as the novelty of the currency may have triggered a new feeling of belonging which may have been somewhat temporary; this could be especially interesting to test just before new countries will join Europe and a year later.

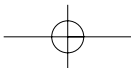
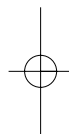
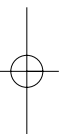
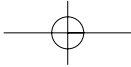
Endnotes

1. The 7 items kept in both phases.
2. 0 being the most negative score, 5 being the most positive.
3. Italics are used here and later to indicate countries which are not members of the euro-zone.

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The role of informal curriculum on citizenship education: Gender representations in TV and students' gender stereotypes

Mary Koutselini*

Abstract

The present study is a long-term project funded for three years by the Cyprus Research Promotion Foundation. The project was entitled "Gender mainstreaming in the Mass Media of Cyprus and the relationship with the perceptions of youth. Comparison with the EU policy" and it aimed at awareness rising in gender issues, at the Mass Media as well as in the role of informal curriculum in students' perceptions. The study was conducted in Cyprus during the period 2004-2007 with a threefold aim, first to investigate the gender representations in TV, second to compare them with primary and secondary students' perceptions and third to compare the gender representations and students perceptions with the European Union's indicators of mainstreaming policy. In this context the present study investigated the role of TV broadcasting- as an important agent of informal education – in the formation of youth gender stereotypes.

Keywords: *Gender Mass Media, perceptions of youth.*

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Mary Koutselini

Introduction

The present study is a long-term project funded for three years by the Cyprus Research Promotion Foundation. The project was entitled “Gender mainstreaming in the Mass Media of Cyprus and the relationship with the perceptions of youth. Comparison with the EU policy” and it aimed at awareness rising in gender issues at the Mass Media as well as in the role of informal curriculum in students’ perceptions. The study was conducted in Cyprus during the period 2004-2007 with a threefold aim, first to investigate the gender representations in TV, second to compare them with primary and secondary students’ perceptions and third to compare the gender representations and students perceptions with the European Union’s indicators of mainstreaming policy.

If really “Gender is a system of power in that it privileges some men and disadvantages most women” (Davis, Evans & Robert, 2006, p 2), then gender mainstreaming must be the integration of the gender perspective into every stage of policy processes – design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation – with a view to promoting equality between women and men. Among the important measures of gender mainstreaming, the European Commission attaches a great deal of importance to achieving gender balance in decision-making (Council of Europe, 2003). As the European Commission indicates in its 2006 and 2007 reports on equality between women and men, women continue to be under-represented in the political sphere and their access to economic decision-making positions remains insufficient. This makes for a fundamental democratic deficit both at the European level and in the wider international context (European Commission, 2006; 2007).

It is also well known that Mass broadcasting plays a crucial role in preventing or reinforcing gender discrimination as its impact on the population is internationally high. Mass broadcasting is considered the dominant representative of the informal education agents. Although UNESCO views communication as a driving force in the promotion of women’s responsible participation in development in a context of peace and equality, in the process of implementing gender mainstreaming Mass Media, as research shows, play a negative role as they produce and reproduce negative stereotypes.

In this context the present study investigated the role of TV broadcasting- as an important agent of informal education – in the formation of youth gender stereotypes.

Theoretical framework

The high social impact of mass broadcasting is broadly acknowledged, and its role in preventing or reinforcing discrimination is of great importance. From that point of view, the negative role of Mass Media in the process of implementing gender mainstreaming has been broadly research evidenced. It is argued that Mass Media produce and reproduce negative stereotypes, and they play a dominant role to the stereotyped socialization of youth (Burton & Pollack, 2002; Fenton, 2000; Frankson, 2000a,b; UNESCO, 2003; UN, <http://www.un.kiev.ua/bc/tenders/99/>).

The EU has a long-standing commitment to promoting gender equality, enshrined in the Treaty since 1957 (European Commission, 2005). EU in all its official documents defines gender equality as an equal outlook, empowerment and participation of both sexes in all aspects of private and public life. The main principle underlying gender equality is the right to be different, and the effort to change the structures that preserve the unequal relationship between the two sexes (Council of Europe, 2002; European Commission, 2006; European Commission, 2005).

The mainstreaming policy declares the general objectives in the political, financial, social, and educational scene. It emphasizes the principles which must underlie the measures to be promoted, namely: a) the equal right of men and women to work and, by the same token, to acquire a personal income on equal terms and conditions, regardless of the economic situation, b) the extension of equal opportunities to men and women, in the political and educational sphere and in particular on the labour market, in the context of measures to stimulate economic recovery and to promote employment growth, and (c) the development of positive measures to correct de facto inequalities and thereby improve female status and promote the equity of both men and women.

Moreover, mainstreaming policy urges for adaptation of adequate measures to promote increased representation of women in the public and labour sector and to establish equal opportunities in all the areas. As it is stressed (European Commission, 2005:2):

“Democracy is a fundamental value of the European Union (EU), Member States, European Economic Area States and applicant countries. It is also a key part of external development policy in the Union. Its full realisation requires the participation of all citizens’ wom-

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en and men alike to participate and be represented equally in the economy, in decision-making, and in social, cultural and civil life”.

It is argued that Mass Media promote a non-balanced and stereotyped portrayal of women and they play a dominant role to the stereotyped socialization of youth. There is also strong research evidence supporting that TV affects children's personality, consuming culture, social attitudes, and health (Singer & Singer, 2001).

Stereotypes are infused into every aspect of the societal mechanisms that shape future citizens (i.e., Durkin, 1985; Evra, 1990). They are incorporated into the processes of socialization and create lessons that are taught and learned as early as a child is born. In the contemporary era, where children spend less time interacting with their parents and peers and lose interest in reading books, television is probably the major vehicle through which children learn about appropriate behaviors, particularly gender-appropriate behaviors, and about the relative desirability of performing those behaviors. There is now fairly widespread conceptual agreement and empirical support for the view that television can and does profoundly influence both children and adults (e.g. Frueh & Mc Ghee, 1975; McGhee & Frueh, 1980). From thousands of hours of viewing television, children receive messages about gender roles (i.e., Singer and Singer, 2001; Witt, 1997). The manner in which genders are represented in television programmes impacts children's attitudes and perceptions of gender-appropriate behaviour in society. Sexism can be so insidious that it quietly conditions boys and girls to accept the way they see and read the world, thus reinforcing gender images (Fox, 1993). This reinforcement predisposes children not to question existing social relationships.

Methodology

Gender representation was studied through randomly selected Cypriot television series. The Cypriot television series consist of self-existent, meaningful episodes and refer to the daily happenings of Cypriot society, while their script is written only by Cypriot citizens - men and women. The series attract high rates of viewers including men, women and children, from all educational and socio-economic layers, in urban and provincial regions.

The investigation of gender's representations on TV focused on roles, behaviors, emotions, characterizations, and self-image, in the private life, the public scene, and the interpersonal relationships. An Instrument of Recording Behaviours (IRB) and Textualised Dialogues were developed for the analysis of the 158 episodes of the sample. The unit of analysis and recording of data on each episode was the scene. The software ATLAS has been used for the analysis of the textualised dialogues.

The comparison with students' perceptions was based on a specifically developed questionnaire that included statements containing the Gender stereotyped depictions in TV. The questionnaire was addressed to a representative sample of primary and secondary school children.

Results

Stereotyped depictions

Results' analysis is based both on quantitative measurements and on qualitative differentiations that appear among the two genders. The total numbers of codes that are presented per category for men and women, on the one hand, and the frequency with which each code is repeated, on the other hand, constitute the two basic criteria for the quantitative analysis of the data. At the same time, however, the type of codes that are incorporated in each category constitutes an important element of study on the final configuration of the profile of the genders.

These stereotyped aspects of the profile of the two genders are enhanced by the way men and women are presented to behave. Specifically, in a total of 538 codes of behaviour in the public life superfamily, 65.2% refer to men, while 34.7% to women. This result is enhanced by the qualitative differentiations of the codes that appear in each category. Gender representation on the screen reflects and reinforces a stereotypical image of women's attitudes, roles, and lifestyles in the private and the public sphere.

It is typical that the word "professional" is used to characterize men only, while the word "unemployed" is used with a negative tinge for men, but not for women. This point legalises to a large extent the stereotype of the non working housewife who lacks curiosity about, or is even incompetent

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for, business action. It simultaneously strengthens the importance that a successful professional career and a distinguished economic status of life play in men's life.

In professional life, the total number of codes (men=142 women=110) initially does not show important differentiations between genders. However, the total number of females that appear in the role of employees, in contrast to the total number of male employees that is presented in the 158 episodes, differentiates the picture considerably. In the total of 47 Cypriot women, 27 do not work (57.4 %), while only 11 appear to have a constant job. From them, only 4 are presented in scenes in their work place, while for the remainder of them it is simply reported that they are working. Respectively, in men the percentage of workers is proportionally much higher (78.6%). The cases of unemployed men are such as men released from the army, former prisoners or men in the margin that do not fit in with the "standard" professional status of the Cypriot employee. Simultaneously in Diagrams 1, 2, 3 and 4 it appears that the codes that refer to the professional life of Cypriot women are differentiated by those of men. From the total of the female workers, only in 4 cases women are presented in action in their work place.

However, even in these cases the scenes and the plot of the script present women to be unreliable professionals: a professor who faces serious problems of indiscipline on behalf of her students who speaks ironically to her on a constant basis, a military doctor gullible and ignorant on issues of medicine and a TV hostess- student who is cranky and considers herself beautiful, a super-model and clever while the plot presents her to be dumb and soubrette. In most of the cases the codes that refer to women's professional life refer to hires of cleaners in their houses or discussions about the professional career of their children or for the career they think to follow, but they never decide to do so.

The results that refer to the educational status of the two genders are also negatively stereotyped. In total of 69 men and 54 women, 13 men (18.8%) and only 8 women (14.8%) are presented in roles that indicate an educational background. These proportions, as well as the codes that refer to the educational roles, characterizations and self-esteem of men and women shape a picture for the Cypriot society where education does not have any value and probably can be characterized as a demerit when compared with the precedence that money and "good" professional position have. Additionally, women's behaviours concerning reading, dealing with political and social life, being informed by newspapers and television

news and expressing concerns of finding a job are totally absent. Her profile is dominated by the picture of an unemployed and/or uncultivated housewife with a limited range of interests.

Finally, dealing with politics and having political concerns and action as politicised citizens of Cyprus is excessively limited for both Cypriot men and women. With the exception of one series, where two men are presented to have opposite political convictions and discussions about political controversies, in all other cases, men seldom express political concerns. Simply, they are presented to hold a newspaper or to listen to the news without, however, to proceed in annotations. Regarding women, this action can also be categorized in the non-observed behaviours. In no case is a woman presented to have an individual politicised action or political and social concerns. This allows us to classify these behaviours in the non-observed behaviours of women.

Students' perceptions

Primary education

Students tend to consider that men, compared to women, earn higher income, are better as businessmen and better as managers. On the other hand, students tend to consider that women when compared to men are more emotional, more often shout hysterically without a reason, are more insecure and fearful, eat constantly when under stress and are more jealous persons. The results also indicate that students tend to consider that women think about getting married much more than men and also tend to believe that it is more important for a woman than a man to have a wedding portion in order to get married. Students also tend to believe that women surpass men in helping friends, helping the poor and doing charity.

In most cases girls tend to be more favorable towards women than boys as indicated in independent samples comparisons of mean scores. Girls' mean scores were significantly higher than boys' ($p < .05$) in most statements where positive qualities were associated to women ($2.45 < M < 3.09$, $0.744 < SD < 0.924$ for girls & $2.06 < M < 2.92$, $0.772 < SD < 0.969$ for boys). On the other hand girls' mean scores were significantly

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lower than boys' in statements indicating a negative quality for women ($1.74 < M < 3.44$, $0.790 < SD < 1.01$ for girls, $2.02 < M < 3.59$, $1.02 < SD < 1.12$ for boys).

Paired samples T-test indicated that most mean scores between the statements referring to men ($1.70 < M < 3.44$, $0.738 < SD < 1.110$) and women ($1.90 < M < 3.51$, $0.692 < SD < 1.183$) are significantly different (two-tailed $p < .05$). Mean scores for women were higher in cases emphasizing emotionality and inferior social roles. On the other hand mean scores for were higher in statements related to more prestigious social profiles.

Secondary education

Students' beliefs about the professional and financial activities of men are reflections of the stereotypes depicted in TV. Women's consuming relationship with money, as this is promoted by the TV series, is also expressed by the secondary education students.

As far as the nature of love life is concerned, the Cypriot man in TV series is flirting and cheating on his partner mainly with foreigners, in contrast to the Cypriot woman who is absolutely faithful and the nature of her love life always has to do with her partner. Additionally, the 'independence' of male personality that is concealed behind the image of a decision maker and master of house is consistent with the quantitative results of the TV analysis: his social activity and public life as they are promoted by the TV is much more intense in frequency, compared to the equivalent of the Cypriot woman.

Finally, 71.2% of the students believe that care of their appearance always concerns all Cypriot women, who also are fashion fans (for 63.3% of students) and are always on a diet (for 52.5% of the students). These stereotyped beliefs are consistent with the quantitative measurements of codes regarding the image of the body in Cypriot television series. Women seem to be dealing with their outfit frequently (277) and in multiple ways (143). The 'body image', indeed, seems to be a category that demonstrates great deviations between the two genders. Another stereotypical perception has to do with the role of the woman as a housewife either married (58.2%) or single (56.8%), which for the majority of the students is immediately related to her TV image: women are depicted having restricted activity in public life and their educational background in the screen-script is low. The amazing majority of the female roles (83%) which were

analyzed are deprived of higher education, whereas only four out of the eleven women referred to as employed are shown in their professional premises. Finally, sensitivity is promoted as a female characteristic since women are usually presented with negative sentiments (fear, agony, stress, love disappointment, hysteria), a fact that is reflected in the majority of students' perceptions with the expression of crying (52.5%).

The immediate relationship between students' gender stereotypes and the media stereotypes is reinforced by the result that the parents' educational and occupational backgrounds, as well as viewing time, do not seem to influence the formation of students' perceptions, since the ANOVA technique does not demonstrate statistically significant difference between the sample in any of the questionnaire independent variables.

The research results shape totally differentiated, and in many aspects opposite, profiles for Cypriot man and woman in gender perceptions of primary and secondary education students. In their overwhelming majority, students' perceptions are differentiated with a statistically significant difference as far as the gender profile construction is concerned.

Specifically, the stereotypes that compose the Cypriot man profile have to do with his financial/occupational activities, his love life, either as a husband or as a single 'hunting' the opposite sex, as well as his dealing with athletics as an expression of his private life. Masculinity of the male model reflects a patriarchal pattern of man – head of the family (*paterfamilias*), with elbow-room and without emotional expressions or sensitivity. Education constitutes a prerequisite condition for his professional career and his financial progress. The dominating and autonomous male pattern is harmonized with the most central and authoritative positions that males generally occupy in western television culture (i.e., Neto & Pinto, 1998; Furnham et al., 1997).

The female profile is mainly composed by stereotypes that refer to her consuming habits, her dealing with her outfit and with housework. The femininity of the female model is founded on the criterion of appearance, as well as on the emotional female nature. Dealing with the housework, regardless her personal status of life ends up to be considered as a dimension of her feminine existence.

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Discussion

Apart from the two differentiated gender constructions for men and women in Cyprus, it seems that the stereotypes between male and female population in secondary schools are significantly diversified. The girls seem to be prone to the moulding of gender stereotype perceptions, since in the majority of statements, their scores in means differences are higher than those of the boys. This conclusion seems to agree with the research results of former decades discussed by Gunter & McAller (1997), where results were found to support the view that television does cultivate gender stereotypes, although the girls are the ones who are affected the most. Gender stereotypes in students' perceptions indicate an important degree of coherence with those ones promoted by the eight Cypriot TV series. Quantitative measurements in behaviour frequency between male and female TV roles, as well as the content of gender roles are reflected in adolescents' stereotype statements. The results of these two researches support the television dynamics in the shaping of stereotypes as socialization models (Fiske, 2003; Williams et al., 1999).

These results reinforce the debate about the role of informal curriculum, and especially its role on citizenship education. The gender stereotypes as mass media production and reproduction appear in students' perceptions and seem to counteract the formal curriculum where gender mainstreaming constitute the main point of the gender's profile construction.

Finally, the current model of the independent educated woman who self-determines her life is substituted by a female model whose choices and existence revolve round a powerful male model (Koutselini et al., 2006; Koutselini & Agathaggelou, 2006). This result is not consistent with the analyses of gender media stereotypes in western bibliography, where a differentiated image of a modern woman is ascertained. Gauntlett (2002) mentions that the mid 1990's researches in US "found that the woman was young, single, independent and free from family and work place pressures" (Brain et al., 1999: 33), while her role as independent and professional was over-represented in prime-time TV programs (Dyer, 1987; Gunter & McAller, 1997). It seems that the female profile on the Cypriot television does not demonstrate the postmodernism characteristics of the western television culture, but on the contrary, reproduces traditional perceptions regarding the female gender with the proportional consequences in public and private life in Cyprus.

Regarding public life in the overall results of the random sample of television series, we see that not only does public life constitute a field of action of men, but also, even the limited space that is lent to the female gender is presented as "alien" for women: professional life, pecuniary transactions and political concerns appear not to match with the female exemplar. The profile of the two genders, as cultural construction, is presented differentiated with a number of negative stereotypes. This differentiation between the two profiles is so intensely apparent, that a stereotypical picture for the feminine behaviour is shaped. Agreeing with the relevant bibliography (i.e., Burton & Pollack, 2002), it is confirmed that the culture of Mass Media is a Mass Culture that is constructed for the market and is based on the exaggeration and the dividing vignettes of genders. With the use of special conventions, television tries and accomplishes to create a decisive importance's classification of television spectators in male and female individuals.

What is also worth mentioning is that the public life of the two genders, especially of women, but at a large extent of men also, appears to be limited only to their economic and professional life and status. The overall results shape a picture for the Cypriot society where occupying themselves with education and politics, Cypriot men and women waste their time. Education and politics appear to have no value and probably can be characterized as a detrimental when compared with the precedence that money, "good" professional position and personal interests have. The content of both stereotypes seems to be identified with particular characteristics of the pancultural male and female stereotypes: emotional stability and openness to experience as male characteristics, whereas agreeableness as a respective female characteristic (Williams et al., 1999).

However, this is not the case of Cypriot society, where politics play important role in public life, because of the continuous political problem of Cyprus. International research (IEA Civic Education Study, Amadeo et al., 2002) indicated that Citizenship education and active citizenship are of great importance in the Cyprus society, a fact that is being verifying by the mass participation of Cypriots in all the political events (i.e., elections, 2005 referendum). Moreover, education in Cyprus is considered as an investment for qualitative life. Statistics of Education in Cyprus (Statistical Service of the Republic of Cyprus, 2005) indicate that Cyprus has very high percentages of students in higher education, and a very small number of secondary school student drop out. Concerning women, statistics present them to have equal academic qualifications to men.

Conclusion

It is obvious that the entertainment role of TV is based on counter-reality scenarios, which generalise some behaviours in a way that provides stereotyped roles. These roles serve the market and the consumption, providing protagonists that have as their main interests the consumption of money. Consequently, these types serve better the TV economic interests, by doing nothing but watching TV. The television industry hopes to appeal to non-educated persons and to influence their consumption habits.

The results show that the woman's profile as it is depicted in the TV series is constructed in terms of the general principle of their exclusion from the economic, professional and political life. In contrary, men's profile is constructed in the principle of freedom of will and independence due to economic independence. The stereotyped depiction of womens profile is a worldwide phenomenon as the relative literature and research indicates (Davis, Evans & Lorber, 2006; Burton & Pollack, 2002; Fenton, 2000; Herrett-Skjellum & Allen, 1996; UNESCO, 2003). Cyprus Mass Media, as the island is a member of the EU, have conform with EU priority areas and legislation concerning gender equality.

The question that arises is why these series have a high rate of audience, although their depictions do not correspond to the real case of the Cypriot society, and why the same stereotypes are found in students' perceptions. Is Bourdieu's (2001) assertion that television performs a depoliticizing role "which naturally acts more strongly on the most depoliticized sections of the public" the explanation of the stereotyped depictions? If so, citizenship education must promote differentiated empowerment to different persons in order to promote equality and social coherence.

Research and reflection on contextualised gender studies aiming at the alignment with the European Union's indicators of Gender Mainstreaming should take into account the different expectations and reflections of the "depoliticized" sections of the public and the important role that the informal curriculum produced by the TV depictions.

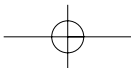
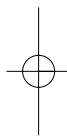
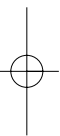
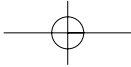
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'I felt really inspired by it, it was really interesting to interact with the pupils': active citizenship in the British undergraduate social science curriculum

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Abstract

A formal citizenship curriculum has recently been introduced into schools in England following the publication of the Crick Report in 1998. This initiative has received considerable academic and political attention as its implementation is researched and evaluated. However, citizenship education is not restricted to schools and in recent years there have been a number of publicly funded initiatives to develop citizenship education in UK universities, although the research base on these initiatives is thus far extremely limited. This paper contributes to the literature in this area with reference to evaluation research undertaken in relation to one module, 'Citizenship and Identity'

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ty', delivered to first year social science undergraduates at 'Rivershire University' in South East England.

Keywords: active citizenship, schools, undergraduates, sociology, psychology.

Introduction

This paper explores the research findings from a project on active citizenship and citizenship learning in higher education in the UK, more precisely the South East of England. It provides an evaluation and discussion of social science undergraduates' experiences of studying citizenship in one particular first year module, 'Citizenship and Identity'. The paper addresses some of the possibilities, and limitations, of embedding a meaningful experience of citizenship within the higher education curriculum.

There is an emerging national and European policy agenda focused on active citizenship and citizenship education. There are two key contexts for this. The first concerns the construction of a European political community and the attempt to constitute a meaningful European identity. Secondly, there is a crisis over social and political integration at the national level indicated by low levels of trust for political elites, 'crises' over immigration and cultural and ethnic diversity, as well as the perceived negative effects of the individualisation of everyday life (Giddens 1991). Active citizenship and citizenship education in such an environment could mean nothing more than the extension of mechanisms of state control and market discipline. Historically, citizenship education at the national level has been concerned with inculcating children with dominant ideologies and cultures. Meanwhile, the image of the active European citizen appears to be that of the liberal, self-governing individual with the skills to negotiate the highly competitive global 'knowledge' economy (Wright 2004). Educators are in this sense faced with the dilemma of a policy agenda open to citizenship education but contexts which may constrain and direct the form this can take. Despite recent moves to standardise higher education curricula, it is possible to argue that this remains a space where academics still negotiate and control key aspects of the construction and dissemination of knowledge. The starting point of this paper is that of citizenship

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as a contested and open concept that can be meaningfully translated into the learning experiences of higher education students.

From schools to universities: citizenship education in the UK

Citizenship education has undergone a rapid expansion in the UK during the last 10 years. Attention has been paid to the introduction of citizenship education within the school curriculum in England following the publication of the Crick Report (QCA, 1998). The Report defined citizenship in terms of social responsibility, community involvement and political literacy and set out what a pupil is expected to have learnt about citizenship at key stages in their school career. The approach to citizenship learning in the Crick Report is developmental and viewed as progressing from primary school to post-compulsory education age (16+), although citizenship has only been made compulsory within the secondary school (age 11-16) curriculum. Alongside this is an emphasis on the idea of active citizenship, as the Report makes clear:

'It is vital that pupils are provided with structured opportunities to explore actively aspects, issues and events through school and community involvement, case studies and critical discussions that are challenging and relevant to their lives.' (ibid: 26).

In recent years there have been a number of publicly funded initiatives to develop and support citizenship education in UK universities¹. The Dearing Report into higher education highlighted the importance of work in community and voluntary organisations for undergraduate students (NCIHE, 1997). Many higher education institutions in the UK now offer their students opportunities to become involved in various kinds of community and voluntary work through initiatives such as mentoring. In general, citizenship education can be seen to be a core component of the UK lifelong learning agenda.

Citizenship education is particularly fertile ground for social scientists and a growing academic literature has critically examined the Crick Report and its implementation. This policy development raises fundamental ques-

tions about how we learn and experience citizenship. For critics, the Crick proposals contained flawed assumptions about contemporary citizenship including essentialist ideas of national identity that cannot address issues of diversity and difference, a failure to address social injustice and an implicit moral authoritarianism (see inter alia Osler and Starkey 2000; Cunningham and Lavalette 2004; Faulks 2006). Alongside some of the more practical problems associated with delivery (Oulton et al., 2004; OFSTED² 2005), the existing literature would suggest that there is a question mark over whether meaningful citizenship learning can take place in the English school system. The issues raised by citizenship education concern how citizenship is conceptualised, curriculum content and modes of delivery. All of these issues are relevant to higher education but in comparison to the statutory sector the exploration of citizenship in UK Universities remains limited and, in particular, there is very little detailed curriculum research. We explore these issues with reference to evaluation research carried out on a curriculum project involving the development of an innovative 'Citizenship and Identity' module at Rivershore University in South East England³.

Citizenship and Identity module

The 'Citizenship and Identity' (CI) module was designed to interest and engage students in the key debates relating to citizenship at level 1 of the undergraduate programme. Students taking this module came from a wide range of degrees within the social sciences. The module sought to enable students to apply citizenship issues and debates to real life contexts and to reflect upon the way in which they and others learn citizenship. The module enabled students to experience citizenship in action and to undertake practical work as a compliment to the theoretical component.

The CI module followed a structured lecture and seminar format together with active learning opportunities that included working with schools. The module explored a range of citizenship topics and issues such as national identity, European integration, human rights and social exclusion. A key component of the module was that the students were expected to actively contribute to citizenship in schools. To achieve this, students would attend and facilitate at one of four school council conferences, but they could attend more if they so wished. A total of ten Rivershore schools be-

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came involved. Eight of these were 'upper' schools, several with high proportions of pupils from disadvantaged backgrounds, and two were 'grammar' schools. Two of the upper schools attended all four conferences, while other schools attended less often. Between two and seven representatives from each school council attended the conferences. During the first conference, these school councillors gave the name 'River Schools Voice' (RSV) to their meetings and set out a series of aims including meeting regularly to share ideas and explore ways to keep in contact; planning and initiating joint projects and inter-school activities; and also to challenge the existing divisions between schools and stereotyping of pupils.

Rivershire University staff facilitated the RSV conferences alongside undergraduates. The first conference was introduced and facilitated by third level students helped by level one CI students, whereas the subsequent three conferences involved only the latter. The conferences started with a verbal report from each school council. Following the reports the format varied, but generally the councillors worked on different activities and project planning in mixed school groups. The undergraduates worked with groups of councillors, joined in discussions, acted as 'scribes' and generally helped facilitate. A 'River Schools Voice' website was set up with the support of the Rivershire University web design team and it included copies of the conference reports alongside general information about RSV.

Widening access: working with schools

It is important to provide a sociological context to the Rivershire area of South East England in which the project took place. This area covers one of the most affluent parts of the U.K. characterized by upmarket commuter villages, high levels of home and car ownership, and a strong middle-class presence. Despite this general affluence, there are also pockets of deprivation found in certain urban and rural neighbourhoods including those in which several of the schools involved in the project are located (Watt and Stenson, 1998). The 'Citizenship and Identity' module was seen as contributing to the widening access agenda, a policy promoted along partnership lines between Rivershire University and local schools⁴.

The Rivershire local education authority in which the schools are situated operates a selective system in which children are assessed at age 11.

Those who obtain high marks in the 11-plus examination gain entry to the prestigious 'grammar' schools that routinely feature near the top of the national league tables. In contrast, those children who 'fail' attend 'upper' schools which are seen as less desirable by many local parents and have lower levels of academic achievement as measured by the league tables. The Rivershire local education authority and schools do not officially use the terms 'pass' and 'fail', but these terms are common currency amongst parents and children in the area. The urban areas which 'feed' several of the upper schools have a multi-ethnic population made up of Pakistani and black minority ethnic groups plus lower-income white families. Recent OFSTED reports have highlighted the social disadvantages faced by pupils at some upper schools as indicated by above national average levels of free school meals. In contrast, pupils at the grammar schools are predominantly white and middle class. Previous research by one of the authors has highlighted the social tensions that exist between pupils from the grammar schools and those from the upper schools (Watt and Stenson, 1998).

The research

The research consisted of several strands involving both Rivershire University and the various schools involved in the project. One hundred and fifteen Rivershire undergraduates completed a citizenship questionnaire within the first three weeks of beginning their degrees. This questionnaire covered their attitudes towards citizenship, citizenship-related activities, plus their experiences of citizenship education prior to entering Riverside University. Some of the results from this questionnaire have been reported elsewhere (Watt et al., 2006). The questionnaire was revised and then distributed at the end of the academic year to those first year students who had completed the Citizenship and Identity module. This revised questionnaire asked about the module plus a range of issues related to citizenship. A total of 33 students completed the questionnaire out of 53 who were enrolled on the CI module giving a response rate of 62%. Seventy six per cent of respondents were single honours Psychology students, 15% were single honours Sociology students and 9% were Psychology with Sociology. Most of the respondents (88%) were female, 41% were non-white, 39% were aged over 24 and 21% were aged between 40

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and 49. Some of the results from this end-of-module questionnaire can be compared with the findings from the start-of-module questionnaire.

In addition to the questionnaire, ten CI students were interviewed at the end of the module, some in groups, some individually and some both individually and in groups. The respondents were volunteers, all of them were female, seven were mature students (over 21), three were Asian, one was black, one mixed-race and five were white. Six respondents were enrolled on the single honours Psychology degree, three were enrolled on Psychology with Sociology and one was enrolled on single honours Sociology.

Both the Rivershire tutors who taught the CI module were interviewed⁵. The School Liaison Co-ordinator was also interviewed about her role in helping to set up the conferences. Finally, two members of the research team acted as observers at three of the RSV conferences, as did one of the teaching team who subsequently wrote up reports for the Rivershire University website based on the conferences⁶.

In relation to the schools involved in the module, 20 pupils from five schools who attended the last RSV conference completed a short questionnaire about the conferences. In addition, members of the research team subsequently contacted the two schools who attended all four of the conferences. Interviews were undertaken with the two senior teachers who were responsible for the school council, and at one of the schools a group interview was conducted with three members of the school council who also attended the RSV conferences at Rivershire University.

In the rest of this paper, we draw upon various aspects of the research findings, beginning with what the Rivershire students found interesting about the CI module.

Interest and engagement in citizenship education

Interest and engagement in citizenship education was high amongst the CI students. When asked how interesting they found learning about citizenship in the module, 42% of the students described it as very interesting, 46% as quite interesting, and only 12% (4 students) found it not interesting. All of the latter were single honours Psychology undergraduates, a point we develop further below. In the first questionnaire, we had asked the same question to first year students who had studied citizenship

either at school or further education college (Watt et al., 2006). Of the 25 students who fell into this category, 60% (15) found it 'quite interesting' and only two students found it 'very interesting', whilst four found it 'not interesting' and four didn't know. The higher education module therefore generated a greater degree of positive responses compared to students' experiences of citizenship education at school or college.

Table 1. Level of interest in Citizenship and Identity module topics (row %).

	Very interesting	Quite interesting	Not interesting	Don't know
British citizenship and identity	41	50	6	3
European citizenship and identity	39	48	10	3
Global citizenship and identity	52	39	10	0
Human rights	75	25	0	0
Moral development	61	32	7	0
Citizenship and education	47	50	3	0
Environmental citizenship	38	53	9	0
E-citizenship	19	36	39	6
Active citizenship	59	38	0	3
Democracy	47	37	17	0
Citizenship and gender	53	38	9	0
Citizenship and disability	56	34	9	0
Citizenship and social class	63	31	6	0

Total N = 33 (note: not all the respondents answered each question)

The students were asked to describe how interesting they found the different topics covered in the module and the results are presented in Table 1 below. The most popular topic was human rights with 75% saying this was very interesting. This was also highlighted in the open-ended questions, for example:

Human Rights – because I feel strongly about the disadvantages and unfairness that some individuals experience. Also because it's universal (sometimes!) and effects [sic] every human being.

Other popular topics included citizenship and social class, moral development and active citizenship (see Table 1). Moral development was

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highlighted in the open-ended questions notably because it was linked to psychology, their main degree subject, a point we develop below. The least popular topic by far was E-citizenship since only 19% found this very interesting whilst 39% described it as not interesting, as seen in this quote from the interviews: 'I didn't like e-citizenship, I found it quite boring' (Judith – Psychology with Sociology, mature, mixed-race student).

Democracy was the next least popular topic given that 17% found it not interesting, although 47% found it very interesting (Table 1). Another less popular topic was European citizenship and identity, which was disliked both because it was 'very political' and least concerned with psychological issues. Perhaps somewhat surprisingly, environmental citizenship did not generate more interest given that only 38% described this as very interesting. Amongst the interviewees, only one student mentioned this topic as something she particularly enjoyed: 'I was interested in the environmental, because that's something that I'm just very interested in anyway, so I was looking forward to that' (Rachel – Psychology with Sociology, mature, white student).

Several students who were interviewed commented on the fact that they enjoyed the seminars and the discussions and debates that took place:

The seminars sometimes they were quite heated because people were very set in their ways and hadn't thought about other people's opinions or different cultures or things like that, so there was a lot of heat sort of around it which was quite, I liked that kind of thing, it's quite a challenge, so in that respect it was pretty good. (Christine – Psychology, mature, white student).

Learning through participation

The questionnaires and interviews indicated that the majority of students regarded attendance at the school conference as a very positive aspect of the module. With one exception, the students who were interviewed found the RSV conference to be a rewarding activity:

"I was a little bit nervous to begin with, but I was also excited at the same time because I wanted to see what these young people had to

say. I found the whole day very, very interesting, listening to their ideas. For people so young they had so much to offer and they actually made me feel slightly ashamed”. (Judith – Psychology with Sociology, mature, mixed race student).

“It was good, I loved the day, it excited me and enthused me to get involved more and I realized how three hours of your time can make such a big difference to these kids, well to any group really, I mean all we did was facilitate, and I love to be part of the process for change. I think I’m going to do more in the future”. (Patricia – Psychology, mature, black student)

Students also talked about the way in which interacting with the school pupils was a source of inspiration:

“I went along to 90% of them [school council conferences] because I found them exhilarating and uplifting. I felt really inspired by it, it was really interesting to interact with the pupils. I felt, well they actually said to us as students that it was really ‘cool’ (their words) for us to be there as well, not just the lecturers and teachers who are obviously always there. Because they felt that they could relate to us more”. (Sarah – Psychology, mature, white student)

The module brought about significant changes in student learning notably as a result of participating in the experiential aspects of the module linked to engagement with schools. Firstly, there was evidence that the practical elements of the module had reinforced the more traditional academic learning. For example, attendance at the school conferences had been a very positive learning experience by providing an exemplar of ‘citizenship-in-action’, as described by one student:

It certainly helped me understand what it [citizenship] was about. I think that for me personally when there is a practical example matching the academic example its something that really helps, I think ‘OK I get it now’. And not only having the interaction with the school conference pupils, they would tell us what they were doing and they were so much more in tune with what citizenship is all about, that it helped, definitely, without a doubt. (Sarah – Psychology, mature, white student).

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Secondly, several mature students talked about the way in which the pupils at the school conferences had helped them, particularly by giving them confidence in relation to their own presentations.

"I had been feeling a bit nervous about the presentation, you know just standing up, and after being at the schools conference I thought 'this is ridiculous, those children are standing up in a big lecture theatre, in a university in front of lots, lots of their contemporaries that they didn't even know and they were very forceful'. So for me it made me think 'don't be ridiculous'. So for that I enjoyed it more, so they taught me a thing really. (Laura – Psychology, mature, white student).

Thirdly, the mature students argued that attendance at the school council had challenged the negative preconceptions that some of the undergraduates held about young teenagers:

"It was really lively, very, very lively, the children were really, in a way you wish that more people could see children like that. Because I think going into it, the students that I'm studying with, some of them don't have children, so they were very unsure about what they were going to face, you know – teenagers, hoodies and all those stereotypes, and came out just thinking these kids were fantastic, And they're from secondary schools, they're not just the pick of the cream of the area... Certainly they were very vocal about how impressed they were with the kids and you don't really see that do you, that's not depicted very often? So that's what I came away thinking – there is hope". (Laura – Psychology, mature, white student).

One mature student was adamant that this engagement with schools should remain a central part of the module in future years:

"I think that it has to be a central part of the module, doing the school council. Whether it be that the schools come to you or whether it be that we go to the schools. It really helped a lot of my peers to relate, they were really apprehensive about meeting these secondary school kids because they unfortunately believe the stereotypes that these are wild kids who wear you know 'hoodies', and it really changed their perception entirely.....their opinion changed dramatically. Also how confident and articulate they were and how worldly they were and

how, actually, to some extent how more aware they were of what citizenship was all about". (Sarah – Psychology, mature, white student).

Finally, the Rivershire students were also impressed with the way that the school pupils themselves wanted to challenge stereotypical views about the different schools in the area and young people in general.

"One issue that kept coming up was the issue about stereotypes, they wanted to make a change, to mix with other pupils from other schools. They did not want to be part of this stereotype or this separation process, where if you are going to this school you are somehow different to me. They spoke about integration.....It was a common theme and it kept coming up". (Judith – Psychology with Sociology, mature, mixed race student)

Whilst the experiential aspects of the modules enhanced student learning, there are a couple of caveats to make. Firstly, module tutors expressed reservations as to whether the interlinkages between citizenship theory and practice had been as well developed as they could have been, especially in the written assignments, as the students found it difficult to link academic content into commentaries and reflective writing. The second caveat was that there was differential involvement in the school conferences on the part of the Rivershire students:

"... for some I was a bit concerned that perhaps this is not going to be such a meaningful experience as I would want it, and it probably wasn't. Some students came to like three out of the four conferences and really got to know the kids individually. So for some students it was a very kind of involved... they got very involved; whereas for others I felt it was more of a... it was kind of less significant". (Rivershire lecturer)

This differential involvement was partly an organizational matter since there were more students than pupils at some conferences.

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Controversial topics

Research in schools has highlighted the way that only a small proportion of teachers feel well prepared to teach the kind of 'controversial issues', for example racism, that are covered in citizenship education (Oulton et al., 2004). In contrast, this was not generally a problem for the Rivershire lecturers since they had many years' experience of teaching sociology that routinely involves so-called 'controversial issues'. Amongst the students, on the other hand, there were mixed views regarding learning about potentially sensitive issues. Some of them felt uncomfortable in relation to discussing certain topics, for example 9/11, social class and sexuality:

"... the reason I didn't like that particular lecture also was because I felt it was too heated, it was too sensitive a subject, and far too early on in the module. We didn't know each other, we didn't know each other's opinions on it". (Rachel – Psychology with Sociology, mature, white student).

However, other students who were interviewed didn't feel uncomfortable in relation to 'controversial issues', but instead welcomed the supportive learning environment provided by the lecturers and the opportunity that the seminars gave them for open-ended discussions:

"I felt it was a really easy going class, it was just kind of like you come to class and you say what you feel about everything, and I felt good about it ... and we could bring up anything and draw it to citizenship and identity, and that's one thing I liked". (Nazneen – Psychology, young, Asian student).

Citizenship for non-sociology students

Only a minority of the students taking the CI module were single honours Sociology students. Most were single honours Psychology students who did not expect to be studying modules that were sociology/politics

based (they also had another compulsory Sociology module in their first year). The fact that such a large percentage of the students taking this citizenship education module were non-sociologists made a difference and provided a significant pedagogical challenge for the teaching team.

Findings from the questionnaire indicate that moral development was one of the most popular topics amongst non-sociology students because of its connection to psychology: 'I really enjoyed studying this because psychology was linked to this topic, so it was interesting'. Whereas the majority of students on either single or minor Sociology degrees plus the older (over 24 years) Psychology students thought that learning about citizenship was very important, only a minority of the younger (under 25) Psychology students did so. Instead, the latter were more likely to consider citizenship education as either unimportant or only fairly important because it didn't overtly link to psychology and because they had not chosen to study it. However, the interviews revealed that despite expressing initial disquiet about having to take 'Citizenship and Identity', there was a pronounced shift of opinion on the part of the mature single honours Psychology students by the end of the module:

"I really came in at the beginning thinking, 'I'm just going to get through it, it's not going to be me...it's nothing to do with psychology'. And I have completely changed my mind. I just don't know really that you should be able to study psychology ... you need to have both ways of looking at things. And so for that it has been a revelation and I've really enjoyed it". (Laura – Psychology, mature, white student).

This change of perspective was less in evidence amongst the younger undergraduates: 'I believe as psychology students, I believe our time could have been better spent learning psychology'. As the module leader said, 'I think some of the younger ones didn't engage at times'. Students' disciplinary identities are often strong and the research raises issues about non-sociology students having a compulsory first level citizenship module and the importance of trying to make the module more relevant to their perceived needs. By no means all the younger Psychology undergraduates were negative about the CI module, however. One commented favourably about how students were encouraged to put forward their own ideas as well as looking at the academic literature and she compared this aspect of the CI module favourably with seminars in the Psychology modules which she described as 'dull':

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"I loved talking about what I feel about things, and so I loved it that we had so much chance to express ourselves and say what we feel about things. I love that". (Nazneen – Psychology, young, Asian student).

Active citizens of the future?

One of the key questions raised in the research was whether or not this citizenship education module would enhance undergraduates' capacity, in terms of knowledge, skills and willingness to engage in citizenship-related activities. Awareness of citizenship issues was certainly raised for many of the students. Around two-thirds said that their interest in issues such as human rights, gender equality and the environment had increased as a result of taking the module.

Attendance at the RSV conferences not only expanded the undergraduates' awareness of school councils, but also challenged the negative preconceptions some of them held about teenagers. There was a distinct local dimension to their more enlightened attitudes regarding young people. Many commented on how impressed they were that the pupils, mainly from upper rather than grammar schools, not only had a good grasp of the inequalities between the schools but also wanted to challenge these by breaking down school-based stereotypes:

"It surprised me how much of a grasp they'd got about the inequalities of life especially in X [Rivershire town] because of the school system. And that came across, they wanted to tackle it and that came across even though it wasn't to do with what they were discussing, they were very vocal about that inequality and they wanted to put it right ... They were quite passionate about the inequality of their education. So that was, for me, that was quite inspiring. Very thought provoking". (Laura – Psychology, mature, white student).

Not only was awareness of citizenship enhanced amongst the undergraduates, but skills relevant to citizenship were also increased, for example in boosting their confidence, enhancing responsibility, improving their ability to work in groups and presentation skills. This enhancement of skills is especially significant given the fact that many of the Rivershire stu-

dents were themselves from non-traditional HE backgrounds. Several said that they had a more developed capacity for critical reflection and also that they were better able to appreciate others' points of view, which for one student came out of the openly discursive nature of the seminars:

“It was nice because citizenship was sort of in the group itself because we were learning to respect what each other had to say and if we didn't agree, that was also OK. But to still listen to what they had to say, and accept each other for whatever opinions they had, which is what citizenship's about”. (Christine – Psychology, mature, white student).

If the students' citizenship capacity in relation to both awareness and skills was enhanced by their citizenship education experiences, to what extent were they more likely to translate this capacity into action ('praxis'), and effectively become the 'civic leaders of the future'? Here the evidence was less emphatic. The students were asked whether they had taken part in any activities related to citizenship since they joined Riverside University, i.e. during the first year of their degrees. Leaving aside those activities connected to the CI module, a total of 11 students had done so, i.e. one third of the total. All of these were female and also there was a strong age correlation since the active students were mainly mature, i.e. over 25 years of age. None of the 18-19 year olds had taken part in citizenship activities and only 3 of the 20-24 year olds, making a total of 15% of the young students under 25. In marked contrast, eight of the 13 mature students over 25 (62%) had engaged in citizenship activities. Specific activities the students had been involved in included fundraising and volunteering for charitable organizations; working with the Pyramid Trust (a charity for low self-esteem children), and environmental projects such as recycling and protection of trees. Other students made more general reference to volunteering, working in the local community and raising money for charity.

On the whole, not much of this activity seemed to occur as a direct consequence of the module or their degrees. The majority of students who were interviewed commented that the CI module had encouraged them to get more 'involved', although they were less specific about what that might mean. Nevertheless, one female student, who was a volunteer for charities said that, 'this module teaches that people need to take responsibility of the world on any scale possible', and another mature stu-

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dent who enjoyed the school council conferences intended to get involved in this again during the second year of her degree.

The schools' perspective

Feedback from the school pupils and teachers who participated in the schools council conferences was overwhelmingly positive. When asked what they enjoyed about the RSV conferences, all 20 pupils who completed the questionnaire answered that it was the opportunity to meet pupils from other schools and being able to share ideas - 'Communicating between schools. Meeting new people and sharing ideas. Helping bringing schools together'. Three of the pupils in the survey looked forward to more joint projects: 'the possibility of having combined school events and hopefully eliminate the rivalry between a few of them'. This pupil from an upper school is alluding here to the tensions that can exist between upper and grammar school pupils (Watt and Stenson, 1998). The pupils who were interviewed agreed that what they liked best about the conferences was meeting pupils from other schools, although this had been quite nerve-racking at first.

A number of the pupils in the survey also highlighted the way in which the conferences enabled them to learn from other school councils, which meant they were 'getting new ideas to take back to our school council'. This view was echoed by one of the teachers who saw the conferences as a way that the councillors at his school, which had a relatively newly established school council, could gain encouragement and ideas from others with more experience:

"... the RSV has actually helped our school council. That really was my hope – that if we got involved with something with other school councils it would inspire our kids to take on the role of the school council and drive it forward". (Deputy Head – upper school).

One of the aims of the CI module was to contribute to the widening access agenda by encouraging pupils from upper schools to see higher education as an achievable goal. The pupils who were interviewed commented that they enjoyed coming into Rivershire University because it took

them outside their normal school environment and gave them an idea of what it would be like to be an undergraduate:

“I think it’s nice to see, especially as you get older, what you are going to go on to, especially sitting in a lecture room, it’s quite different from a classroom. There’s more space there and it’s a lot more airy. And in a couple of years it’s where I’m going to be so... It was nice to meet the students as well”. (Female pupil year 10).

While all of the pupils and teachers saw the conferences as a positive experience many of them felt that they could have been improved if more schools had attended, especially the grammar schools, because this would help to break down barriers and challenge stereotypes:

“I think a big thing is to break down stereotypes. You know grammar schools are like la-de-da and state [upper] schools ‘oh you’re a bit...’” (Female pupil year 10).

Both of the teachers who were interviewed also felt that the conferences could play a part in making better links between schools in the county:

“We wanted it to be at a stage where there was a true representation of the schools in South Rivershire. Now that’s quite difficult because as you know there’s a selective system. So you’ve got the grammar schools, you’ve got the upper schools, and people often say ‘well ne’er the twain shall meet’ and we wanted to kind of dispel the myth of there being such a great divide between upper and grammar schools”. (Rivershire school teacher – member of Senior Leadership Team).

School pupils’ engagement in RSV was very marked and both of the teachers interviewed expressed their support for the conferences and a desire for them to continue in the future:

“It’s been really positive. It’s something we’d really like to continue. ... It’s been really positive because the young people themselves have said they’ve gained an awful lot from communicating with pupils from other schools, that they felt empowered ...” (Rivershire school teacher – member of Senior Leadership Team)

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The same teacher commented that she would like to see the project developed, even to a national level:

"I would like for there to be national, you know, conferences of perhaps representatives from each county. I mean I think that would be fantastic. What better way to empower young people and to really be putting across everything that you're sort of trying to teach them to do in citizenship anyway?" (Rivershire school teacher – member of Senior Leadership Team).

Conclusion

John Annette concludes his overview of research on citizenship education by emphasising the importance of active learning in achieving greater civic and political participation.

The introduction of citizenship education as a type of effective learning should involve experiential learning in the community and the ability of the student to engage in reflective practice (2000: 89)

However, ensuring that citizenship education involves active learning is not straightforward and is potentially a radical departure from existing and orthodox approaches to citizenship education. The 'Citizenship and Identity' module presented in this paper did begin to open up citizenship in a meaningful and challenging way to many of the students involved. It raised awareness and interest of citizenship amongst students and they were able to relate topical issues and debates to their own citizenship as well to citizenship in general. The module worked best when the students engaged with citizenship through an exploration of their own commonalities and differences and, in this case, the differences between themselves and another group of citizen learners i.e. the pupils. Students explored their own collective identities through negotiating difference and showed a commitment to integrating 'others'. This engagement with commonalities and differences through dialogue best reflects Lister's (1997) 'differentiated-universalism' model of contemporary citizenship with its linking of the politics of difference to that of solidarity.

Endnotes

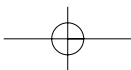
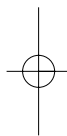
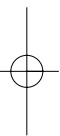
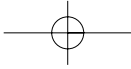
1. For example, the establishment of Crucible (Centre for Human Rights, Social Justice and Citizenship Education) at Roehampton University in London.
2. Office for Standards in Education (OFSTED) is a UK government department attached to Her Majesty's Chief Inspector of Schools In England (HMCI).
3. The project was funded by C-SAP (LTSN Centre for Learning & Teaching: Sociology, Anthropology and Politics). 'Rivershire University' is a pseudonym.
4. The Widening Participation agenda is a major component of government education policy in the United Kingdom and is one of the strategic objectives of the Higher Education Funding Council for England (HEFCE). More specifically, the agenda refers to 'all those activities undertaken by higher education institutions (HEIs) and further education colleges (FECs), both individually and in partnership, to widen access to HE for those from under-represented and disadvantaged groups, including those on vocational programmes' (HEFCE, 2006).
5. One interview was conducted by Daniela De Vito from Roehampton University and one by another member of the project team.
6. Thanks to Sarah Miles for writing up the reports.

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'I felt really inspired by it, it was really interesting to interact with the pupils'

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Children and Mobility in TV Commercials

*Nilüfer Pembecioğlu**

Abstract

Children's issues are considered to be more problematic in nowadays. Due to the increasing number of commercialized channels, children are more under the impact of media. Screen technologies tie the children into the computers, televisions, and videos. Apart from all these facts, the children represented in the media are getting more and more mobile and this creates a kind of pseudo-reality as if children have something to do with reality. Most of the commercials nowadays concentrate on children as consumers and they seem to give more importance to 'adult-like decision making strategies' for children. These ads provide behaviours which could be taken as the role-models for children in general. This paper aims to discuss the concept of children and mobility in commercials and idealization of the role models.

Keywords: children, mobility, television commercials, media, identity, children as consumers, idealization, role models.

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1. Introduction

The meanings attributed to childhood and the concept of child is getting more and more important in the modern world. Children are getting much more attention in nowadays not only in Turkey, but also in all over the world. Apart from the social and traditional values, how the child and childhood issues got more importance is a bit related to the marketing dynamics of the modern – western world. As the production systems get better and cheaper, the life standards of the countries increased yet the number of the children at home got lesser and lesser. As the countries in Europe have lower population increase rates, the children in the average families got better standards at home, at school and in all over the society. As a consequence of these developments on one hand most of the children have better opportunities, better roles and a higher status in the family and society, but on the other hand they mainly lack the care and time the older generations were provided just a generation ago.

The use of children in the commercials and making them the target audience was something new coming through the impact of the world wars. Throughout the years after the Second World War, the giant companies emerging and their automatic mass production systems created not only feasible, accessible products but also similar types of people, having the same stereotype qualities and behaviour tendencies. The growing technological systems brought the mass production techniques requiring mass consumption strategies as well. Thus, in nowadays, wherever you live, you may have the similar standards of life as the popular society dynamics 'force' them. At the end, even if the modern people seem to have more choices than ever, they tend to act in similar ways, buy similar products and have similar ideas as the media forces them. The production and consumption dynamics try to create new cycles aiming to find new markets in the same society. Thus, the same society is divided into smaller clusters to emphasise their unity and uniqueness as well as their particular needs for a specific product. Through this approach, the new target groups are defined depending upon their new minor qualities. People are given classes, identities and qualities and they are made to believe in it. Once they believe in their unique qualities they tend to follow their own path and begin to produce and consume in the way they are urged. This kind of identification gives them also a special kind of identity which nobody could resist to its charm. Since the modern world forces

people to be in one group or in the other, they begin to live in the clusters produced for them and they internalize this identity. Usually, the best way of introducing and cultivating the identity is to visualize it through the films specifically through the commercials.

Having such dynamics beyond the seen screen, the people have more time and money to consume whatever they are introduced. Most of the statistics show that even if people have better laws to protect their rights to be paid more and to work less, they tend to spend this spare time either in front of their multi-channelled digital television sets or in the shopping malls. Actually, an average American citizen is watching five hours television every night reaching up to 1.825 hours every year to be spent in front of television (De Gaetano, 2004). Even in the colourful world of the shopping centres, the world beyond is much more an image world, a virtual world rather than the physical world, at least the money side of it is digital as it is in the television serials or in the internet sites. It also implies that the commercials target the children as the real decision makers and try to enable to motivate and mobilize them to participate into the process. Thus, the main idea of the commercials become as to introduce a certain aspect of life rather "imposing and teaching" the audience how to live, how to behave, how to sacrifice, how to love, hate and fight as well as how to obey. These deductions lead the masses, the audience, to shape themselves as to become the ideal "audience" of the films they watch or the "members" of a "zero-institution" as Levi Strauss calls it. Specifically, when the age is lower, the consciousness to realize this inclusion process is less. That's why, children are mainly influenced by the media, specifically by the commercials. Psychologically, they are ready to feel like 'a member', since they need to feel that they become a part of something, some kind of society and this sense of belonging to a certain group, motivates them to buy whatever they are introduced in the commercials.

Although people found out many other ways of spending free time and making use of their spare time, watching television is still popular and respectable in any society. The values associated with the watching activity could be summed up as the wealth/power or well-being, social/respectable status, education/or being skilful and communicative. Furthermore, most of the people make use the knowledge they gathered through television in their real life. In most countries television is seen as the main 'source of information' and people tend to believe in what they see rather than what they hear or read. Thus, the topics discussed in television channels could easily become the main issues of real lives. Through the

research in communication theories such as agenda setting, it's been proved that the impact of the television on the audience is becoming more and more effective. The television watching action itself could also be associated with the individual values such as love, respect, existence, unity, dignity, sharing, sacrifice, modelling, leading, etc. Referred to the activity, as it is associated with being open to the world, being knowledgeable, etc. the activity grasps so much of a world that could be reflected in many different words and concepts. It seems that any activity or concept is somehow related with one or more aspects of this watching or cultivation experience. Actually, in many societies such as Turkey, television watching is not only an individual decision but also a social habit or activity. In fact, in its core it also has a kind of a conscious or unconscious tendency to escape from the reality and even from the society and the self. But, contrary to the belief that this escape is never towards out of the society, but into a smaller and rather ambiguous society to share the similar values. That's why the individuals force themselves to buy the products they've been introduced.

Today the child is one of the leading forces in economy, in society, in media. Their economic power is increasing through the working parents and lesser hours spent for the child at home. The child has a better source to rely upon now, it's the new media. The child seeing his representation in the media is easily influenced to act in the similar way. The subconscious behaviours at the beginning turn to be the life style and made decisions up to the level of the consumer loyalty in the throughout the upcoming ages.

Purpose and Methodology

Most of the communication research in the field of children and communication concentrates on the way the children depicted in the television serials or television commercials. Yet, nowadays, there is an interesting case that the adults are becoming more and more childish in these digital worlds. The commercials targeting the adult audience make use of children a lot. There is also the case that not only the child image but also the childish behaviours are commonly used in the commercials. Even in the television serials it is possible to come across with many comical characters act-

ing childishly and making the audience laugh. This causes some kind of infantilization of the adults and expect them to behave like children. The commercials may have this kind of a function on the masses as well.

The paper aims to exemplify how most of the commercials concentrate on children as consumers in nowadays and how they seem to give more importance to 'adult-like decision making strategies' for children. These commercials aim to provide enough visuals to make the audience, especially the children believe that they are mobile enough and they have the opportunities to behave just like adults. These ads provide behaviours which could be taken as the role-models for children in general. This paper aims to discuss the concept of children and mobility in commercials and idealization of the role models.

As the main source of data to have a content and discourse analysis, the commercials of the three months in 2005 broadcasted in Turkey were taken. These commercials give us an invaluable source to see, how children are depicted in the family and society contexts, how they are interrelated with the idealized world, how much they were used as the target audience and how far they were related with the objects advertised. Apart from all, the data also proves that most of the commercials provide the settings for the adults in which they become children again or act childishly as if it is not a real world. The statistical data gives us how the adults are put into the chairs of children and how the children are put into the centre to represent decision-making bodies. The data is also analyzed through the discourse they provide and how far the real or the pseudo world is reflected through the discourse is discussed throughout the paper. The paper finally concentrates on some ethical issues regarding the national and universal broadcasting regulations. How far these issues were considered and how new concepts occur through the industry – oriented commercials. Regarding the types of mobility, the commercials were also classified and coded to see what kind of mobility issues they gather.

Throughout the first three months of 2005, almost all television channels broadcasted 24 hours and they usually had 20 minutes breaks between the commercials in average programs. Apart from the other advertisements and insertions, every 20 minutes there were commercial clusters of up to 10 minutes. These commercials were coded depending upon if they have any mobility factor in it.

Specifically in the last decade, the concept of mobility has become an increasingly important issue in relation to social disciplines as well as communication. New global issues, social dynamics, networks, human

relations, identities and all related other issues take the concept of mobility into its core as an important issues to be discussed. Mobility becomes one of the key terms affecting the content, the organization and frequency of the message and it is frequently associated with the concepts such as politics and power as well as the consumerism and globalization as the main issue underlying them all. All seem to be affected by mobility: today the mobile seem to be the powerful, more powerful than the immobile.

Though there seems to be a kind of a dilemma here. On one hand mobility is encouraged in the modern society emphasizing that one "should be physically and intellectually mobile" "ready to transfer" and be able to respond to the call of "a moving world"; but on the other hand, a kind of stability, non-changing behaviours, stereotypes are expected. A certain consumer loyalty, not changing minds so quickly, not driven by the desire was aimed. Thus, the continuous and never-ending dilemma is inevitable. As individuals you need to choose either to change and a kind of transmutation is inevitable or you choose not to change and thus, you become a stereotype. It is possible to handle mobility in different forms and functions, such as inspiration, the market regime, opinion, believes or values of the people. The paper discusses how the children image is affected by the concept of mobility and how mobility is introduced as a form of modernity or nomadism, as a part of network or a form of individualization. This paper aims to question the concept of mobility in the frames of TV commercials.

Regarding the mobility, this dilemmatic face of consumption is affected through the mobility of the people, mobility of the goods and products, mobility of economy, mobility of the information via media and the mobility of ideology. What would be the impact of the use of the concept of mobility on the society, system, culture and on individuals? Each new commercial is a trial to establish a little camp in the society. In this part of the given society, the values and the actions have a different code and the ones watching this piece of virtual reality, specifically children, share all these values. Thus, the made up one, the created culture or the culture of exception in the commercial film turns into reality throughout the time. This may be seen as a kind of flow. The idea of flow is welcomed by some social theorists. For instance, drawing on Mol & Law's work (1994), John Urry argues that "much of what happens in a 'society' is influenced by flows or fluids" (1997:3). Another sociologist, Rob Shields (1997: 2-5), summarizes the characteristics of social flows as follows: (1) they are spatial, temporal, and, above all, "beyond merely being processes", that is,

having a content, they are material-or, as Deleuze and Guattari paraphrase it, a flow is "material in movement"; (2) they have rhythms, intensity, and tempo, and move according to certain frequencies such as week, day, second, etc.; (3) they have intentional, vectoral directions, but not origins or end-points, causes or purposes, or a transcendental direction. Thus they are relational, without being positional in the structuralist sense; (4) they have viscosity, like ice-flows, and can move at different speeds and in different shapes. To these qualities, Urry adds the following: (5) flows are channeled by territorial scapes or networks, which also organize the flows in relational terms; (6) they facilitate the diffusion of relations of domination/subordination and the exercise of power through their intersections; (7) thus, thanks to the flows and the scapes through which they are channeled, new forms of social inequalities proliferate; flows signal new opportunities, new desires, and at the same time new risks (Urry 1997: 6, 8-9).

When we associate mobility with the social activity, we do not usually count on the individual in front of the television. However, the modern sense of mobility also involves this individual as the one who is virtually mobile and perhaps intellectually mobile one. New "mobile epistemologies" of "the social" can be analysed by means of four components: (a) positions; (b) movements; (c) relations/change; and (d) virtuality/possibility.

Thus, we could figure out three main components of child when it comes to the concept mobility in television commercials.

- a. The child used in the commercials regarding adults products such as commercials of banks, automobiles, communication technologies, etc.
- b. The child used in the commercials regarding the children products such as commercials of toys, kid's magazines, food, etc.
- c. The adults in the commercials acting childlike or having childish behaviours
- d. The image of child is used commercials having neither the child nor the childlike behaviours but a sense of child used in the commercial, such as an IVF center announcing that "it's not too late" implying that it's not too late to have a baby.

The commercials were also analysed depending upon their message and its relevance to the real world. The chosen commercials were coded again to see how they position the adults and children and their relevance of actions into the real social situations. The total video recordings of the

whole commercials were exceeding 18 hours. The discourse analysis of such an audio-visual text might seem to be so complicated. Yet, considering only certain values and positioning in the social circumstances, the educational and real world value of these commercials were scaled. The main question here was how the children would perceive the world (the childish world and the adult world) through watching these commercials.

Findings and Interpretation

Depending upon the collected data, the commercials seem to be a very rich source regarding the examples of children and concept of mobility. In order to interpret the data in comparison to the real life mobility and mobility exemplified in the commercials, we need to have some other findings. Although these data differ a lot from one group / city / society to another, mainly the findings are expected to have a meaningful data to cover a wider perspective. For example, according to the main findings, the children tend to sleep and eat less as they grow up and spend the rest of the time just like adults (Robinson & Bianchi, 1997: 20-24). Of course, the children spend some time for shopping, spare time activities, reading, socializing, etc. When their actions were considered, regarding our theme, the tendency of watching television could be seen as more a female activity and it tends to cover a larger amount of time as they grow up (American Demographics, 1997:32).

When we consider the ideal number of children in each family in Turkey is shown as 2.14 by HUNEE, in 1988 (HUNEE, 1987-1989:65). However, this was 3.03 in 1978 and 2.7 in 1983. The decrease in the number of the children in the family appearing in the last decade shows us that the number of the children is getting lower but the opportunities provided to each child is getting higher and higher. A more recent research shows that the 59.8% of the married females prefers two children as the ideal, whereas 17.4% of them rather three children, yet some 9% prefer not to have any (Türkiye Aile Yıllığı, 1991:24). The effectiveness of these preferences could be seen as the birth rate represented as 6.3 in 1960's lowering down to 2.99 in 1990's. In 1998 it was 2.38 (1989 DIE).

Children's Access To Television

In order to assess the importance of the concept of children and mobility, the access to television is an important point to be considered. The amount of time devoted to television viewing is highly related with the access to the television set and the television channels and the rate of access could be changing depending upon the social circumstances and vules shared in that society.

Different societies might have different variable concerning the access to television as well as these rates could also be changing when it comes to the topic of children's access to television. The accessibility of the television to children has never been a problem until the very recent years. Yet, the issue of children's choice of certain television programs and the increasing hours of their watching time is gaining much more a problematic aspect in recent years, not only in Turkey, but also throughout the whole world.

The statistics show that the average child is watching five films a day, mostly having inappropriate content. Not only the time but also the money available to children would have a certain meaning on the side of communication and mobility. The amount of money given to children as the pocket money has also a kind of influence on how they spend it and how much they spend regarding certain expences.

Pecora claims that in 2000 the children's pocket money reaching up to a sum of 155 billion dollars has also a rather different way of spending it, because the children now are facing the media and they also have a media shaped life (Pecora, 1998). The more money the children have, the more possibilities of mobility occur on the side of the child. Having their examples via the media and commercials, the child, becomes ready to act to be mobile any time s/he wishes to. The statistics also show that the modern children has better trust and self-confidence to himself-herself in comparison to the older generations. The unofficial records show that regarding the ones for example escaping home, could go as far as another village or town in the past or another district of the city at most. But, the children escaping home now could go as far as another country or even continent.

The access to the media on the side of the children has a lot to do with the time spent with the media. For example, when there were almost 100.000 television sets all over USA in 1948, nobody was aware of the risk

for the children regarding the physical, intellectual and emotional impact this could have throughout the time. When there was a television set in 7 houses out of 8 by the 1959, around 50 million children met the television for the first time (Öcel, 2007: 211). Thus, the television programs started to shape the lives of the children then. Thus, even if they are accepted as the main medium to the modernity, accessibility to the knowledge, the television shapes the culture, language and thinking styles of the children as well as the adults. It is easy to argue that before the television programs, the flow of information could be under control of the adults and the educationalists, yet, with the impact of television, the parents and the teachers lost their control over the children.

It seems that the access to television is becoming a point of problem specifically in the western countries. Regarding the time devoted to viewing, the access to television plays an important role. Regarding the American statistics, an average student of the 6th grade, was spending his/her 3 hours for television and 15 minutes for the radio in 1950's; just after a decade, this range of time changed as to reach up to 4 hours for the television and 2 hours for the radio. Nowadays, we estimate an average 6 hours for television and 5 hours for radio. When the time passed with the other media is also considered, the children of the modern time are spending more than 8-10 hours with the mass media (Roberts & Foerh, 2004: 11). As the media availability is considered, an average American child between 2-7, has 3 televisions, 3 cassette players, 3 radio, 2 video players, 2 CD players, 1 video-game console and 1 computer (Roberts & Foerh, 2004: 31). As the age gets higher, such as 8-12, the media availability gets higher as well. According to the 2001 data, the 67% of the schooling children have an access to internet at home; 15-17 years youth have it 83%. It is interesting to note that the media availability of the children is not affected by the criteria such as the economic income, social status, being white or black or Hispanic, etc. Only, in some cities, the lower income groups have less media availability overall in home-access, yet, they are still available and accessible to children (Roberts & Foerh, 2004:37). The children between 2-7 and 8-18 having media access in their room could be seen in the following table.

Access	2-7 age %	8-18 age %
Television	32	65
Video Cassette Player	16	36
Radio	43	86
Cassette / CD Player	38	88
Video-Game Console	13	45
Computer	6	21

To Roberts and Foerh, gender locates a meaningful difference in access only to video-game consoles (Roberts & Foerh, 2004: 38). However, the percentage of the girls (69%) having television sets in their rooms is higher than the boys (61%). It is the same for the radio (88% for girls and 85% for boys) as well as for CD players (90% for girls and 86% for boys), yet when the video-game consoles were considered this is just the opposite (girls 30% and boys 58%). Of course there are the family factors regarding the children's access to the media in overall household and having an individual access.

Children's Preferences

Media is growing up to the higher levels in the dreams of children as well. The computers, digital channels, thematic channels seem to be too challenging for the successful students. It is usually one of the three wishes of children. When they are asked about the three things to have in future, the main almost classical answers are a home, a computer and a bicycle. Regarding the computers, it is easy to find it out that these stand for not only computing facilities any more but they stand for all kind of digital media, including radio, television and film facilities as well as the musical rescourses. The parents are encouraged to buy these products for their children and the children were encouraged to ask for these from their parents. Even if the promotions seem to be higher, the statistical data shows that the individual pc availability reaches up to 1.8% in all around Turkey whereas the individual internet access is only 1.2%. Of course, the percentage goes higher in big cities (Yeni Yüzyıl, 8 August: 10). The preferences of children play an important role in many statistics and collected

data. The researchers, Kubey, Shifflet, Weerakkody, and Ukeiley, worked on the assessment of children use of cable television and internet and they found out that children between 5-12 ages were using more independent and thematic channels. The rate of the children having a high frequency of internet usage reaches up to the level of % 1.5 among all the adults (*Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media*, 1995:467).

In Turkey, the situation is somewhat similar. A two and half year old child could discriminate between the brands of about 600 and they may have specific choices regarding the television channels out of 500 different channel. When we consider the children preferences regarding the Turkish media what they choose to watch could be summarized as below (Öcel, 2007: 341).

Program Types	5-11 ages %	12-19 ages %
Turkish Serials	24	27
Turkish Films	17	16
Humour	5	4
Foreign Film	10	13
Foreign Serials	8	5
Children Programs	1	
News	11	14
Sports and sport related news and magazine	5	4
Religious	1	1
TV plays	4	4
Cartoons	8	1
Musical Entertainments	5	3
Talk shows	1	2
Documentaries		1
Theatre shows		1
Weekly Magazines		3
Reality Show		1
Total	100	100

The choice of content is somewhat related to the availability of spare time. Regarding the education schedule of children, it is easy to believe that the weekends are more accessible. However, this is not the case. It seems that the week days are considered to have a cumulative effect on children. Specifically, concentrating on the television serials occur on the weekdays. They follow specific serials on the television channels and these are given more importance than the individual choices made at the weekend, since the content of what's been watched usually discussed with the peers during the class time or other spare time. Having the socializing effect of these serials, make the children of certain age groups become the fans of certain television serials.

Time	5-11 age %	12-19 age %
Week Days	60	65
Weekend	40	35

(Öcel, 2007: 343)

For many years, the increasing number of the children, the growing youth was seen as the target audience for the television messages, yet, in the last decade, the role of the commercials had an interesting turn. The place and importance of the children in the family and in the society has been valued and even exaggerated. However, it is not only the children but also the adults who are introduced a fairy tale world through the commercials. It is a world of infantilization and idealized circumstances. The relationship and the function of children within the system and family have a distorted value in this pseudo-world.

Impact On Children

Both the access to television and the preferences have an important role when it comes to the point of impact on children. The images flowing through the screen have an important and invaluable impact on children. This pseudo-world has a lot to do with the concept of image formation. The television refers to the brain through the audio-visual signs, images it cre-

ates. Actually, the memory is central storage place in the brain. Observations made by people by means of their senses (eyes, ears, smell, taste and touch) form the input. Signals are temporarily stored through the sensory register in the short-term memory (Van Raaij & Antonides, 1994: 262) or in other words a kind of working memory. The information in the short-term memory can, for example, be used to categorise the objects or products (by grouping them under a known denominator). The information is then stored in the long-term memory. This can be used, for example, in recalling memories. The information is absorbed in chronological order, but is not saved in chronological order. Instead it is spread over the cerebral cortex; in which packets of information are mutually linked to each other (Romjin, 1991: 74) Linking of information with the other information registered in the brain happens very frequently. This happens, for example, when one memory calls up another. The industry – oriented commercials use the human brain in the most effective way. First, the television messages are classified in the form of images. Millions of nerve cells (neurons) receive and transmit messages even automatically. Once they have a large number of synapses that connect them mutually to complex circuits, they can carry billions of messages of similar types. One nerve cell can have thousands of synaptic connections which form the neural circuits in which some nerve cells can function in various circuits. (Bloom & Lazerson, 1988: 31-32) In the case of a memory, large numbers of neural circuits, spread over the cerebral cortex, can be activated at once.

The brain waves and the images create the schemes in the brain. Bartlett introduced the concept of schemes or schemata in 1934. It explains the structure of the memory influences the attribution of meaning. A scheme is a cognitive structure representing organised knowledge about a concept or a stimulus. Knowledge structures can be formed with schemes which allow people to construct their own reality. The activation of a scheme may be conscious or unconscious (Meertens & Von Grumbkow, 1988: 84-85).

Usually, the consumption behaviours of the people today seem to be more enjoyable and more fairytale-like. With the digital money, the credit cards, they are able to buy whatever they want, wherever they want. Regarding the mobility concepts they can go wherever they want and they can do whatever they want. Everything is possible, available, affordable, even the highest experiences could be divided into instalments as many months as they wish and everything is affordable for the average person. As Firat states, as members of the market system, and having adopted its rep-

resentations of consumption and production, consumers of modern capitalist society have largely behaved to fulfil their roles as "consumers." This means: rest your body and mind, just relax and enjoy, reenergize yourself for "work." Consumption is a break from creative activity. (Firat, 1999: 290).

As Davis puts it, usually, there is the ideology behind a certain way of consumption. To understand ideology the best way to begin is with the experience we have of it every day, experience that often goes undetected and derives much of its accumulating power from that fact. Many people talk about the infantilization of the adults when it comes to most serious topics such as consumption, politics or elections (http://rc3.org/2004/10/entry_6589.php). To some people, even religions are also a part of this infantilization process. As Benefiel states, when we think of infantilization, a similar process occurs with rituals, symbols and beliefs. Rituals, symbols and beliefs which were originally appropriate representations of core religious ideas also deteriorate. As they take on a life of their own as well, "magic" is introduced to the religious group. The rituals are just like the schemes. Schemes function as an observation and interpretation framework. The images and associations give meaning to the original object. A product or brand can be associated with characteristics and experiences. (Van Raaij & Antonides, 1994: 131-132) As the editor in chief at MWC News, Davis, puts it 'the collective consciousness in the mindless bliss of endless happy talk', the messages of the commercials, the conscious or unconscious images curved into the brain would mean a lot in the decision making process of the consumers.

To sum up, we may say that the impact of a single scene or a single film will be seen not only immediately after the viewing activity but throughout the lifetime. The question of how and when this impact will occur is not yet known. Depending upon the concentration time, age, sex, educational or social level and other demographic issues the variables will be innumerable. How this impact is lived or passed through would be another question to be dealt with since every child has a different strategy to deal with the impact.

Children's Watching Television and Mobility

Mobility and children are inseparable two concepts. Every child is expected to be mobile, physically, intellectually, socially, culturally, linguistically, economically and virtually. The physical mobility of children will be depending on their physical development. These are studied throughout many decades and starting from the first days of pregnancy the parents are knowledgeable enough to follow their children's development.

The intellectual development of children will be depending upon much more on the flow of intellectual information around him/her. The children develop 80% of their intellectual capacity during the first eight years and the 20% is left to develop up to the adulthood around 20. Thus, the intellectual mobility of children will be developed through the first images curved into their brain and these images are usually implemented through the media. However, media has a side effect as to prevent the children to be kept by those images so much that the child could sit in front of the television for hours. This fact implies the underdevelopment of the children both physically and intellectually. The lack of physical mobility, causes a kind of physical weakness which will effect the child in the upcoming years. On the other hand, the brain of the child used to the high frequency of the images and the changing scenes will need to be alerted in real life situations as well. The hours locked by the viewing activity will mutate the children's brain as to cause some permanent underdevelopment of the brain in some cases. The children having heavy load of images and getting used to the frequent alerts sent by the television program will be seeking this similar amount of frequent alerts in almost every activity and the lack of it would be causing unwillingness to take part in, reluctance to be a part of it or uneasiness, attention disorders etc. Thus, the television viewing on one hand would be encouraging the mobility of the children and on the other hand causing terrible and non-reversible impact on them both physically and intellectually.

Social mobility is also encouraged throughout childhood. This period is the one in which most of the friendships and values are established. That's why the socialization period of children would mean a lot to them not only in their childhood but also in adulthood. Television viewing would have a serious impact on children so much that, they might feel accompanied by television. This accompany of the television would mean even more than their friends or social surroundings. Thus, on one hand, the images and

messages send through the television encourages the children to take part and function better in social settings, but on the other hand, these social settings never occur as long as the children sit in front of television.

The linguistic mobility of the children is important and to many linguist, television is one of the sources of information that could help the children develop appropriate linguistic structures and functions. The children develop a new language level during their first years, and the stratifactional grammer regarding this competence would lead them to acquire the language through the settings and structures provided by the source of information. The children are expected to reach to a better and higher linguistic level during their acquisition period. The level of the language is expected to change every six months. This linguistic mobility would lead the child to develop the concepts, vocabulary and four language skills; namely reading, listening, speaking and writing. Through the statistics and reasearch done for many years it's been proved that television viewing does not help the children to acquire the language in the way it's been proposed at the beginning. Contrary to the belief that the language skills will be developed by viewing television is not proved, however, there is a great amount of data showing that viewing television would only help children on the way to learn only the phrases used in television serials, copying the structures provided by the role models on television programs, lack of development of reading, writing and especially speaking. Even the listening skills are not improved at all, since the children expect the dialogues as the occur frequently and usually miss the real meaning in between the lines. It is a fact that through the visual images, television hinders the linguistic development of children and prevents their mobility.

Cultural issues are getting more and more bounded to the virtual mobility in the age of technology. The children watching television are under the bombardment of the visual images. Specifically in the developing countries the programs broadcasted on television are bought from the outer sources, introducing many cultural aspects to children from the very early ages. This kind of a cultural mobility would lead the children to be virtually mobile as well. Through the programs they watch, with the impact of globalization, children are stereotyped and many children have similar tastes and similar expectations all aronud the world. The children who were exposed to the foreign culture and values through the images would be starting to live in a kind of a virtual reality which would cause problems of orientation to real life situations. Heavy doses of foreign culture would also lead to misleading expectations or standards of life that may cause both positive

and negative motivation. On one hand, having higher expectations the children might also have greater ambitions and better motivation, yet, on the other hand being conscious enough that they might never reach to their goals and expectations would lead pessimism and weakness, lack of self-confidence that might have temporary or permanent impact on them.

Economical mobility is a new concept for the children, specifically triggered through the commercials. The commercials, targeting children are very much aware of the fact that they have also an impact on the way to shape the life standards and expectations of children. The advertisers in nowadays are after the pocketmoney of children which is reaching to high amounts when calculated in a given society. Due to the hard working parents, most of the children are left alone, not only in front of the television but also in their decision-making processes on the way to lead to their spending habits. The advertisers also know that once established these spending habits would accompany the children throughout a lifetime. That's why, most of the commercials are full of children images even if the children have nothing to do with the product itself. Having a child in a commercial, will distract the attention of the children even if they are not the target audience. Regarding the cumulative effect of these, it is easy to assume that children develop a kind of acquaintance with the product. This acquaintance will lead them to buy the product when it comes to that. Although the children are very choosy and difficult to convince, they are easily grasped by the images and their brains are conquered through the frequent repetitions. To sum up, the commercials have a certain impact on children as lead their economical mobility.

In a way, the people are just living the luxury of the mobility in its real or virtual sense, so much that they do not have enough time to question what they do or why they do it. They have so many choices so much that they do not question the things they choose or do not really bother where their choices take them. The television commercials introduce us a world of nowhere. Just like the dream world of the past fairytales or the hectic Las Vegas atmosphere. In the new millennium, all the market places and malls are just like the theme parks we step in and as Belk puts it (Belk, 1999; 109) are apt to leave us with the impression that we have just stepped into a three-dimensional television set with a wild agenda of disparate programming. It is a feeling that has been called kaleidoscopic (Baudrillard 1988)-a feeling familiar from theme parks, television, and shopping malls. Theme parks like Disneyland where Fantasyland, Frontierland, Adventureland, Mainstreet, Pirates of the Caribbean, and the

Jungle Cruise all about one another, are a further preparation for the improbably kaleidoscopic nature of the shopping places and commercials (Langman, 1992: 49). If we would like to have a look at the messages in the commercials, the cumulative image they try to create and main messages seem to be so striking. One of the main facts they try to establish is that, rather than buying no-name products, most of the people would like to buy famous brands and keep it as a kind of umbrella for their identity. The type of consumption and the act of buying might have several sub-meanings in the culture, it may be regarded as a show off for most of the people to state nonverbally that they are able to afford to such a brand. In short, with the things you buy, you become.

For the children this kind of atmosphere is not that much different from their imaginative world. This world of fantasy helps them to activate their physical energy as well as mental energy. Through the commercials not only the children but also the adults are introduced a fairy tale world through the commercials. In other words, it is a world of infantilized and idealized circumstances. The relationship with the family members and the function of the children within the system has a distorted value in this pseudo-world. The main source of data to have a content and discourse analysis - the commercials of the three months in 2005 give us an invaluable source to see, how children are depicted in the family and society contexts, how they are interrelated with the idealized world, how much they were used as the target audience and how far they were related with the objects advertised. This might seem to be very dangerous and unhealthy. Even some of the most serious commercials follow the similar codes of humour and infantilization.

On the other hand, accompanying the commercials, the mainstream media do not give the news; they give the ideological directions on how to receive it. As Hegel said long ago, the daily news is the morning prayer of modern man. One other fact to be mentioned is that even if there are more than 140 channels broadcasting locally and nationally, the way the commercials position the audience resemble to each other and there seems to be no difference between the channels when it comes commercials.

Regarding the commercials it is interesting to note that fear appeal is used a lot: If you do not buy this product you are 'excluded'. Thus, inclusion and exclusion becomes the core of the interest. Considering the actions performed in the commercials, it is easy to note that the people do a lot in this circus-like world is to consume, to sing, to act and to be happy. It is also very striking to see that they try to make themselves happy-not

the others. Some commercials make use of such slogans openly as if it is a duty to make oneself happy. The more selfish the people become, the better their standards become. The commercials are full of examples of stealing candies, running after ice-creams or cold drinks or competing with one another for the sake of testing a new product, etc. As the main idea all the commercials emphasise that the audience have choices and through their choices they BECOME. The commercials also feed the concept of inclusion and exclusion and the importance of being *in touch with the others*. This helps them to be in touch with their audience as well. The values of the materialistic world are emphasised frequently. For example, life is a kind of gambling: There are bonuses if you can catch.

The commercials in Turkey reflect children in many ways. Children can be seen in many different commercials sometimes promoting the products not even actually referring to children. The first three months of 2005 provide us the types of commercials cycling throughout the year. It is interesting to see that all these commercials could be classified under different titles yet; only 11% of them really refer to children. However, the child appearances in the commercials reach up to the level of 87 %.

From the semiotic part of the view, these commercials are considered to be the referents of the emotions, happiness and importance of the relationships, sometimes enriched with the beliefs and superstitions. When something is mobile, it is somehow changing throughout the time. Here, we may question a lot of things, such as what is changing, why it is changing, how it is changing, how long this change will last or what would be the impact of this change on the society, system, culture and on individuals.

Regarding the mobility, these multiple faces of consumption are affected through the mobility of the people, mobility of the goods and products, mobility of economy, mobility of the information via media and the mobility of ideology. The level of the media literacy of the individuals/societies - which was considered to be something positive until very recently- function now as the gates of permission of the audience -which turns to have a negative impact in nowadays. With this new aspect, not only the concepts of sociology, but also philosophy, history, anthropology, education and many other disciplines had an influence on the media and films. Specifically, the commercials, which are easily accessible, are used to create a different world to be shared universally.

What would be the impact of this change on the society, system, culture and on individuals? Each new commercial is a trial to establish a little camp in the society. In this part of the given society, the values and the actions

have a different code and the ones watching this piece of virtual reality share all these values. Thus, the made up one, the created culture or the culture of exception in the commercial film turns into reality throughout the time. What is more striking is that, mostly, not only the addicted television audience but also the high percentage of the non-watching people in the developing countries were somehow affected by these virtual exceptions.

Discussion and Conclusion

As Firat points out, (Firat, 1999: 290) largely shunned by intellectuals and controlled by commercial interests, television has become the most powerful communication medium since the Second World War. Corporations controlling the medium have constructed it in their image of a consumption process. It is now seen basically as an entertainment medium, part of a consumption process, and to be used to relax, "watch," pass time with for recreational purposes. Consumers expose themselves to this medium in a passive way. Anything "too serious" is shunned because, after all, people are supposed to use it to *escape* from daily chores, not to produce ideas and be creative through it. It is there to entertain us, take us away from reality-although often reality replicates it-and make us rested so that we can build up our energies for the next day's "productive" work. Since it has been represented as such a "consumption" tool, its viewers come to largely expect programming that will fulfil such a purpose. Yet, television is arguably the most influential medium in instilling values, lifestyles, and goals for life, as well as images of success and achievement, for a majority of those exposed to it (Gitlin 1986; Williams 1986).

Branding and Becoming

As Baudrillard pointed out, consumption is not a passive activity but a system of producing sign-values (Baudrillard 1981 and 1993). The conflict between the purchasing or not is somewhat a good example to see the how the habits and traditions are re-formulated in these new created cul-

tures and societies. For example, in the last decade, branding has exploded, with scores of brands a new lifestyle, new expectations and new identities were introduced. It should be kept in mind that "branding" a product or anything comes with a price--usually a higher cost than a non-branded is that the satisfaction of knowing a "brand" should add value and maintain some consistency. In our case, the purchases themselves are the means of communication between the two parts. This is a type of communication having no words in it but the symbols. In other words you could easily see the rule in action: "It is not what you say, but how you say it." But sometimes the rule changes a bit and it becomes: "It is not what you say or how you say it, it is how you look when you say it." And "how you look" is more important for the others in the society, creating a more communicative atmosphere. You may look like degraded in the ads but it's better to be prepared for tomorrow and have a better image in real life. So they purchase the item advertised. There is the fear factor to be mentioned. The consumer usually thinks as follows: 'If I buy the wrong thing... The result will be a kind of shame... Therefore, I must buy the best I could because the thing I buy will represent me in the eyes of the society and the individual.'

Reflections of such a change could be found in different degrees considering the differences of age, education, gender and income in the decision making process of the individuals. In its wider sense, this is a matter of mobility. The mobility of the society or groups causes the mobility of the values. In this mobile world 'Naming' and 'Labelling' is an issue. The people, their income, their attitude is all standardized and classified. The 'named' or 'labelled' one is recognized easily. It is a matter of 'being' a member of one of the groups or not. You may be labelled or 'identified' in this way or in that way. The problem of who is labelling the others and why it is never been discussed. The main thing is just to have a clue, something to help us think in terms, numbers.

Becoming a member of the group is important however, what is also important is staying as a member of the group. This new metaphor brings the ideas such as 'encouraging inclusion' vs. 'discouraging exclusion'. In today's world it is easy to be somebody. Having a label is enough. Anything would do. Smokers, non-smokers, women-men, children-adolescent. Once you are labelled, there seems to be no way to change it, yet, it is impossible to be the other.

Neutralisable Opposition

Here we may mention the concept of 'Neutralisable Opposition'. For the brands in Turkey, or more concretely, the battle between the branded products and no-name ones seems to be a kind of Neutralisable Opposition. In fact, there is no opposition between the two concepts seeming to be too different or opposite to each other on the surface structure. In the deep structure, the two items and their various brands do not seem to be too different from each other. In any case the audience will be the consumer. But in commercialized new product and new marketing strategy, the main action is maximized whereas having ordinary products reduced to different subsidiary actions, such as meeting with friends or having a dinner with the parents, etc. The connotations of the non-branded ones could be summarized as the ordinary, humble, unimportant, outdated, and old-fashioned, etc. However, the connotations of famous brands could be associated with the concepts such as extravagant, special, important, unique, modern, in, precious, etc. Although the ads never compare and contrast these traditional and modern two worlds, it is done in the minds of the spectators. These events in the ads seem to be so innocent and ordinary. Yet, all these pseudo-subsidiary actions in fact establish the nesting for the isotopy in the society. The communication in those embedded environments, the anaphora created gives the messages of main consumption as well as the culture. The recursive elements of the consumer culture as well as the compact conflicting messages give the chance of an obligatory transformation equalizing the neutralisable opposition.

Purchasing As A Decision Making Process

To Engel, Kollat, Blackwell purchasing is an end of a decision making process. Throughout this process, the dynamics would be changing from one individual to another, as well as from one country to another. Yet, there are some steps followed at each case. These could be summarized in five steps. The first one is the definition of the problem and specification of the needs and requirements. In this respect, the branding and pur-

chasing actions in the commercials create a world in which there are real purchases and real products as a must. It degrades the individuals who do not cope up with it.

The second step involves the information process in which the commercials provide information about the symbolic value of products, as symbols never die. This immortality effect the purchase decisions due to the fact that mostly in our society images and relationships are valued for a lifetime. The third step is the evaluation of the alternatives, which is a bit of the tricky part since; any brand will be imposing its genuine products and claim that they are the bests of the market. However, the audience had a wider chance to evaluate once they are convinced to purchase diamonds yet the brand is not that much important and comes in the secondary level. The choices are made on the fourth step. It is interesting that who is making the choice is always a dilemma since it's usually the men purchasing but the women choosing or stating the likes and dislikes. As the last step comes the feedback of the purchases and consequences. In the last few years, being affordable, the genuine brands could also be replaced with the fake ones and thus could easily be substituted with the most valuable ones. This dimension could bring a multiplication effect and could cause more purchases such as wearing one in the ordinary days and a more precious one in the special occasions and ceremonies. It is inevitable to deny the importance and impact of the classes or the groups of social status. The public opinion and the common sense are shaped not only through the concrete facts but also by the made up supernatural believes and the traditions of the given society. It does not matter how high the educational or the economical level of the society is. The dynamics of the society, in a way forces the groups and the individuals into a "Conspicuous Consumption" habit. Considering the TV commercials, this kind of an idea is cultivated. The youngsters trying to be more modern and rather non-traditional, different from the adults of the past with their creativity, intelligence, beauty and uniqueness, they are given the opportunity to add new meanings to the ordinariness of life, such as using the diaspora of the liquidity in an unusual way.

Questioning Viewing

There is a psychology of viewing that has long been recognized and exploited by governmental and educational agencies as well as by commercial interests. The experience of seeing a film emphasizes the vivid visual presentations in which images are already fully established, easily identified and easily followed, even on the elementary levels. Garth (Garth, 1980:89-90) states that film is an unusually strong type of communication process, because the viewer is willing, even eager to receive what the communicator has to offer.

On one hand, cinema going is an action, a mobility requiring both "intrinsic" and "extrinsic" motivation. There are many factors and problems in the context, starting from the process of control and production mechanisms, up to the level of consumption. It has its own participants, objections taking place in certain situations. It has its base values, strategies and outcomes. On the other hand, watching a film at home is somewhat different from cinema going. Especially when the viewing is frequently cut by the commercials. In such a platform, sometimes commercials have more impact than the film itself because, films are viewed only once but commercials several times. Especially, this frequency and use of signs have more impact on children than the adults. Children in this case are not only seen as the target audience as the consumers but also the potential consumers of the future as well.

As they develop their childish reflections about the commercials, they become more and more taken into the commercials that at the end leave no way out. Popularity and the other effects of the media chain should show all its impact in a certain time limit. Time factors are as important as the economical, political, social, geographical scope of the broadcasters. The advertisers risk their time and money for the audience and in return what they want to see is the immediate reflection of the audience: the product they advertised should be sold immediately to get the most benefit possible. That's why, they need to mobilize the audience as soon as possible. The group which could be mobilized very easily is that of the children's. They are ready to act and move and show their reflections as they appear. That's why it seems to be a very quick challenge for the advertisers to target the children and for the children it's mutually activating because they feel like more adults as they are able to move and act when possible. Most of the advertisers are well aware of the fact that they

are always the winners, over a considerable period of time, profitable returns are waiting for them. Accordingly, most of the broadcasters and advertisers run from one to ten years through the main products or related concepts and products.

However, the policy concerning the duration have certain expectations requiring the motivation and mobility of the masses through the ads convincing them the popularity of the commercials just to lead higher sells. From the point of view of the advertisers it is almost inevitable to create a kind of a pseudo-demand for the popularity of the product as it is also irresistible for the pseudoaudience since it is a kind of an expected encounter after having all the information through the other products such as the news and ads surrounding them. Regarding the children in this case, it would mean a lot for them on the way to establish an identity. The peer pressure on having the certain brands, purchasing the cool items that their classmates would like and the feeling of inclusion that would be accompanied are the rewards for such a consumption.

It is believed that the recycling ads put such a pressure on the audience, become so informative that the audience is forced to buy the product, at the end in order to fulfill and complete the previously given information all about it. But all this should take place in a certain time cluster. This is another force for the audience. In a way, the audience is forced to view first before the other friends, to prove that they are updated and popular. It is a way of meaning themselves through the brands and products they use. It is so much associated with the social and cultural values that the product is associated with the self and identity. It is not only getting the current information or keeping themselves updated but also to have something to say about their own self and experience. It's not only going with the stream, it is more prestigious to have the information before anyone-else. Only in this way they could keep their places in certain upper groups of the society. By going with the stream, the individual feels himself getting ready to get the drop on someone. Because in the competitive, aggressive nature of man's world, where the threat of defeat is never-ending, only the lucky to survive. The competition is so strong and the lifestyle often depends on learning to be the fast, being the first to move with the starting signal. It's just keeping a steady eye on the surrounding circumstances; the victory goes to the one who gets the drop on the other. The struggle for success is perhaps more competitive than in the channels they choose. It may seem to be a very innocent detail but it has a very cumulative effect when you get the jump on the others.

The exposure to the message or rather the popularity of the message becomes more effective with the media combinations. People in the developed countries usually do not rely upon a single medium for their information. But, the media combinations make the messages seem to be more effective than they are in fact. In this case, television and radio provide more instantaneous coverage, but the print medium provides the detail that fleshes out the story.

Viewing – The Individual and The Society

Whether for instructional, persuasive or purely commercial purposes, film provides many advantages as a mass medium. The concept of mobility is so much involved with the society that usually a question is asked if it would be possible to talk about the pure relationship between mobility the individual without being shaped by the society. On one hand, the more mobile the individual is, the harder it becomes to be shaped by the society. On the other hand, the individual is expected to be mobile as much as possible. The commercials create a common culture and stereotyped audiences and consumers. Thus, they could be considered to be the “public places” rather than the places for the individuals. It is not the choice of the individuals any more, it is the public sphere where the individuals should pass through everyday.

Perhaps, the ironical point or rather a dilemma should be underlined here is that television viewing might both have the function of escaping from the social realities for the individual, yet bringing the individual into another pseudo-society that everybody experiences the same adventure throughout the viewing action. But nobody knows each other or talks to each other apart from accepting this silent membership of the secret intrasocial enjoyment.

Popularity of the Images: Children as Decision-Makers

It is frequently expressed that commercials are “pure entertainment” providing a means of escape from the world of reality, providing a pseudo atmosphere for the audience in which they satisfy their needs and expectations. An opposing view pretends to put the commercials into a point far from being “just/mere” entertainment or “escapist” entertainment; commercials have definite and presumptively bad effects on the population.

Their main function is to provide “dreams” for millions. Since the essential role of commercials is to entertain and amuse or to afford an opportunity for a harassed and anxiety-ridden population to “get away from it all” by escaping into a land of phantasy. The term “entertainment” is psychologically ambiguous. (Fearing, 1972:122). It might be very interesting to see that different cultures and societies show different reactions to the same advertising.

Thus, the popularity and entertaining factor attributed to that commercial or product would be just a vogue one. In fact, the popularity of the commercials mostly owe too much to the decision makers. Here we see not only the promotion of the activity of viewing but also the consumption of the concept introduced and all the concept related products. Thus, commercials are introduced to the society as a kind of industry covering most of the other industries as well as many social, economical and political functions related to the communication areas.

Gans talks about the “*high culture creatures*” (Gans, 1969: 162-171 cited in 1972, McQuail, 381) who are very much concerned about their position in a society in which popular culture

is politically and culturally dominant. To these high culture creatures consumption is not a mere activity but a sign of many other values attributed to this action. Advertisers understand the themes that arouse interest in the viewing public, so they develop products that reflect the general themes and images the viewers are likely to enjoy. They function as gate-keepers by developing themes that appeal to the entertainment and message needs of society. They ask themselves “Will the message sell?”

Motivation and Mobility

Attitudes regarding the nature of the impact of commercials assume that images have effects but they are reciprocal to the socially determined needs of the audience. This view assumes that there is a broad functional relationship between the thematic content of commercials and the needs of the mass audience. Each commercial is another exposition to the audience to introduce a wide variety of situations, and thus provided with patterns of behavior which the audience may accept or reject. Thus each commercial creates a motivation for the individual and the mass audience to watch for another.

Motivation cannot be observed directly. When we see people eat, we assume they are hungry, but we may be wrong. People eat for a variety of reasons besides hunger: they want to be sociable, it's time to eat, or maybe they're bored. It's the same with the commercials. People could watch the commercials for various reasons. Thus, all the advertisers do not really refer to the motivation of the masses to see that specific commercials. There might be individual or intrapersonal factors influencing the people to have a certain tendency.

The most important function of the advertisers today is to create the motivation to lead the mobility of the audience as to come across with the commercials to be watched. This channel or that channel wouldn't matter too much. Thematic channels becoming more individualized are much popular in nowadays, since they bring together the individuals and commercials they might find useful in the same platform.

Motivation here refers to the factors that determine a person's desire to do something; in this respect choosing, watching, and consuming whatever produced by the advertisers. Children are motivated easily through the visual images they are exposed to. Audience could be affected differently by different types of motivation, whereas there could be different factors affecting different types of audiences in the same society or in different societies.

Two types of motivation are sometimes distinguished:

- a) *Instrumental motivation*: wanting to do something because it will be useful for certain "instrumental" goals. In this case the audience could have some instrumental motivation to go to the cinema in order to reach the instrumental goals such as getting a higher status in the soci-

ety, having something to talk about, proving that s/he could afford such a leisure, etc.

The children are ready to have any instrumental motivation introduced by the commercials.

- b) *Integrative motivation*: wanting to do something in order to communicate with people of another culture. In this case, the audience could have some integrative motivation as to know more about the “other” culture, the “other’s experience” and perhaps to associate or integrate itself to that “other”. Integrative motivation could also show itself as to lead the individuals to be a respectable member of a smaller group which has an “intragroup communication”. In this case, the communication among members of a group could be shaped through the commercials watched, the products bought and experiences gained through the watching activity. In order not to be excluded from such an intragroup communication the group members try to go with the stream; they watch or consume whatever should be consumed. This is a kind of belongingness to a specific group which is rather closed to the other members of the society. Once you’re in the group, you need to have some effort to stay in the group.

Motivation could be given through different ways. *Intrinsic motivation* is the inner motivation of the individual leading him/her to his/her choices and consumptions. *Extrinsic motivation*, on the other hand, is the outer force putting some pressure on the individual as to lead him/her through a previously predetermined path. People are usually affected by their intrinsic or extrinsic motivation types when they are making their choices, giving their decisions or developing their attitudes. Which way has more emphasis on the decision making process of the individual and why has always been the question. In other words, “do the people in the society have ever a chance of making their own choices or are they affected by the others in the society” is the question.

When the consumption of the commercials is considered, viewing a certain television channel is expected to be a “*motion*” and “*mobility*” on the side of the individuals. In its core it requires a kind of “choosing” the right medium. It is a kind of a trip to the virtual world and having access to the appropriate message and the virtual reality.

Popularity and Advertising

The popularity of the messages is usually associated with the advertisements. Starting by the 1970's advertising is seen as the clever use of media money. Just a decade ago, advertising was considered to be something degraded. For example, the audience in the cinema saloons were used to boo and hiss during the commercials in cinema films, but today studies show that %77 of viewers recall the cinema ads the following day, compared to 20 % of for the TV ads.

Trying to reach to the target audience was always difficult for the advertisers but it's never been so competitive as it is in the last decade. On one hand the audience is mobile and it's hard to fix the messages for such mobile audiences. On the other hand, the commercials need to be mobile, if they are expected to reach to the audience. The commercials should be popular to stay in the cycle. This process is a very critical one: if they stay longer they give boredom rather than the motivation. Yet, on the other hand if they stay just for short time, they have the risk of missing the audience.

Apart from the timing and popularity, there are also some social concepts regarding the commercials and their credibility. In some societies the commercials are regarded in different ways depending upon their popularity and durability. Some societies consider the commercials not reliable and convincing enough if they stay in the media for a long time. In such cases, the advertising company is looked at as if it is having some financial difficulty and they are living hard days and the commercials are looked at the cries of such a difficulty. On the other hand, in some other societies, the longer the commercials are on the media, the more they are dependable. In such a case, the company advertising is looked at as if it has a lot of money as to give longitudinal commercials and this shows the reliability of their presence, success and power. Regarding all these different attitudes of the audience, the advertising companies should balance their commercials depending upon the local understanding of their audience and their sense of reliability.

Although almost all of these factors could be implemented through the society and through multiple effects of use of media, it seems that some of them are just a bit more individual choices and some are more the efforts of shaping the individual choices to a predetermined consumption of certain types of media. Thus, if we may talk about the factors such as the media (television channel, radio or internet) company, product, availability of the product and its accessability (price).

It is difficult to conclude that one medium has more influence on public attitudes than another when it comes to the popularity of the advertisements. People expose themselves more to the medium that they like and trust most. The general tendency is that people watch television but they rely on printed material for in-depth coverage of current events, critical commentary, controversial issues, and opinion positions. Considering the information got through this metacommunication, namely the ads, news and personal experiences of watching the film, it's all "hush-hush". It's just a type of communication on a certain type of communication. As in the lines of Diken and Laustsen (Diken and Laustsen 2001) there is a rule of the consumers club: 'You do not speak about them' but rather treat this knowledge as a secret that unites the members of the smaller prestigious society. Because 'if information becomes all too obvious, its attraction would disappear'. If there is a piece of information you get by the grapevine, it is whispered into your ear with the understanding that you will not pass it on to the others. You feel honored and excited. You are one of the special few to get this information. You cannot wait. You must quickly find other ears to pour the information into! And so the information, secret as it is, begins to spread – nobody knows how far! At the end it's all the part of the metacommunication but not the communication itself!

Children Identity: Ordinary and Weak Become Star and Powerful

The question is that why the people would like to be the audience? Why they are so ready to consume whatever the commercials advice them to buy. It's just because that people like to be some part of the mysteries and myths. That's why they create myths or contribute to the created ones. At this point, we may consider all the information and the ads and metacommunication of the films as a type of myth creation. And people would like to be part of it through either talking about it or buying objects related to the film themes or actors/actresses. Or perhaps they feel themselves as heros/ heroines when they consume the things advertised. That's why the ordinary people become stars themselves after watching the commercials. They feel that they have the power to make, to buy or to change the things. Specifically the children feel in that way. For them buy-

ing is not only an ordinary action. It is the way to become, to mean themselves, to feel like and adult and individual. From the very beginning they start to change the things around and they feel special through the behaviours, actions and mobility.

Children and Commercials As An Escape

Today, as in most of the other countries as in Turkey, commercials are looked at as the points of escape from real life and real society. Although most of the viewing activities are usually considered to be the “public activities” since the television is in the saloon and in a position requiring common consensus to choose a certain program to be watched by most of the family members. Perhaps, the ironical point or rather a dilemma should be underlined here is that these gatherings both have the function of escaping from the social realities for the individual, yet bringing the individual into another pseudo-society that everybody experiences the same adventure throughout but nobody talks to each other apart from accepting this silent membership of the secret intrasocial enjoyment.

When we look at the commercials from the point of the view of individual, we find out that these commercials tell us stories: Stories of the others. Thus, watching the commercials would be interpreted as a kind of willingness to take part in that storytelling action, rather passively at the beginning and showing the other's choices and activities. Every story would have a certain type of impact on the masses and the individuals. The problem is ‘whose story it is’ and ‘how willingly we accept those stories’ to interfere our own individuality. Each story is a passage leading the individual to communicate with his/her “self” or “identity”, whereas it may make more sense to argue his/her “position” in life, society, his/her identity and “the others”. These are the confessions of the others—or perhaps the “self”. It is a kind of the redistribution of the values arising from an experience: the love, pain, sin and the mistakes or happiness of the others. It is also sharing the better sides of life with the others, talking about the experiences and advice. Thus, the individuals watching the commercials are just the “observers” of the “others” who would also take some lesson from what they have been told.

How do we perceive the world through the commercials is important

since perceptions die hard. Those stories would certainly have an impact on the viewers as being the pieces of the same big puzzle or different puzzles to shape the non-existing world of the individual to lead him/her to built a “better” self and a more pleasant world. Once the perception is achieved there would certainly be connotations and denotations related to it. Thus, the stories are never left behind, but rather added to each other and accommodated just like the *1001 Tales* carried through a lifetime to be revised, implemented, reshaped and remembered. That means every film, and every bit of the film (scenes, colours, characters, music, feelings, moral, etc.), would build a different layer in the world of the individual and the “self” would be the total interpretation of these different stratificational “self’s”. It is frequently expressed that these are the moments of “pure entertainment” providing a means of escape from the world of reality.

An opposing view pretends to put the commercials into a point far from being “just/mere” entertainment or “escapist” entertainment; commercials make people “dream”. Each commercial is another exposition to the audience to introduce a wide variety of situations, and thus provided with patterns of behavior which the audience may accept or reject. Thus each commercial creates a motivation for the individual and the mass audience to watch for another.

Considering the Consumer Motivation Process, motivation refers to the underlying drives that contribute to our purchasing actions (Arens, 1996: 114). These drives stem from the conscious or unconscious goal of satisfying our needs and wants. Needs are the basic, often instinctive, human forces that motivate us to do something. Wants are “needs” that we learn during our lifetime, specifically during childhood through the behaviour patterns observed around. The commercials are in a way putting the world in the orbit of a rather “emotional” perspective rather than putting it into the “power” based position. Similarly, the world we live in, or the world of the future either is reflected optimistically, in which everything is drawn as enjoyable, positive, mature and respectful, or it is reflected rather pessimistically, in which there would be no place for beauty, goodness, or the individual values, yet everything is beastly bad, cruel and ugly. Watching commercials means a journey to some unknown place, culture and identity or rather a world of fantasy where the individuals are as mobile as they could imagine.

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Citizenship Education in Changing Lithuanian Society

*Irena Zaleskenė**

Abstract

Some theoretical concepts of globalisation and citizenship are discussed in the article as well as the changing role of citizenship education in transforming Lithuanian Society. The author points out that many problems in contemporary Lithuanian society arise from the fact that the relationship between individuals and the state is changing fundamentally. The state should broaden "positive" choices and support an individual by ensuring principles of equality in basic human rights and access to opportunities. On the other hand, an individual has to take the responsibility for his/her own life becoming a decisive factor in choosing personal life style and in building up civic community. In this respect it is expected that Citizenship Education plays an important role in educating competence and attitudes toward own responsibilities, in educating mental and practical skills for positive civic participation.

Key words: *exclusion, citizenship education, teacher training.*

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Introduction

The phenomena of globalization is considered as the most widespread trend on the eve of twenty – first century and has resulted from the worldwide integration of economic and financial sector (Hallak & Poison, 1999: 10). Globalization could be understood “as a socio – economic phenomenon that has profound political and cultural implications (Jarvis, 2003: 10). Among the main implications of globalization, researchers name things such as: a) the emergence of learning societies due to multiplication of sources of information and communication; b) the transformation of the nature of work with the need for more flexibility and mobility, the importance of communication skills, the necessity of team work, the increasing use of technologies, etc; c) the progression of social exclusion – a large part of the world’s population does not participate in this process. Globalization causes the changing role of education; implementation of new trends in education (the need to keep up with changes taking place in society). Some of the characteristics of this new trend may be identified (Daswani, 2003: 19):

- The increasing incorporation of global and interdisciplinary topics into curriculum;
- Vocational education and lifelong learning (to prepare students for the world of work in adequate way);
- Citizenship education (to prepare students to assume their responsibilities as citizens and to develop competencies for active civic participation);
- Basic knowledge versus “up-to-date” contents (students must be taught the skills of research, inquiry and interpretation so that they may continue learning beyond the school and find adequate place in society).

Researchers from different fields in different countries are looking to answer important questions such as: what do these characteristics of the trend mentioned above mean for education as whole? How do they change the role of education and particularly the role and content of civic education? Taking into account the assumption that civic education can help to solve some of the challenges of a globalized world we try to analyse some of the possible answers to these questions.

The Role of Education and Main Goals for Civic Education

Education during the ages has been seen as a social institution having functions such as socialisation (Broom, 1992); personal development (Rodgers, 1994); political and social change (Leithwood, 1992); transfer of culture (Hodges, 1974); social stability and order (Selfe, 1987); and social integration (Fend, 1981). The latest developments of philosophical and sociological thinking shows that, integration of society, is becoming one of the most important functions of education. That's why education is seen as a main factor in extenuating social exclusion in modern societies. Education fulfils the role of social integration through curriculum, through infrastructure of educational institutions and through creating equal start possibilities for everyone.

Reformation of the educational system and inclusion of civic education into a compulsory curriculum could be seen as an important way for strengthening social cohesion. In this paper we will also focus on the Lithuanian situation as it relates to social cohesion and developments of civic education.

Some remarks on Social exclusion in Lithuania

In 1990, when Lithuanian citizens demonstrated their intention to build a free and open society based on the supremacy of law and democratic principles, they simultaneously undertook the responsibility for both their personal lives and strengthening statehood. People were ready to overcome the legal, political and social legacy of a totalitarian society and face the difficulties of transition. Nevertheless, it has now become clear that social processes are developing at a much more rapid pace than the human mind is able to handle and to adjust itself to new values and lifestyles. Many problems in contemporary Lithuanian society arise from the fact that the relationship between individuals and the state is changing fundamentally. It's important to recognize that the way in which people build their lives depends on many circumstances over which they may have no control. For example, children who are not attending school and who are not taught any skills are deprived of many choices and opportunities for their

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future lives. And those people who have no access to information have no possibilities to make decisions. It seems logical that the state should broaden "positive" choices and support an individual by ensuring principles of equality in basic human rights and access to opportunities. The Lithuanian Constitution ensures equal rights for everyone, but at the same time the state is not always capable of providing the necessary conditions for exercising these rights. For example, the rise in crime threatens individual rights to personal security, the volatility of the economy and labor market causes unemployment, a low standard of living often undermines the right to education, a quality health service, adequate housing, freedom to travel and the choice of place of residence. On the other hand, an individual has to take the responsibility for many aspects of his own life and thus becoming a decisive factor in choosing his/her life style. In this respect it is expected that Civic Education plays an important role in educating competence and attitudes toward ones own responsibilities, in educating mental and practical skills for positive civic participation.

Civic education and competencies

Researchers (Fulan, 1998; Ozmon & Craver, 1996; Jarvis, 2001) analysing changing global world point out features of post modernity such as social (complexity and fragmentation of social structure), cultural (the fragmentation of cultural identity which changes between different social settings); economic (competitive relations in the market are demanding multi-skilled workers); and political (promotion of the virtues of self-reliance, self-confidence, self-decision making). A person living in such a complex related society has to be enabled to manage his or her life. And civic education can play an important role in such circumstances especially when democracy is seen as a form of government and as a practice, in which participation and involvement are key points. Very often the form of government is being understood in the light of the historical development. However, for most nations democracy is an ideal which is superior to the democratic practice in real life. Thus, democracy is a concept in continuous development and a topic for discussion without definitive answers. Nonetheless, there is a broad recognition of the possibilities for democracy to contribute to the learning to live together. In the project Education for Democratic Citizenship (EDC) the Council of Europe (2000) describes democracy as the ability of solving conflicts and differences of opinion in

a non-violent manner. It is obvious that democratically practice at the local level can turn out in ways that resembles more those of old socio-cultural traditions than the modern - western oriented - conception of democracy. Active citizenship is more a democratic practice, to a large extent it is culturally and politically based. The Dakar Framework for Action (2000) states that "...education must lead to the acquisition of...the knowledge, values and abilities that are needed for individual development, and for the exercise of participatory and responsible citizenship in a democracy".

Researchers such as Philippe Perrenoud (2001) point out, that an active citizen could be described through developing "citizen" competencies which are needed by every individual in order to participate in the management of personal and social life in the harmonious society. These competencies are being able to:

- Vote and assume one's responsibilities in a democratic political system and in community life, trade unions, etc.
- Find accommodation, start a family and conclude and abide by contracts (relating to marriage, work, rental, insurance, etc.) in order to survive in a society of free competition;
- Invest and spend intelligently one's resources in a free and transparent market, using in a rational manner information about products and services;
- Find one's way around in the educational system, receiving training, and learning and using available information;
- Access culture and media by making informed choices of recreational and cultural activities;
- Look after one's health by preventative and responsible use of the medical and hospital system;
- Defend one's rights and interests by asking for police protection and making use of legal procedures and the courts.

In general, competencies are described as a specialised system of abilities, proficiencies or skills that are necessary or sufficient to reach a specific goal (Weiner, 2001); these have four dimensions:

- Political and legal dimension covers rights and duties with respect to the political system and law. It requires knowledge concerning the law, democratic attitudes and capacity to participate, exercise responsibilities at all levels of public life.

- Social dimension covers relations between individuals and requires knowledge of what these relations are based on and how they function in the society. Social competencies are paramount here. This dimension is connected to others (solidarity).
- Economic dimension concerns the world of production and consumption of goods and services.
- Cultural dimension refers to collective representation and imagination and to shared values, it implies recognition of common goods and common heritage.
- To better understand the changing role of civic education we will focus on the concept of “Citizenship” and to the main competencies which have to be obtained during the civic education process.

Concept of citizenship” and changing role of civic education

There are a number of ideas about what is meant when referring to citizen and/or citizenship. Concepts of “citizenship” deriving from theoretical and empirical research studies have been carried out in different countries by different researchers. Examples of these without being exhaustive either in our search or our presentation are the following:

- Theiss-Morse (1993) who references a model of four concepts of citizenship among adults in US: representative democracy (responsibility to be an informed voter); political enthusiast (advocacy through protest and little trust in elected officials); pursued interest (joining groups to pursue issues); and indifferent (trusting leaders and placing a law priority on trying to influence them);
- Anderson, Avery, Pederson, Smith and Sullivan (1997) identified citizenship concepts among a sample of teachers. Almost half of students have been taught to be questioning citizen, about one-quarter focused on teaching from a culturally pluralistic perspective and only a few stressed learning about government.
- Davies, Gregory and Riley S. (1999) in England found that social concern and tolerance for diversity received the greatest support among teachers;
- Prior (1999) in Australia found that social concern and social justice and participation in school/community affairs were important for teachers;
- Vontz, Metcalf and Patrick (2000), in a study of effectiveness of a civic

curriculum in Latvia, Lithuania and US found a positive impact on students' knowledge and skills but not their sense of citizen responsibility.

According to Torney-Purta et al, (2001), in the IEA (International Association for Evaluation of Educational Achievements) Civic Education Study two concepts of citizenship were mainly used: Conventional Citizenship (obeying the law, voting, participation in political parties, etc.) and Social-Movements related citizenship (participates in activities to protect the environment, participates in activities to benefit people in the community, work hard, etc).

As far as we can observe differences in the concepts of citizenship and identity (Zaleskine, 1999), we can agree that there are some basic elements according to which the role of civic education is changing. These are:

A. Cognitive competencies:

competence of a legal and political nature
knowledge of the present world
competence of a procedural nature
knowledge of the principal and value choices

B. Ethical competences and value choices:

freedom, equality and solidarity.

C. Capacities for action (as social competences):

- capacity to live together with others, to cooperate to construct and implement joint projects and so on;
- capacity to resolve conflicts in accordance with the principals of democratic law
- capacity to take part in public debate, to argue and choose in real life situation.

The Concept of Democratic citizenship has different meanings and connotations because of huge changes in cultural, political and social life. But a number of different researchers (Carr, 1999, Wringe, 2000, MacLaughlin, 2001, etc.), having very different views on it agree, that a citizen in our days has to have four main indications in order to have possibilities for positive socialisation into society. These indications are:

- Political activity. This indication did change during different periods of developments in the societies. The first one was dominate for a long

time. At the beginning of 20th Century the Values component become important.

- Values. After 1960 politicians and researchers were looking for reasons why political activities are not always transferred into the behaviours of citizens. Here we see identity as one of the aspects to be added to the concept of citizen.
- Identity. Finally, the developments of the last decades in the directions of modernisation of societies (“networking” society, integration of different societies, stress on importance of social capital for human development, etc.) added the fourth component for the concept of “democratic citizenship” - Social competencies.
- Social competencies. They are essential in current civic life, so, they are key point in the changing role of Civic Education.

Having in mind all the aspects mentioned above, the main role of civic education can be named as an education of skills and competences related to execution of active citizenship in a globalized world (“Citizenship education: Learning at School and in Society”, 2001: 3):

To acquire knowledge

Basic skills such as literacy are a necessity for participating in the democratic processes at all levels. Eventually, computer literacy will also be crucial for the capability of participating in society. The ability to learn –learning to learn– is essential for enabling the individual to learn new things throughout life to meet the rapid changing needs of the labour market and to be able to participate in the current changes in society.

To make use of knowledge and involvement

Regarding citizenship, the basic skills cannot stand alone; the social dimension in which they are situated and the conduct and attitudes of the individual are essential. ‘Life skills’, ‘coping skills’ and ‘participatory skills’ involve the ability of participating on different levels in the activities of a democratic society as a responsible citizen. In this dimension also lies an emotional aspect. It is not sufficient to invest your knowledge according to a dissociated evaluation; you must also invest part of yourself by expressing commitment and belief in the activities you participate in. Just as knowledge and information are crucial for the development of citizenship, moral and ethical responsibility are equally important.

To understand yourself

In order to be able to participate as an active citizen in the activities of a community you must as an individual be aware of your own standpoints and affiliations. In earlier times the community was taken for granted, today we move in and out of communities and therefore we ourselves have to create coherence in our identity. This is the reason why some direct attention towards the narrative skills - the ability to place yourself in a connection by means of your life history, is important. It is also necessary to highlight another point, that of the historical dimension: Once you see yourself as biography it suddenly makes a big difference whether you participate or not.

Learning to live together

Learning to live together today is a necessity at many levels. We must deal with bigger and more complicated cohesions than in earlier times. The ability to live together in the family, the local community, the nation or globally is closely connected to the skills of being a citizen - to be part of a community. In his actions, the citizen must focus on what is best for the community, not on narrow individual interests.

Current Status of Civic Education in Lithuania

Short history of implementing Civic Education into National Curriculum

The mission of Civic Education in Lithuania was described in the first Law on Education (1991) which was legislated after the restoration of Lithuanian statehood: Civic Education is considered to be one of the essential goals of the educational system: to foster citizenship, the understanding of a person's duties toward family, nation, society, and the State of Lithuania, as well as the need to participate in the cultural, social, economic and political life of the Republic (The Law on Education in the Republic of Lithuania, 1991).

Concrete goals and tasks for Civic Education in Schools are formulated in the "Concept of Lithuanian Educational system" (1994), "Core-Curriculum for Secondary Education" (1996), and "National Standards of Students achievements" (1997). The whole educational process is supposed

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to lead to an understanding of both the principles of life in a democratic society and also the problems in creating democracy (and ways to approach their solution). It was suggested that a course entitled "The Principles of Citizenship" has to be introduced as an obligatory subject at the basic school level (it did start in 1998).

Starting from 1992 teaching and learning materials are under developmental process, in-service teacher training courses (regional, national as well as an international) are held in different regions in Lithuania.

The processes of developing individual syllabus, school based curriculum, teaching and learning materials, pre-service and in-service teacher training courses are going on in Lithuania. It is expected that different schools, teachers will select the content for their civic lessons, will choose the teaching styles, will use new textbooks according to the mandatory precepts of National Core-Curriculum and suggested National Standards.

F. Civic education course started to be implemented in pre-service teacher training institutions in 2000.

The ways on which Civic Education is organised in Lithuania

Through formal curriculum:

Civic Education is taught as cross-curriculum. It means that Civic ideas, concepts, topics are integrated in the newly developed curriculum, textbooks, teaching and learning materials for a whole range of subjects and are already taught in the different grades, starting from 1st and ending with 12th grade. For example, the course "Me and the World" is implemented in the primary school (grades 1-4). History, Geography, Technology, Native Language and Literature, Political Science, Economics, Philosophy, Moral Education, etc. courses are very interrelated when it concerns educating the conscious and active citizens of the Lithuanian State.

The separate obligatory subject "The Principles of the Citizenship" is introduced in the 8th grade (one hour per week) and again in the 10th grade (one hour per week, but will be 2 hours per week in the nearest future).

Through extra - curriculum activities, the ways on which the school community is organized and school relations with the local communities.

One of the most important factors helping students to understand democracy in everyday life, to exercise decision making skills and the skills of participation, is the way in which school life is organized. Does dialogue

exist between students, between students and teachers, between teachers and parents, between teachers; does the teachers use democratic methods of teaching; are the students encouraged to be responsible for the whole school community; does self-government of students exists, etc? These are questions that need to be considered as they affect the way in which school life is organized. In cooperation with local governmental and social institutions students have possibilities to learn about the functions of social and political institutions in real life; they can obtain necessary knowledge and skill for applying to these institutions; they can identify with problems their families are facing; they can study how problems are solved, etc. Extra curriculum activities help students to improve their knowledge, skills and habits which are learned during formal educational processes.

D. Through extending relations between students, school, local, Regional, National, European and World communities.

The social environment plays an important role in the Civic Education and creates good possibilities for applying democratic skills, which are learned during the educational process. On the other hand, such kinds of relations can help the further development of Civic habits and responsibilities for the peoples future.

New Trends in Developments of Civic Education

Researchers and educators look for new approaches and new trends in teaching young people to take responsibility not only for their personal lives, but for the local, national and world communities.

Service learning

In recent years there has been a movement towards strengthening school-based civic education, which emphasizes instruction in the fundamental processes and instruments of democracy and government. Lithuanian developers of Civic Education look for new approaches reflecting the needs of living in a contemporary globalized world. One such approach is service-learning which could be described as an approach that combines a community service experience with classroom instruction and

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reflection. It has been suggested as an opportunity to bring to life important political and social issues and thereby encourage youth activism and engagement (Gibson, 2001: 8). Specifically, service-learning emphasizes the experimental component of civic education by providing opportunities for young people to engage in community-based activities that integrate and put in context what they learn in the classroom.

It's important to understand the difference between service-learning and community or volunteer service. Community service is the volunteer work which isn't connected with school course work (Hepburn, 2001), but the service-learning is a particular form of community service that is curriculum based. It means that service experience is related to objectives in the curriculum and is connected to classroom studies by written activities and discussions. There are four general components or criteria for effective service oriented, school based programs:

- They integrate service into the content and activities of school courses because students gain more from the experience when it is carefully tied to courses in the school curriculum;
- They provide periods of reflection (journal writing, group discussions, essays, etc.) on the service experience to allow students to contemplate their service experience and their implication;
- They require service throughout the school years because very short periods of service have been shown to have little or no effects on students;
- They involve students, teachers, administrators and community agencies in the design of the curriculum.

We adopted the service-learning materials, *Take charge: A Youth Guide to Community Change* developed by Constitutional Rights Foundation (Degelman, 2002). And we try to implement it into school curricula and teacher training courses.

Education for consumer citizenship

During last years new approach on the European civic developments has appeared – education for Consumer citizenship. Some EU projects have been conducted according to this approach along with the Department of Social Pedagogy at Vilnius Pedagogical University.

Activities dealing with issues related to consumer citizenship have been and are being carried out most notably in Canada and Australia. While citizenship education has gained ground in schools throughout Europe, consumer education in general, and consumer citizenship education in particular, has progressed slowly. This is despite the fact that the United Nations, as early as in 1985, emphasized the importance of consumer education. Article III/14/d of the "Plan of Implementation" of the Johannesburg WSSD (Sept. 2002) highlights the pressing need for sustainable consumption and points out that work towards this goal cannot be postponed. In Article 143 of the Amsterdam Treaty the European Community has also seen the importance of consumer education and citizenship training. The EU Agenda (Barcelona 2002) defined by the Heads of State and governments focuses on the goal of "sustainable growth and greater social cohesion" and refers to the need for increased cooperation between the physical and social sciences.

As the research shows Civic education has to a great extent concentrated on representative, participatory and judicial civic training for many years. Consumer education has been regarded as a minor aspect of daily life skills connected to home activities. Environmental education has generally focused on pollution and basic tenets of natural ecology. As far as a global citizenship refers to understanding one's responsibilities to others, to society and to environment, education has to take a role for combining these three components of education. That's how concept of consumer citizenship appears. Consumer citizenship can be described as a situation "when the individual, in his/her role as a consumer, actively participates in developing and improving society by considering ethical issues, diversity of perspectives, global processes and future conditions. It involves taking responsibility on a global scale when securing one's own personal needs and well-being." (McGregor, 2002:40).

Consumer citizenship education is a cross-curricular, interdisciplinary approach to promote attitudes, transfer knowledge and develop skills that combine consumer education, environmental education and civic training. It deals with empowering students to develop and evaluate alternative visions of a sustainable future and motivates them to turn these visions into reality.

Learning to live together

In 1999, the International Commission on Education for the Twenty-first Century, which included educationalists, philosophers and policy makers from all over the world did agree that education must be based on four pillars (International Bureau of Education, UNESCO, 2003: 28):

- Learning to know (general knowledge);
- Learning to do (broad competencies needed to deal with different and changing situation and work in teams);
- Learning to be (ability to develop one's personality around a set of core values and to act with greater autonomy);
- Learning to live together, learning to live with others (to develop understanding of other people in the spirit of pluralism, respect for differences and peace).

The fourth pillar has a global nature: its omission may result in the annihilation of all other educational, health and development efforts through war, civil wars, terrorism, the deterioration of human, financial and natural resources, etc. Wanting and knowing how to live together implies knowledge, emotions and sensitivity, self-esteem, attitudes and behaviours. Thus, civic education does have an important role to play in questioning and challenging beliefs and attitudes that make it difficult for people to live together and in proposing an alternative to them. Universal civic education requires that responsibilities be shared and sense of belonging to a single entity that goes beyond the national, at the same time as a "common future".

Challenges for Civic Education and for Teacher Training

In conclusion we note that the rapid changes in the society and in the educational system influence the quality of civic education. In the Lithuanian context and conceivably in other countries we see that civic education and teacher training accordingly need to focus on several areas. This is a result of the fact that in many instances:

The content of civic education is described only in broad outline terms

in the core-curriculum as the curriculum and syllabi as well as teaching and learning materials are under the process of development. The new methodology of assessment and evaluation of students achievements aren't developed as yet. Teachers have to develop programmes according to their own understanding of, the often obligatory core-curriculum, national standards and students needs, and the new challenges in the world community. This is a very difficult task for teachers who were trained in older more traditional ways. The teacher training system itself is in need of reform. The content of civic education is not the subject of enough public discussion. Teachers consequently have to adapt their way of thinking and methods of teaching to new educational objectives and to new social and political circumstances in a globalised society.

Students present more diversity in terms of their social skills, social and cultural backgrounds, ambitions and behaviour. Many students are from excluded families. Teachers have to look for ways to include them. It has taken and continues to take some time and efforts to prepare teachers for this changed situation.

The local communities are relatively under-developed in Lithuanian society. They are not prepared to take an active part in civic education or in developing the sense of belonging to a community. In some places, the only important institutions are thought to be the family and the national state, with no intermediate organisations to which young people might develop a sense of loyalty. Teachers need some ideas and methodology on how to include local institutions, and NGO (which are sometimes very strong) in the educational process.

Living in a global society we do need people, but teachers need to be trained in the certain ways: a) becoming citizens with strong social competencies by themselves; b) being able to help students to accumulate social capital and to develop a "networking society"; and c) being able to fulfil new functions (being one of the most important agents for social inclusion) in education.

Finally, we note that on the one hand the need to have "citizens with social competencies" and from the other, the changing role of education, coming from the developments in the societies, do help to move from the traditional understanding of civic education towards a more contemporary direction, reflecting on the needs of the society. Thus, we see that building up and reforming the system of civic education in general and particularly in teacher training curriculums is of paramount importance. We clearly do need to change our ideas about the role of civic education.

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Teacher education for multiple identities in Europe: a study

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Abstract

This paper reports some of the findings of a study of how teacher education currently reflects the increasing diverse school population in five European countries: France, Greece, UK, Iceland and Poland. Each of these has made distinctive changes in policy in recognition of the greater ethnic and national range of students in the school system. We analyse the views of teachers and teacher-educators in each country, suggesting that most of the professionals involved see their role as to encourage pupils to view themselves as having multiple and overlapping identities, which may (inter alia) be national, ethnic, linguistic and European. Within the scope of this paper various strategies to achieve this, at the level of the school, local area and nationally are briefly analysed and described.

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Introduction

Most countries in Europe have a long history of diversity, with many different linguistic, ethnic and cultural groups living side-by-side in towns and cities, and in a complex kaleidoscopic mosaic of communities in the countryside. The forces and patterns of nationalism, and the creation of defining distinctive nation states disrupted this, and in many places more homogeneous populations resulted, often through violent conflict or forced migration. Over the past half-century or so, the countries of Europe have begun again to have more diverse populations, with large scale labour migrations within Europe, migrations into Europe from former European colonies, and the growth in global refugee migrations (Judt, 2005). The European Union (EU) has developed policies to encourage the free movement of populations, for education and study, for work and for leisure: these policies have both an economic rationale (to achieve an unhindered movement of goods, services and labour across the EU) and an ideological motivation (to encourage intercultural understanding and amity). This new diversity in Europe is very different from the earlier diversities, and the population movements that have led to them are very different from earlier migrations (for example, the migrations to the Americas in the 16th to early 20th Centuries). Educational systems, schools and teachers have had to adapt and re-orientate their policies and practices to meet this new and constantly developing situation. This article describes some of the issues that have arisen in a disparate group of countries, and some of the strategies that have been developed to address the diversity and the multiplicity of identities found in schools across Europe.

The population diversity that has developed in European countries over this period is distinctive from that resulting from earlier migrations in several ways. Migration to the Americas, whether voluntary or through enslavement, was for most people a one-way voyage. It was expensive, took several weeks, and most new arrivals expected to remain in the Americas for the rest of their lives –to settle there, bring up their families, and to adopt the new country as their own (Coleman, 1972). Communication with the land of origin was laborious, expensive, uncertain and dependent on literacy. The theory of the ‘melting pot’ was of peoples of different originating cultures and religions combining to lose their separate identities to a degree, forming a society of more uniform consistency different from the original inputs (Zangwill, 1909). The subsequent development of third and

fourth-generation affinities with the 'original' homeland (as 'hyphenated' Americans) does not invalidate this (see, for example, Rothermere American Institute, 2006). In contrast to this, migration to and within Europe since 1945 has been characterised by the possibility of 'return' (Anwar, 1979) and the relative ease of maintaining cultural and family contacts with the place of origin. International travel is relatively cheaper, much quicker and more frequent. The development of communication systems makes possible literally everyday conversation with family members who live in different continents. Satellite broadcasting and the internet allow migrants and settlers to keep in close contact with the media of their country of origin. Migration is easier, but is less definable, and may be (or may be thought to be) temporary and 'assimilation' into the 'host' culture is not the only option that settlers and their descendants will have.

It is therefore not only possible, but relatively and considerably easier, for a contemporary settler in Europe to sustain not just a cultural link with their original community, but to maintain and extend a specific and continuing identity as a member of that community –as well as having an identity as a citizen/member of the new community in which they find themselves. The conception of an individual having a 'singular identity' has been rebuffed by Sen (2006:176) as fallacious: 'forcing people into boxes of singular identity try[s] ... to understand human beings not as persons with diverse identities but predominantly as members of one particular social group or community'. Individuals have multiple identities –for example, perhaps simultaneously identified as a woman, a mother, a Buddhist, a lecturer, a speaker of Italian– and also multiple nested identities – as a Parisian, French, a European. This repertoire of identities is used contingently, according to location and time (Ross & Roland-Levy, 2003). It is possible –particularly in this stage of modernity– to be both British in one's workplace and Greek in one's home, and be both Greek and British in one's political participation. The range of identities that an individual expresses at any given moment is the response to the characteristics and exigencies of the moment, partly arising from individual choice, partly from external events and pressures. Many British Muslims, for example, have either chosen to stress their Muslim identity, or have had it forced on them by others, following the events of 9/11 and the London bombings of July 2005 (Modood, 2005).

Maintaining and extending multiple identities requires a particular range of resources, both cultural and linguistic. It is important to note that there is now a presumption in international debate and law that minorities

have particular human rights to preserve their language and culture, and that these must be respected. The United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Persons Belonging to National or Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities (United Nations, 1992) requires states to not merely protect the existence and national, ethnic, cultural, religious and linguistic identity of minorities within their territories, but to encourage the promotion of that identity. Members of minorities have the right to enjoy their own culture, to practise their religion, to use their language in private and in public, to maintain associations and to participate in cultural, religious, social, economic and public life (Articles 1 and 2). This too has important implications for the future of diversity in most countries: not only is migration easier and it is more possible to maintain multiple identities, but there is an obligation on all countries and their citizens to support the cultural identities and languages of minorities, or members of minority groups, who have moved to a new country and who wish to maintain their distinctive characteristics. (Clearly, this is not a position of pure cultural relativism: these particular rights for minorities rights fall within overarching frameworks of human rights, and do not give carte blanche to minorities to maintain cultural practices –for example, with regard to the rights of women– that are at variance with these fundamental rights.)

This in turn places the 'host communities' (for want of a better term) in a novel situation. If minorities choose to maintain aspects of their separate identities in a community into which they have moved, and at the same time are accorded full rights to participate in 'mainstream' public life, then it is necessary to reformulate conceptions of what is meant by terms such as 'host community', 'mainstream', and 'we'. These terms can no longer be used to differentiate the original pre-settlement inhabitants, but now include all the communities within the country. This makes the use of expressions such as 'they will have to adjust to our culture', or 'learning our history' problematic. 'Our' culture and history now necessarily incorporate 'their' history and culture. Issues such as racism and xenophobia are not issues for the minority ethnic group, but for the majority groups. Maintaining some pure or pristine national identity or culture becomes impossible – and there is a growing body of research that suggests that most of the content of such national cultures was artificial and invented (e.g. Hobsbawm and Ranger, 1983; Colley 1992; Wolff, 1994).

This in turn raises issues for educationalists, as one of the functions of state education has been the transmission of culture, traditionally seen as the culture of the politically dominant group (whether social class, gen-

dered or ethnic). The development of minority rights, the maintenance of minority cultures, issues of multiple identities, the development of bilingualism – all these require teachers and schools to re-envisage their role, policies and practices. What attitudes do teachers have to cultural diversity? How do they engage with the cultural diversity they encounter in their classrooms? How do they welcome newcomers and their families and educate pupils' for life in multiethnic societies and develop their skills to challenge racism and xenophobia? How are they prepared to do this, in their initial training and in their continuing professional development? What strategies do they use? How are educational systems and curricula adapted? How does the teaching workforce reflect our new social and cultural diversity?

The study

These were among the issues considered in a project supported by the European Commission¹, Teacher Education and Multiculturalism in Europe (TEAM in Europe)². This involved a consortium of five Universities³ from December 2003 to April 2006. The specific aims of the programme were to examine both the European and the Multicultural characteristics of teachers and their work, analysing European/Multicultural aspects of teacher education and teachers' conceptions of their own and their pupils' identities in the European/multiethnic context; identifying how teachers are prepared to deal with issues of culture, identities, racism and xenophobia in their professional practice and identifying innovatory practice. To achieve this we analysed existing data; interviewed teachers and teacher educators on their views of teachers' roles in identity formation (particularly European identity) and on preparing pupils for life in diverse and multicultural societies and on fighting racism and xenophobia; and made comparative studies of innovatory practice in recruiting teachers from a wider range of social and ethnic groups, training teachers in aspects of Europe and/or multicultural societies, and preparing teachers to fight racism in schools. The timing of our fieldwork was subject to local events: for example, the French fieldwork was delayed until after the vote on the proposed European Constitution.

The five countries involved in the study represent a wide range of policies, practices and experiences. In terms of involvement in European

common policies, the five represent different lengths of engagement within the European Union: France has been a member since 1956, the UK from 1973, Greece from 1981 and Poland from 2004. Iceland is not an EU member, but has been associated with the Union as a member of the European Economic Area since 1994 and before this through the European Free Trade Association. The five countries have also different experiences of migration and multiculturalism. Broadly, France and the UK have had relatively high levels of migration and settlement within and from outside Europe since the late 1950s. Greece was significantly a country of emigration till the early 1980s: since then it has had a relatively small but significant immigration and settlement from Albania, from those of Greek origin whose ancestors had left Greece in the past and in recent years from other countries. Poland had a European-origin ethnically diverse population till 1939-45, since then it has until recently been very largely mono-cultural (though with indigenous minorities). There has been some small-scale recent immigration and settlement. Iceland has had a long tradition of being monocultural: this has changed over the past 10 – 15 years, and there is now a small but growing multicultural community. The countries also have differences in size, economy, and geography. France and the UK have developed significantly different policies on citizenship and multiculturalism. Greece and Iceland have recently begun to develop policy initiatives, while Poland is not yet at this stage. France, the UK, Poland and Greece have also small but significant numbers of indigenous minorities - in many cases Roma – who have been living in the country for many generations, but are often not full participants in the social and cultural activities of the majority population.

Teacher's views

Attitudes to diversity

Across the five countries, most teaching staff we surveyed (in schools and initial teacher education) were extremely positive and anxious to be supportive to minorities. They went to great lengths to ensure that the type of education provided in schools and training institutions met particular individual and group needs. Amongst both the more experienced teachers and those new to multicultural and intercultural education there was an ev-

ident commitment to develop understanding about how to be more effective practitioners. Many were trained or were acquiring specific training in ways of supporting different minority groups, but our overall impression is that such training was usually seen as specialist and responsive to particular contexts, rather than expected for all professionals in all contexts. We felt that responses to diversity, whether of different ethnic cultures or different European nationalities, should be regarded as mainstream, not contingent on local conditions. Whether or not minority ethnic group children are found in a particular classroom, school, locality or region, the teachers in all schools in Europe need to be aware of and teach about the diversity of their own country and of Europe, and recognise that such diversity may inevitably change. In some senses, teaching about diversity is more important in areas where there is little visible diversity: these are the areas where prejudices and stereotypes are likely to be more prevalent.

We found several innovative training programmes for teachers, some local and others national. There are good examples of initial teacher education, and of education for teachers who are already in post. Both groups need to be targeted as a matter of urgency. We concluded that all new teachers should be fully equipped to teach in and for a diverse, multi-lingual and multi-cultural society. Equally, some of the teachers already in post may well continue to work for the next thirty or forty years: they need to be equipped to teach in a diverse society.

Varied educational policies are developing in response to the increasing ethnic diversity that is found in some European countries, and depend in part on the recent history of the countries in question. While there are clearly local factors that play an important element in each set of responses, it is also possible to draw parallels and suggest generalisations. For example, in several cases we found that teachers and educational leaders assumed that initial migration was a temporary phenomena: a person moves to a new country to work, and it is assumed – by both the migrant and the community to which they have moved – that they will return ‘home’ in due course. In some instances, this led to responses on both sides that were muted compromises: cultural, social and linguistic adjustments are limited. Relatively inexpensive air flights mean that visits to the country of origin can be made more frequently; cultural materials including foods can be imported fairly easily; modern communications make it possible to maintain family cultural, social and political links with ease. In some cases the phenomena is indeed temporary, but in others the move becomes permanent, though this may not be realised, let alone articulat-

ed and accepted, until much later. There are many examples in Europe where planned returns do not happen, or where children born/brought up in the new country have remained when the parents have retired to their country of origin. Whatever the original intentions and beliefs of either the 'host' country or the migrant populations, movement and diversity need to be seen as potentially permanent and as inevitably changing the nature of our populations. There are also some 'indigenous minorities' within Europe –longstanding populations such as the Roma and the Sami– that also need to be considered within the context of this approach.

Appropriate terminology and ethnic categorisation

These issues have given rise to some confusion in the terminology that teachers were using. Countries that have only experienced immigration relatively recently may refer to all members of minority groups as 'immigrants', using this term even for children and grandchildren who were born in the country to which their parents/grandparents had moved. Distinctions may be made by legal status: whether citizenship status has been awarded or not, or whether the individual was born in the country or not. Whatever the legal status and position of child may be, we think that in terms of their education it is essential that all teachers, schools and educational authorities treat children's rights and access to educational provision with respect and with the intention of achieving equality of educational outcomes. This point will be returned to later in more detail.

We suggest that teachers and educational institutions take great care to use the term 'migrant' or 'immigrant' with sensitivity. Assumptions must not be made that children from minority groups are themselves immigrant. It should not be assumed that simply because a parent appears to be from another ethnic group or another cultural background that they are either a migrant or a non-citizen.

There was also sometimes confusions over the ethnic definition of children. Everyone has an ethnicity, and sometimes more than one ethnicity is possible. The term 'ethnic' should not be used to mean a minority group, or people who are not 'White'. 'Minority ethnic' may well be more acceptable usage than 'ethnic minority': the latter implies that only certain kinds of ethnic groups can have an ethnicity, and stresses their character-

istics as an ethnicity, rather than as a minority. We also observed that the names and definitions of minority ethnic groups are also possible areas where some teachers were confused. Ethnicity is sometimes defined in terms of country of origin – in which case, ‘of Indian origin’ is more accurate and sensitive than ‘Indian’, or ‘of Algerian origin’ rather than ‘Algerian’. Sometimes broader geographical terms may be used, such as ‘Asian’ or ‘North African’. Different terms will have different usages in different countries, as in the different uses of the term ‘Asian’ in the USA and in the UK. Sometimes terms such as ‘Black’ may be employed: this may be a term that is used differently by different minorities. There may also be various combinations – sometimes called adjectival or hyphenated identities, such as in the UK ‘Black Caribbean’, ‘Black African’, or ‘Black British’, or in the case of Poland ‘Polish Roma’. There are also people of mixed heritage, who may elect to define themselves in various ways.

Educators (and policy makers) should recognise that ethnic categories are heuristic: they have particular uses, and do not have absolute or essential meanings. They are self-definitions: individuals and groups need to have complete freedom to define the ethnic category that they feel best describes them. Ethnic identifiers may change over time: new categories may become useful and necessary as populations change and as new population movements develop and groups and individuals may adopt or prefer new ethnic descriptions. In the context of multiple identities, an individual may wish to define her/his self in different ethnic terms in different contexts. This may be considered problematic, but is a necessary right of the individual. These issues mean that there is an inevitable lack of precision about these categories. Importantly, ethnic categorisations should be used with consent, care and sensitivity: categories should not be assigned to anyone merely on the basis of their physical appearance. The growth of ‘adjectival identities’ or hyphenated identities and the way that individuals move between identities in different contexts and times, also suggests that policy makers cannot operate with simple, absolute and unchanging definitions of an individual’s cultural identities.

Another point we noted was that sometimes ethnic identities were confused with, or linked to, religious identities. We felt that it should not be assumed that followers of a particular faith are necessarily, or even likely to be, members of a particular ethnic group, or vice versa. However, in terms of the broader expression of identities, it may be that at particular times an individual may wish to proclaim their identity in terms of their faith group, rather than their ethnic origin. Great sensitivity is needed here, perhaps al-

lowing individuals to declare both their religious affiliation and their ethnic identity, if they so wish.

The position of children and young people in describing their ethnicity should also be treated with sensitivity. In the UK, the practice is for parents of children under 11 to declare their child's ethnicity (which may not be the same as their own ethnicity), while young people over the age of 11 are judged able to determine which ethnic group they belong to. In terms of the rights of the individual, both parents' and children's choices need to be respected, and that teachers should not make a selection on their behalf. Whatever ethnic categories are used, assumptions should not be made that members of a particular group necessarily have particular cultural or linguistic knowledge. It also needs to be recognised that some individuals (including pupils) may choose not to identify with a particular ethnic group (even though they may belong to it) for fear that the data may be misused.

Ethnicity data

Our study revealed that the collection and use of ethnicity data is not consistent across Europe: in some contexts, such as in France, it is expressly forbidden to collect any such characteristics, because this is seen as potentially divisive, while in Greece collection was not authorized it was instituted to allow for better program planning, in other contexts (such as the UK) various authorities (including educational establishments) are required to collect such data, to enable monitoring of potential discrimination and as a way to assess community needs. In other countries (such as Poland and Iceland), a pragmatic approach is taken, to collect and use such data in different contexts. These made some aspects of our study quite difficult. Nevertheless, the experience of some countries (e.g. Iceland, the UK and Greece) is that ethnicity data can be usefully employed for the purposes of monitoring provision, ensuring that resources can be targeted where appropriate, determining the efficacy of policies, and in monitoring inequalities (e.g. discriminatory and racist behaviours and outcomes). Ultimately, data is needed about current population distributions,

because this will predicate particular strategies and policies, and the development and distribution of educational resources. This is salient as the distribution of young people of school age of a migrant population may be different from the distribution of adults.

Educational strategies

Our survey charted a range of policies and initiatives in this area, and we were able to identify examples of good practice in each country. There were positive and imaginative initiatives in all countries, but there was overall a need for a more concerted and widespread set of policies for educational services and provision. We suggest that perhaps using various human rights agendas may be of help in determining a focus: using particularly firstly children's rights, which refer to all children, of whatever nationality or ethnic origin who need protecting from others (which may include from parents and from institutional policies, as well as from the behaviour of individuals), and secondly, the rights of minorities, which include the rights to preserve culture and language, as well as to exercise general civic rights of social inclusion and participation. Both of these sets of rights should impact on all of those involved.

Children brought up in these current circumstances of increasing diversity present social and educational institutions with a particular set of issues that require a strategic response by these institutions and personnel, at all levels of organisation, from the European to the classroom. Children of what is often regarded as the 'host' community need to be educated and brought up in an environment that respects diversity, welcomes and engages with difference, and asserts all children's individual and communal rights. Children of what are often seen as the 'new' communities need all of the above, plus special protection of their rights to maintain cultural and linguistic identities. There also needs to be a more widespread recognition that 'national' cultural identities are (and continue to be) changing, and that this should be welcomed. These cultural identities are a construct of the current present populations, and not an historical remembrance by particular sections of the population.

We suggest that if policy makers can create these conditions, the very process of doing so will create a new sense of 'Europeanness'. We found

that some of the barriers (articulated by teachers and teacher educators) to a sense of sharing a partial common European identity were the result of difficulties in accommodating the rights and needs of the other: policies that lead to the political and social inclusion of minority groups across Europe may in themselves create the conditions for the recognition of commonalities between members of European states. There is evidence, for example, that some UK hesitancy among teacher/teacher educators comes from the perception that 'others' in Europe are unable or unwilling to demonstrate multicultural policies and to accept non-White diversity.

Recognition also needs to be given to the fact that there are different kinds of minorities (Migrants, Pontic Greeks, Roma, Sami, Regional, second generation, etc), and that their needs may well be very different. Different settlement groups also need to be considered in respect of their own individual needs, including their current desires to be recognised as a specific group. Policy makers and practitioners need to be very sensitive in not grouping together 'migrants', 'minorities' or 'the other'.

In summary, all educational policy makers need to develop policies that target both the majority (because racism is a problem and issue of the 'host' community, not of the minorities: the education services should help children respect newcomers and their children) and particular minorities (who may need specific help in language acquisition, but also in language and cultural maintenance). There are good examples of web-based support in several countries, for example Iceland, France and the UK⁴.

Educational institutions need to recognise the need to develop flexibility, and to constantly review and upgrade the skills and knowledge of their workforces. Once trained, professionals will need sustained and targeted support in maintaining their professional activities in a constantly developing social environment. Another important way to achieve this recognition is through ensuring that the educational professions include people drawn from across the range of minorities found in a society. Such inclusion should not be designed or used so that education has 'representatives' of particular groups (any more than female teachers 'represent' women in schools). While it is not expected that other professional groups necessarily include minorities, there are anti-discriminatory laws and policies on recruitment, training places and appointments, so that opportunities exist: but teaching in particular is, we argue, different, and does need to include a proportion drawn from minorities.

There are several arguments that suggest it is important. Most of these arise from some particular characteristics of the nature of education, and

of the way we organise learning in our schools. Some of these relate to the nature of teaching and learning:

Learning is a formative activity conducted through a variety of processes, some of which are explicit and very visible (for example, through the formal prescribed curriculum), and some of which are subtle, almost invisible and barely understood, even by practitioners. The processes of learning thus convey a wealth of meanings to young people at an impressionable and formative period in their lives: who conducts this process is an important part of the process.

Learning is a social process: it takes place in the interactions between teacher and learner, and learner and learner. Teachers determine the social relationships under which learning occurs. They are in a prominent position of authority, trust and power. Who teaches is critical for the learning process, and designating a person as a teacher is not undertaken lightly. Important messages –to society and parents and above all to children– are conveyed in deciding who shall be given the accolade of teacher.

Learning is undertaken by all children/young people. Many of our other social provisions are episodic and accidental. We do not all use the health service, for example, and most use is transitory and intermittent. Learning is conducted over a long period of time. Disregarding notions of life-long learning, it is a process that we require all our young people to undergo for a period of at least eleven years.

We therefore argue that the teaching profession must have the capacity to reflect the full spectrum of cultural and social traditions and systems in their collective professional practice. Each individual teacher brings to her or his work a set of cultural norms and expectations. Good teachers are reflective and self-critically aware of this, but none of us can recognise all the culturally and socially determined mores that we carry. It is important the teaching profession as a whole can match the range of cultural and social varieties that our society contains. Educational systems need to be delivered by teams of professionals who can match that range, in their explicit practice and in their subconscious behaviour and attitudes. Both the formal and the hidden curriculum need to be managed and delivered in a way that reflects the varieties of social practice in each society, and this in turn demands that the teaching profession is drawn fully and explicitly from that range of cultures and ethnicities in our society. Education has the subtlety and the nuance to make each individual feel that her or his cultural set is acknowledged and valued, thus empowering her or him as a learner. Racism and xenophobia, both individual and institution-

al, are major issues in contemporary society. Racism is very properly an important concern for all teachers, but some of the subtleties of racist practice and behaviour may be more obvious or more capable of recognition, by teachers who have themselves some direct experience of having suffered from racist behaviours themselves. Teachers from the majority community, however well intentioned, trained and experienced they are in anti-racist work, will still be unaware of and unable to identify and analyse much of the xenophobia, chauvinism and racism in society.

Teachers are a particular and special category: they are the one face of civil society that every child will meet, every working day, through the whole of their formal education. It is therefore particularly critical that this 'face' of civil power be seen, visibly and explicitly, to represent all of our society. The presence of teachers drawn from all groups in society will mean that firstly, all pupils – majority as much as minority – will recognise that members of the minorities have as much power and prestige as any other citizen, and secondly, that pupils who themselves come from the minorities will recognise that they too can and should aspire to excellence, esteem and authority.

Developing an appropriate policy environment

We found in our study that the institutions with the most effective practices have well defined policies that are clearly understood and followed by staff, and subject to regular discussion and review. This is true of schools, higher education institutions, regional and local authorities, and national bodies. Institutional leadership is critical. The leader of each educational institution should assume responsibility for the development and maintenance of a policy for the institution that addresses diversity in relationship to the institution's objectives. We would argue that each institution should develop a strategic policy statement that sets out its objectives for developing support for multiculturalism, race equality and diversity in its work. Five elements of this might be:

- a. A positive approach to population diversity and race equality and to teaching diverse groups;
- b. Developing the understanding of all groups of children and students towards diversity;

- c. A curriculum that addresses the diverse origins of children and students, and is not based on the culture, language or religion of a section of the population;
- d. Addressing intercultural understanding beyond the formal curriculum;
- e. Recognising the wider range of diversities beyond the immediate population of the institution – in the region as a whole, in the country, and in Europe.

Such policy statements might be arrived at through a process of wide consultation and discussion, not created by an individual, however authoritative or expert they may be. The policy statement development process might include members of minority groups, so that their views are represented, and that institutional staff understand their perspectives. Effective policies are those that are regularly reviewed to determine their effectiveness at achieving the stated goals. This requires the ability to collect relevant data and mechanisms to review this. Review will also involve consultation with the key actors in an institution, obtaining their perceptions of how policies are being implemented, their effectiveness, any unanticipated consequence of the policy, etc., and allow for policies to be reformulated, extended and generally modified to become more effective.

We conclude with a set of questions that we think, from our analysis of these various national contexts, will help institutions (school, college or education ministry) develop policies and practices.

- Cultural and Language maintenance: How will the educational institution help minority groups maintain their culture and language?
- Language support: How will the educational institution help linguistic minorities see their home language(s) as an asset?
- Language teaching: What policies of the educational institution will support students learn the majority language?
- Multicultural education: How does the institution's curriculum reflect the culture of all students in the institution, not just the dominant culture?
- Anti-racism (ethnicities) Anti-xenophobia (other Europeans): How does the institution ensure that racism and xenophobia are seen by all students as unacceptable behaviour?
- Working with parents and community groups: How do educational establishments involve local communities in the work of the institution?
- Recruitment policies: Does the institution's staff reflect the diversity of the pupils/students it works with?

Endnotes

1. European Union: Socrates Programme, General Activities of Observation, Analysis and Innovation

2. The TEAM-in-Europe consortium was led by London Metropolitan University, and directed by Professor Alistair Ross. Each university had its own project leader and team of researchers: France: Jean-Phillipe Fons (French team leader), Gilles Leydier and Géraldine Bozec; Greece: Julia Athena Spinthourakis (Greek team leader), Panayota Papoulia-Tzelepi, Eleni Stavlioti-Karatzia, John Karras and John M Katsillis; Iceland: Sigrún Aðalbjarnardóttir (Icelandic team leader), Hafdís Ingvarsdóttir and Eyrún María Rúnarsdóttir; Poland: Beata Krzywosz-Rynkiewicz (Polish team leader), Elzbieta Wotodko and Joanna Strzemecka-Kata; UK: Alistair Ross (Project leader, UK team leader), Uvanney Maylor and Merryn Hutchings (with support in the final stages from Nicola Rollock and Katya Williams). The project produced a wide range of reports, analysing policies and practices in each country, and identifying and describing case studies of good practice in each country. It should be noted that in the UK the team looked particularly at practice in England, not of all the UK. All our reports are available at <http://cice.londonmet.ac.uk/TEAM>.

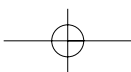
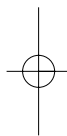
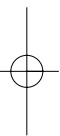
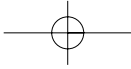
3. London Metropolitan University in the UK (Institute of Policy Studies in Education (IPSE), the University of Patras in Greece (Department of Elementary Education/Divisions of Pedagogy & Educational Policy, the University of Toulon in France (UFR Lettres et Sciences Humaines), the University of Iceland (Faculty of Social Sciences, Department of Education), and the University of Warmia and Mazury in Olsztyn in Poland (Faculty of Arts and Educational Sciences)

4. <http://annagjul.vortex.is/demo/index.htm>; <http://casnav.scola.ac-paris.fr/>; <http://www.educnet.education.fr/nenuphar/nenuphar.htm>; <http://www.multi-verse.ac.uk>; <http://www.hants.gov.uk/education/ema/>.

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Bringing together Multicultural Awareness and Citizenship in post graduate teacher education*

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Abstract

Multicultural awareness relates to the common world of experiences, values and knowledge at the individual and/or group level which highlights the concepts of identity and diversity. Multiculturalism deals with the recognizing the principles and practices of "accommodating diversity" in ways that guarantee interconnectedness is the area that multiculturalism deals with. Including diversity and specifically multiculturalism is important as teachers need to work successfully with diverse learners at the ideological level, practical level, political level and methodological level. For the purposes of this article we will focus on: how Greek Master's degree candidates taking a Multicultural Education course understand the diversity around him and how it influences identity and citizenship. From the analysis we note that an opportunity for focused, organized and active participation and reflection can positively influence the multicultural awareness of post graduate education students.

* This paper is in part based on the author's presentation at the international conference of the POLIS Citizenship Association 'Citizenship-Multiculturalism-Cosmopolitanism' at the University of Cyprus (November 3rd and 4th 2007) entitled: "Developing an Awareness of Multiculturalism through Reflective Journal Writing".

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Introduction

In an increasingly diversified global world, society, both inside and outside national borders, is increasingly multicultural. When we talk about citizenship inevitably multiculturalism and its challenges also enter the discourse (Castles & Davidson, 2000; Coleman & Higgins, 2000 as cited in Acordia, 2002; Haas, 2007). A steady stream of both legal and illegal immigration has taxed many countries which were ill-prepared to deal with its consequences. Education's role in relation to citizenship development is something well recognized. Yet many educational initiatives in citizenship have a stronger emphasis on the external trappings of civic behavior rather than a focus on cultivating the necessary values in order to be available to respond responsibly to civic duties (Acordia, 2002; Cajani, 2009).

Teachers are charged with the task of preparing their students to become active citizens; citizens who see diversity as a positive factor. Teachers must not only be able to deal with the challenge of being prepared to teach both mainstream students as well as an increasing number of children coming from diverse backgrounds, but also to prepare both to become active and responsible citizens. As we have stated elsewhere "...we can learn to understand and appreciate the values, expectations, and communication styles of other traditions without giving up our own (Samovar & Porter, 1994). We can adjust appropriately and effectively to different values and communication styles if we learn how to first perceive and then adapt to them." (Spinthourakis, 2006).

A question that university teacher education programs look at is how well teachers are being prepared to meet these changing realities (Cochran-Smith *et al*, 2004; Spinthourakis, 2007). Teachers tend to feel that they aren't adequately prepared and may need more focused professional development on how to adapt their teaching specific to the needs of the changing societal realities (Lynch & Hanson, 1993; Zeichner 1994; Spinthourakis & Katsillis, 2003). As the diversity of the classroom has increased, instructional practices to address diversity have often remained unchanged. An absence of awareness in terms of minority students' cultural realities, negative experiences as well as the glass wall blocking their access to education often result in teachers resorting to stereotyping students (Aaronsohn, Carter, & Howell, 1995; Hansman & Smith, 1997) and using inappropriate curricula and instructional materials (Short, 1999). Based on their personal experiences, teachers who are only peripherally

aware of these issues, often fail to fully recognize the depth and nuances of a student's diversity, arguing that their students are doing just fine with the traditional teaching methods currently employed (Moustairas & Spinthourakis, 2005). As a result, multicultural education as West (1994) posits, is not a frill but rather a necessity. Educational research over the last several decades includes studies that focus on the importance of dealing with multiculturalism in education (Cochran-Smith *et al*, 2004).

Multicultural Awareness and Reflection in Teacher Education

Multicultural awareness relates to the common world of experiences, values and knowledge at the individual and/or group level which highlights the concepts of identity and diversity. Multiculturalism deals with the recognizing the principles and practices of "accommodating diversity" in ways that guarantee interconnectedness is the area that multiculturalism deals with. The evolution of a society in which diversity is recognized as a legitimate and integral facet of the society is a fundamental goal of multiculturalism rather than the promotion of minorities per se (Spinthourakis, 2007a). While members of different cultural and ethnic groups have the right to retain distinctive identities within a framework of key common values to which all adhere (Spinthourakis, 2006). Multicultural education strives to promote this recognition and right for all. Many post graduate teacher education programs focus on developing specializations within a broader context of education. Within the parameters of these specializations though there is increasing attention being given towards inclusion of courses that will enable the future researchers, trainers and teachers to work towards planning interventions that maximize the potential of all children. Therefore, in terms of multicultural awareness, post-graduate teacher education students need to be provided with opportunities to examine and consider their own views and beliefs with respect to diversity.

How do teacher educators provide the impetus for their post graduate students to develop this multicultural awareness. Some of the things that post graduate teacher education programs can do are find ways of having teachers use reflection and inquiry to:

- Learn about themselves and others.
- Identify multicultural situations around them.
- Identify hindrances to teaching and learning in a multicultural setting.
- Identify suitable teaching approaches in a multicultural setting.
- Propose appropriate models for teaching and learning in multicultural settings.

Reflection as a tool for understanding oneself and the other

Studies have indicated that traditional teacher education programs teaching issues related to diversity appear not to have a significant impact on attitudes and beliefs (Kea, Campbell-Whatley & Richards, 2005). The study and use of reflection, among other things, has been used to try to move beyond the traditional methods used in teacher education programs (Spinthourakis, 2007).

In teaching, reflection commonly has to do with teachers using critical analysis to gain knowledge of their own thinking on teaching and learning. This in turn is believed to motivate them to assume greater responsibility for their actions in the classroom. *Various researchers have supported the need to involve teachers in activities that* assist “self-exploration through metacognitive and reflective processes” (Daloglu, 2007 referencing Schon, 1987, Zeichner, 1992, 1993 and Hatton & Smith, 1995). The expression of our thoughts and beliefs are not a side-effect; instead they are an essential element of our emerging cognition (Vygotsky, 1986). However, it should be noted that developing skills of reflection is not a simple task. It is important to encourage and support activities and opportunities for teachers which allow them to utilize reflection.

Journal writing encourages reflection and change where reflection is a process of inquiry, thinking and where action occurs within practice (Schön, 1987). Moreover it can promote student multicultural awareness learning by giving students opportunities to construct their own meanings in reaction to new information and experiences. Towards this end, teacher experiential learning linked to reflective journal writing can have a positive impact (Dymet & O’Connell, 2003). Consequently, as Daloglu (2002) states, maintaining a reflective journal enables students to “...reconceptu-

alize or rework their views and ideas by stating their philosophy or vision, contemplating an image of teaching and teachers, and being insightful about the purpose of education and about self as a teacher (Maloney & Campbell-Evans, 2002)."

Our research explored several questions related to both the post-graduate student experience as well as that of the instructor. For the purposes of this article we will focus on: whether an intensive post graduate course, with discussions, focused reading and reflective journal writing on the part of students leads to increased multicultural awareness.

In the past we have looked at related issues but at the pre-service teacher education level (Spinthourakis, 2007b; Karatzia-Stavlioti et al, 2006). We entered into the present study with questions concerning (a) what prior knowledge, experiences and possible stereotypes the students brought with them, (b) how the components of the course, and (c) which the concrete learning experiences affect post graduate teacher education students' awareness related to multicultural issues and more broadly citizenship.

Methodology

Participants

The participants in our study were Education Master's (Med) program students attending a Greek State tertiary institution located in a rural area. The MEd program was open to all undergraduate degree holders who passed admission examinations administered by the specific post-graduate program committee. The participants came to the program from different areas of education profession: elementary school teachers, early childhood teachers, high school teachers, and computer science teachers. They ranged in age from 22 – 45, which translated into teaching experiences from 0 (zero) years to as many as 25. Of the 17 post-graduate students attending the course, 14 were female and 3 male. 70% of the participants were linguistically and culturally Greek while 30% could be described as linguistically and culturally differentiated who while having been born and raised in Greek society had a different cultural heritage (within their family there were nuclear family members who were Slavic or Turkish heritage language speakers).

Situation

The post graduate course the students were enrolled in was entitled: Multicultural Education: Special Topics. It was conducted as a compact intensive course with course sessions every day for two weeks, one at the outset of the semester and the second towards the end of the thirteen week semester.

The course's basic purpose was to extend, augment and challenge, if needed, the students' prior learning in relation to diversity and teaching. The format of the course did not include traditional lectures but rather was constructed around diversity themes and questions intended to promote interaction and provoke discussion. From the outset, the students were asked to consider what diversity means to them by looking at themselves as unique individuals who were also members of a larger collective as well as members of the teaching profession. The students were asked to consider whether or not Greek society could be characterized as being multicultural. Essentially, they were asked to tune into the world around and beyond them; to critically listen, read, see, feel and reflect on their reality and that beyond themselves. Besides having to find, read and write critical reviews of articles linked to diversity, identity, multiculturalism in society and education, and citizenship broadly as well as an research paper on the course theme's in conjunction with their professional background, every student was required to keep a reflective journal for a period of no less than one month. In this journal they were to record and reflect on the following: (a) Who am I? How do I see others? Am I a culturally sensitive person? What experiences have I had with people different from myself?; (b) Are there linguistic and cultural minorities in my town, region, and country? If so who are they—how do I see them?; (c) Listen to the news, read newspapers, magazines, watch TV, when out and about tune into conversations, visuals with a focus on diversity. Keep a dossier of artifacts/articles/etc.; and (d) critically reflect on these—go beyond description. As part of their first assignment they were asked to write an autobiographical piece to be entered into their journal and outlining their culture and identity (Fernandez, 2003).

Analysis

To answer our research questions we looked at the experiences the post graduate students had chosen to include in their daily journal of diversity and multiculturalism around us; their written reflections. Using a qualitative content analysis procedure (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Mayring, 2000 as cited by Spinthourakis, 2007b), we focused on the journal entries to identify the students responses in relation to the following research questions: (a) what prior knowledge, experiences and possible stereotypes the students brought with them, (b) how the components of the course, and (c) which the concrete learning experiences affect post graduate teacher education students' awareness related to multicultural issues and more broadly citizenship. Relevant journal excerpts were noted, categorized topically and chronologically. Operationally defined changes were noted when the excerpts contained references to (a) their knowledge about diversity and multiculturalism, (b) critical reflection on that knowledge and (c) statements about the topics, or beliefs about a particular topic that differed from those expressed in earlier entries. From this analysis, three major themes emerged on issues of multiculturalism/identity/diversity: a) what we didn't know, b) what we have learned, and c) journal writing and reflection. In this paper though we will limit our presentation to a brief discussion of our general findings with selected sample excerpts representative of the journal entries submitted and analyzed. Our study findings both in relation to the more detailed analysis findings and those presented in this article should not be considered as representing the general post-graduate student population, but rather be seen as a case study specific to the group of students participating in the study.

Discussion

From the analysis we were able to make the following observations: There was initial and often vocal resistance to the activity, expressed in class and during breaks. This was not unexpected as there tends to be a more general reluctance to engage in written reflection on the part of

Greek graduate students since in many instances it is a completely new technique for many Greek educators. Initial entries were usually short descriptions—bullets—lacking reflective qualities. Some class discussion topics, such as ‘what religions are practiced in Greece’ and ‘who should have access to health care and education’, ‘what does it mean to belong to a linguistic and/or cultural minority’ and finally, ‘who should have the right to become a citizen’ generated heated discussion and led a portion of the students to read on a given theme to find ways forward, possible solutions to problems or support for their ideas.

About half-way through we noted their first attempts at ‘critical reflection’ about themselves and others. For example, over the course of the journal entry period¹ excerpts of what one student wrote include:

“I am Greek, my language is Greek, and I am Greek Orthodox. It’s only recently that Greece has had to deal with ‘immigrants’, with the majority being illegal immigrants and foreigners; aliens. They aren’t Greeks and they shouldn’t have the same rights...If you don’t look around you it’s hard to see things. I never really thought about people culturally different from me living in Greece and what they go through. They were basically faceless. They were all ‘Albanians’. But they aren’t all ‘Albanians’, they can be Russian, Bulgarian or some other ethnicity. They also aren’t just ‘Albanians’. Just like I’m not just Greek, I’m a Greek female but also a xxxxx female as well.²... We’re all individuals. We should be more open to others but it’s not easy. There’s so much to learn. Even if we learn about multiculturalism, will we be able to change anything?”

It appears that it was at the half way point that they came to realize that thoughts and feelings become clearer when they are expressed. However, the fact that it happened approximately half way through the activity may be more due to the shortness of the time they maintained the journals and newness of the activity rather than because of other reasons. Although, the fact that in effect they were progressing through this activity alone may have also served as a factor for the relative delay in their experiencing their first real critical reflective entries as feedback is very important; even though email contact with the instructor was used by some for feedback purposes. It also tended to coincide with reports in the news of instances both in country and abroad that had to do with minorities, immigration and diversity. Given the compact nature of the course and our analysis of the students’ entries, we note that future courses should have more structured ‘interventions’ as catalysts for the students to both reflect on and use as clues for identifying other examples of multiculturalism. Several reported

that journaling was tiring and time consuming. However, about a third of the participants wrote that it allowed them to note changes in their beliefs and behaviors since they could monitor any instances of a change in knowledge and stance by going back and rereading earlier entries. Many of the students noted at the half way juncture that their initial entries about multiculturalism were clichéd statements that after reflection and rereading were more something gleaned from general statements rather than from research and/or in depth discussion backed by facts instead of hearsay.

It should also be noted that the degree of reflection appeared to be influenced more by age, experience and background rather than gender and affinity for writing; with older students who had more life experience being more candid and reflective. Although even here we should not generalize as there was at least one younger student with no teaching experience who kept a very detailed and reflective journal. The students did not often open up about personal experiences as there was a general reluctance to link the issues raised with personal accounts. In those instances where students made entries referring to the benefits of journal writing, these tended to come at the end of the period they were required to keep the journal. Approximately a third though, appeared to move from insularity and defensiveness to a more open-minded stance and discourse. A portion of the excerpts referenced the need for more consistent feedback such as the kind they felt they received during the actual class meetings.

Finally, we noted that the majority of the post graduate students whose reflective journals we analyzed held fairly ethnocentric views of the world at the outset. Interestingly, the references tended to be towards national identity with only two touching upon European and those had to do with Greece being a member of the European Union. Citizenship broadly was referred to in relation to the rights we have. Only one student referenced being both a citizen of Greece and the European Union. Most of the linguistically and culturally different post graduate students also tended to hold much the same Eurocentric views. What was of particular interest was that two of the students who had linguistically and culturally differentiated backgrounds discussed it during class and wrote that this was the first time that they had been encouraged to talk about their background; both went on to do their research papers on subjects related to their families heritage language and family member refugee experiences. However, even with these limited references we can say that what emerges is that when adequate time is available and there are unrestricted opportunities to express their beliefs, the post graduate teacher education students in

our study did appear to move beyond the stereotype, challenging their prior knowledge, augmenting their knowledge base and being more open to discussion.

Conclusion

Through this study we have touched upon questions related to preparing post graduate teacher education students with respect to developing their multicultural awareness through discussion and reflection. Clearly, the latter is not a simple undertaking; to be effective time and organization are needed. How can we as teacher educators move beyond traditional teaching approaches and make learning more personal and thought provoking for future education stakeholders? Do employing compact intensive course structures allow post graduate students the time needed to acclimate to new and different activities such as journal writing? How can we help our post graduate students understand that accommodating diversity and multicultural awareness are fundamental to the identities of all the parties involved, students, teachers, administrators and the general public? Our findings lead us to the conclusion that much more needs to be done. While reflective journal writing holds promise and does appear to be an effective teaching tool, no single strategy can be seen as a panacea. One suggestion is to include in the course field experiences within different sectors of society³ that will enable the post graduate students to experience multiculturalism first hand. Even with suggestions such as this, the questions still far exceed the answers, but research at the university level can help us identify a cache of approaches, teaching strategies and experiences that can provide post graduate teacher education students with the knowledge, skills and attitudes necessary to work productively with all students in increasingly multicultural societies.

Notes

1. the ...indicates different journal entry dates, several days apart.
2. The geographic designation is not included here, but its inclusion can be

seen as an acknowledgement of their local identity rather than solely that of the broader ethnic identity.

3. These experiences could be at the local, regional or national level without ignoring the opportunities the EU Life-Long Learning programs makes available.

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