SPECIAL ISSUE

Educational Innovations around the World
A Symposium at the Seattle Pacific University, USA

Special Issue Editors:
Olaf Beuchling, Arthur K. Ellis, Reinhard Golz & Erika Hasebe-Ludt

International Dialogues on Education: Past and Present

Edited by
Olaf Beuchling, Reinhard Golz and Erika Hasebe-Ludt

"Educational Innovation around the World"

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Arthur K. Ellis (USA)

Editorial

"Out of every ten innovations attempted, all very splendid, nine will end up in silliness."

Antonio Machado

Innovation and *novelty* come from the same Latin word, "novus." These words imply something new. The idea that something is new is dear to our hearts. We have been conditioned by advertisers and promoters to associate "new" with "improved," whether the product is a laundry soap or a school curriculum. The *Oxford English Dictionary* defines innovation as "the introduction of novelties." Innovation is a noun related to the very "to innovate," first found in print in 1561 in Thomas Norton's book, *Calvin's Instructions,* in which Norton wrote, "a desire to innovate all things moveth troublesome men." So this term innovation appears to have touched emotions, both positive and negative, from that time to this day.

In the world of education, from primary through tertiary, innovation seems to be all-important. Schools and teachers want to be on the leading edge, to know the latest trend, to avoid being old-fashioned or *possibly* out of date. Keeping up is crucial. No one wants to be left behind. Perhaps the most ubiquitous innovation that schools at all levels have had to take into account is the personal computer and its corollaries, the internet and world wide web. These innovations are so overwhelming that the extent to which they have and will change access to knowledge remains uncertain. One result of these innovations is the sudden appearance, like mushrooms after a spring rain, of online learning at all levels and across subject matters, including massive open online courses (MOOCS) and even virtual universities.

In his book Diffusion of Innovations (New York: Free Press: 2003), Everett Rogers lists five characteristics of new ideas (here in a slightly modified and abridged version):

1) **Relative Advantage**, the degree to which an idea is perceived as better than the idea it supersedes.

2) **Compatibility**, that is, the degree to which it seems consistent with existing values, past experience, and needs of potential adopters.

3) **Complexity**, which is the degree to which an innovation seems difficult to understand and use.

4) **Trialability**, the degree to which a new idea may be experimented with on a limited basis.

5) **Observability***, that is, the degree to which the results of an innovation are visible to others.*

Given this structure, we can ask ourselves, what innovations in school settings have had positive effects? Computers in classrooms got off to a shaky start and were often discredited as having any positive effects, but over time they have become so useful that they challenge the very term, "classroom learning." Of course, any innovation placed in school settings is subject to local interpretation. Invariably, teaching and learning is situated and contextual. No matter how pristine the innovation may be in the hands of educational theorists and empiricists, its ultimate test takes place in specific settings, both real and virtual, where teachers and students are the final arbiters of

meaning, interpretation, and implementation. This is for better or worse. For example, we can point to the effectiveness of formative assessment as an innovation that has been shown to be highly effective as a means of raising student achievement. But in any given classroom or lecture hall, formative assessment will be implemented or not as interpreted in that specific contextual setting.

In John Hattie's book, *Visible Learning for Teachers* (London/New York: Routledge: 2012), we find 138 summaries meta analyses of particular educational innovations. Among those receiving high effect size scores are Piagetian programs, formative evaluation, direct instruction, teacher clarity, and metacognitive strategies. On the low end are such innovations as ability grouping, team teaching, distance education, and problem-based learning. Whether innovations succeed or fail often reflects the extent to which they are compatible with local norms, how complicated or easy they are to implement, what happens when they are tried in classrooms, and „word of mouth" opinion in the educational community.

All this is to say that we are learning more about what works effectively as well as what doesn't, but there are many contingencies. We never "prove" anything in social science "soft" research, but we do build a case for support or lack of support over time. Innovations come and go. More often than not, they fade away in spite of the early promises made by their promoters. Increasingly, we are learning ways to test their effectiveness, and this enables us to make evidenced-based arguments. However, there will always be cultural norms, political considerations, ease of implementation, sustainability, scalability, teacher training, and economic factors including monetary cost as well as global competitive advantage.

This special thematic issue of *International Dialogues on Education: Past and Present* is dedicated to innovation. The articles that appear in the following pages are edited papers from the sixth biennial "Symposium: Educational Innovations in Countries around the World," held on the campus of Seattle Pacific University in Seattle (USA), June 30-July 2, 2015. The papers fall into three categories of educational innovation: policy, technology, and curriculum/instruction.

Policy-related papers include Robin Chen's analysis of the No Child Left Behind policy with reflections from Taiwan and East Asia; Pierre Ruffini's investigation of the economic costs of university education in an era of unprecedented expansion of enrollments; Anja Franz' article on retention and attrition of doctoral students in Germany and USA; both Ryszard Kucha's and Dorata Zdybel's reflections on the difficulties of educational development in Poland; and Kas Mazurek and Marget Winzer's paper on conflicting international cadences of inclusive schooling.

In the area of **curriculum and instruction**, Douglas Asbjornsen considers the efficacy of project-based learning as an educational innovation; Solvejg Jobst and Tom Are Trippestad address the ambivalent social and cultural consequences of changing educational structures in an age of global education, Daniel Johnson-Mardones explores curriculum as phenomenon, field, and design, Reinhard Golz provides a historical/cultural perspective on peace education; Oihane Korres and Iciar Elexpuru report their findings of an investigation of values perceived by adolescents in their favorite television characters; Tatyana Tsyrlina-Spady and Michael Lovorn share their analysis of history textbooks used in Russian and American secondary schools; John Bond, David Denton and Arthur Ellis employ a best-evidence synthesis of effects of student reflection on academic achievement; and Richard Scheuerman, Kristine Gritter and Carrie Jim Schuster's article features sustainability education in collaboration with Native American perspectives.

Three articles on **educational technologies** include Shu-sheng Liaw's article on gender perspectives

on mobile learning environments; Hsui-Mei Huang's investigation of experiential learning in e-commerce classes; and Marianna Richardson's paper on the transformative nature of social media in a global society. In each case, the authors cast a critical eye on the strategic use of certain new technologies.

This collection of articles under the umbrella category of Educational Innovation suggests a wide range of interests and perspectives. This is to be expected since education is not an academic discipline in the sense that physics, sociology, and geography are, for example. Rather, education, like medicine and law, implies a field in which practice is the rule. Individuals practice medicine, law, and education, and such practice takes place within a context in which the expectations are sanctioned by society with all the freedoms and responsibilities implied. As a practice, Education involves theory, empiricism, and day-to-day implementation in real-world settings. Thus we find policy, norms, economics, pedagogics, administration, and a multitude of other interests in play. In this spirit, I hope you will find these papers useful and instructive.

In the name of all participants of our symposium I especially want to thank Symposium Project Manager Stephanie Wieland for her heroic efforts that contributed invaluably to the success of this event. My expressions of gratitude are extended to Kelsey Creeden and Leandra Reuble, our editorial team, and also to Oleg R. Zayakin for his translations into Russian.

Finally it must be said that this thematic issue would not be possible without the generous leadership of Olaf Beuchling, Reinhard Golz, and Erika Hasebe-Ludt, Editors of *International Dialogues on Education: Past and Present (IDE).*

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Артур К. Эллис (США)

От редакции

"Из десяти выдающихся опробованных инноваций девять окажутся глупостью." (Антонио Махадо)

Понятия *Инновация* и *Новшество* происходят от одного итальянского слова *„novus"* и подразумевают что-то, чего не было до сих пор. Идея новизны заставляет наше сердце биться чаще. Реклама и инициаторы проектов вдохновляют нас на попытку объединить понятия "новый" и "усовершенствованный", и неважно, что это: моющее средство или школьная образовательная программа. *Большой Оксфордский словарь* (БОС. Издательство Оксфордского университета, 2015) определяет инновацию как "введение новшеств". В качестве имени существительного или глагола, слова „инновация" или „использовать инновации" впервые появились в книге Томаса Мортона, *"Инструкции Кальвина" (1561)* в печатном виде. В этой книге Мортон описывает инновацию как „стремление сильных людей изобрести все возможное" („a desire to innovate all things moveth troublesome men"), и поэтому термин «инновация» с тех пор до сегодняшних дней вызывает как положительные, так и отрицательные эмоции.

В сфере образования, от начальной до высшей школы, инновациям придается несравненно большее значение, чем всему остальному. Школы и учителя хотят быть на высоте, знать последние тенденции, чтобы не показаться старомодными или даже неактуальными. Крайне важно идти в ногу со временем. Никто не хочет отставать. Возможно, самая главная и вездесущая инновация, которую должны учитывать школы на всех уровнях, это компьютер и его сопутствующие явления, интернет и всемирная компьютерная сеть. Это настолько потрясающие инновации, что масштаб, в котором они изменили и еще изменят доступ к знаниям, по-прежнему неоценим. Признаком данной инновации является ее неожиданное появление, она появилась, как грибы после дождя; достаточно назвать только дистанционное обучение на каждой ступени и в каждой сфере обучения, начиная от массового открытого онлайн-курса до виртуальных университетов.

В своей книге *Распространение инноваций* (Нью-Йорк: Свободная пресса: 2003) Эверетт Роджерс перечисляет пять критериев новых идей (здесь в несколько измененном и сокращенном варианте):

1) **Относительное преимущество**, то есть масштаб, в котором идея воспринимается лучше, чем та, которая ее заменила.
2) **Совместимость,** то есть масштаб, в котором она совпадает с существующими ценностями, прежним опытом и потребностями потенциальных пользователей.

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3) **Комплексность,** то есть масштаб, в котором инновацию сложно понять и применить.

4) **Тестируемость,** то есть масштаб, в котором ограниченным образом можно экспериментировать с новой идеей.

5) **Наблюдаемость,** или масштаб, в котором результаты изобретения могут быть признаны другими.

С учетом данной структуры мы можем задать себе вопрос, какие инновации оказали положительное влияние в школьной среде. Компьютеры в кабинетах прошли тернистый путь и часто были дискредитированы относительно положительного влияния, но они стали настолько необходимы, что ставят под сомнение все понятие "обучение в классе". Конечно, каждая инновация, вводимая в школьной среде, интерпретируется по-своему. Преподавание и обучение всегда остаются ситуативными и контекстуальными. Неважно, насколько безупречной может быть инновация в руках теоретиков и эмпириков образования, ее ультимативное тестирование проходит в специфических условиях, в реальном и виртуальном мире, там, где учителя и обучающиеся в итоге оценивают значение, интерпретацию и возможность применения. Это и хорошо, и плохо. Например, можно сослаться на то, что эффективность формирующей, творческой оценки уже была инновацией, которая внешне была эффективной для улучшения достижений обучающихся. Однако такая оценка в каждом классе или лекционной аудитории всегда интерпретируется и используется или не используется в этих особенных контекстуальных условиях.

В книге Джона Хаттиса, Визуальное обучение для учителей (Лондон/Нью-Йорк: Раутледж: 2012), мы находим 138 заключений или мета-анализов различных инноваций в сфере образования и воспитания. Среди них, получивших высокую оценку в связи с их влиянием, находятся программа Пиаже, формирующие оценки, непосредственное обучение, понятность учителя, и метакогнитивные стратегии. На нижней ступени находятся такие инновации, как классификация достижений, групповое обучение, заочное обучение и проблемно-ориентированное обучение. Будут ли инновации успешными или неудачными, зависит от того, насколько они согласуются с местными правилами, насколько сложно или легко их использовать, что случится при их использовании на уроке, и как воздействуют устно передаваемые суждения в образовательном сообществе.

Все это значит, что мы больше обучаем тому, что успешно и что нет, но существует много условностей. Мы никогда не "доказываем" что-либо в "гибком" социально-научном исследовании, но с течением времени мы находим аргументы за или против чего-то. Инновации приходят и уходят; в основном они исчезают, несмотря на первоначальные обещания их покровителей. Мы все больше учимся проверять их эффективность, и это дает нам возможность привести доказательные аргументы. При этом всегда также необходимо учитывать культурные нормы, политические соображения, упрощенную реализацию, аспекты постоянства, масштабируемости, подготовки педагогических кадров, экономические факторы, включая финансовые расходы и глобальные конкурентные преимущества.

Данное тематическое специальное издание Международных Диалогов об Образовании: Прошлое и Настоящее посвящено инновации. Статьи на следующих страницах представляют собой обработанные доклады шестого "Симпозиума: Образовательные инновации в странах по всему миру", который проводится один раз в два года и состоялся в кампусе Тихоокеанского Университета Сиэтла (США), с 30 июня по 2 июля 2015 года. Статьи

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разделены на три категории: образовательная политика, технология и учебный план/ учебное занятие.

В плане образовательной политики значимыми являются анализ акции "Ни один ребенок не отстает в развитии", проведенного Робином Ченом, с рефлексией из Тайваня и Восточной Азии; исследование Пьера Руффини, посвященное финансовым расходам на обучение в университете во времена беспримерной экспансии поступлений; статья Ани Франц о задержке и прекращении обучения докторантов в аспирантуре с последующей защитой диссертации в Германии и США; рефлексии Рузарда Куха и Дораты Здыбель о трудностях развития образования в Польше; статья Каса Мазурека и Маргарет Винзер о противоречивых международных каденциях относительно инклюзивного образования.

В сфере учебного плана и учебных занятий Дуглас Асбьорнсен рассматривает эффективность проектного обучения как образовательную инновацию. Сольвейг Йобст и Том Аре Триппестад пишут об амбивалентных социальных и культурных последствиях переменных образовательных структур во время глобального образования. Даниель Джонсон-Мардонес изучает учебный план как феномен, сферу деятельности и дизайн; Рейнхард Гольц рассматривает историческую/культурную перспективу воспитания в духе мира. Оихане Коррес и Ициар Элекспуру сообщают о результатах своего исследования ценностей, усвоенных молодыми людьми в их любимых телесериалах. Татьяна Цурлина-Споди и Михаил Ловорн докладывают о своем анализе использования школьных учебников истории в русских и американских школах. Джон Бонд, Давид Дентон и Артур Эллис исследуют синтез убедительного доказательства относительно рефлективных последствий на академический успех обучающихся. Статья Рихарда Шойермана; Кристине Гриттер и Кэрри Джим Шустера посвящена созданию экологической устойчивости во взаимодействии с перспективами американских индейцев.

Образовательным технологиям посвящены три статьи: Шу-Шенг Лиав пишет о гендерных перспективах в мобильной среде обучения; Хсиу-Мей Хуанг исследует основанное на опыте обучение в электронных коммерческих классах, а статья Марианны Ричардсон посвящена трансформационным качествам социальных технических средств обучения в глобальном обществе. В каждом случае авторы рассматривают стратегическое использование определенных новых технологий с критической точки зрения.

Данное собрание статей под общей темой «Образовательные инновации» указывает на большой выбор интересов и перспектив. Это можно было ожидать, так как педагогика не является академической дисциплиной, как, например, физика, социология или география. Наука об образовании и воспитании больше предполагает – так же, как медицина и право – жизненную практику. Индивидуумы практикуют в области медицины, юриспруденции или образовании и воспитании, и эта практика проходит в условиях, в которых присутствуют ожидания общества, включая все свободы и ответственность. Как практика наука об образовании и воспитании имеет дело с теорией, эмпиризмом и ежедневным применением в реальных условиях. В связи с этим политика, правила, экономика, педагогика, управление и многие другие интересы имеют значение. В этом отношении я надеюсь, что читатели считают эти статьи полезными и содержательными.

От имени всех участниц и участников симпозиума я бы хотел отдельно поблагодарить нашего руководителя проекта Стефанию Виланд за ее героические устремления, которые внесли огромный вклад в успешное проведение данного мероприятия. Также я выражаю

благодарность нашей команде редакторов, Келси Криден, Леандре Ройбле и Олегу Р. Заякину за перевод на русский язык.

В заключении необходимо отметить, что специальное издание не осуществилось бы без великодушной редакционной поддержки Олафа Бойхлинга, Рейнхарда Гольца и Эрики Хазебе-Лудт, издателей Международных Диалогов об Образовании: Прошлое и Настоящее.

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Arthur K. Ellis (USA)

Editorial

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"Von jeweils zehn versuchten Innovationen, alle sehr hervorragend, werden neun in Albernheit enden." (Antonio Machado)

Die Begriffe Innovation und Neuheit stammen aus demselben lateinischen Wort „novus", und sie implizieren etwas bisher nicht Vorhandenes. Die Idee, dass etwas neu ist, bewegt unser Herz. Wir sind durch Werbung und Initiatoren konditioniert, "neu" mit "verbessert" zu verbinden, sei das Produkt ein Waschmittel oder ein Schulcurriculum. Das Oxford English Dictionary definiert Innovation als "die Einführung von Neuheiten". Ob als Substantiv oder als Verb, „Innovation" oder „innovieren" tauchen als Begriffe zum ersten Mal in Thomas Mortons Buch, Calvin's Instructions (1561) in gedruckter Form auf. Morton beschrieb Innovation darin als einen „Drang nerviger Menschen, alles Mögliche zu erfinden" („a desire to innovate all things moveth troublesome men"), und so scheint der Begriff Innovation seit dieser bis heute sowohl positive als auch negative Gefühle zu rühren.

Im Bildungsbereich, von der Grundschule bis zur Hochschule, scheint Innovation mehr als alles andere zu zählen. Schulen und Lehrer wollen an der Spitze sein, den letzten Trend kennen, um zu vermeiden, altmodisch oder sogar nicht mehr aktuell zu sein. Schritt zu halten ist extrem wichtig. Keiner will zurückbleiben. Vielleicht ist die größte und allgegenwärtige Innovation, die Schulen auf allen Ebenen zu beachten hatten, der Computer und seine Begleiterscheinungen, das Internet und das World Wide Web. Diese Innovationen sind so überwältigend, dass das Ausmaß, in dem sie den Zugang zu Wissen verändert haben und auch weiterhin verändern werden, auch weiterhin nicht

einzuschätzen ist. Ein Merkmal dieser Innovationen ist ihr plötzliches Auftreten, wie Pilze nach einem Frühlingsregen; genannt seien nur das Online Learning auf jeder Stufe und in jedem Unterrichtsbereich, einschließlich massenhafter Open Online Course (MOOC) bis hin zu virtuellen Universitäten.

In seinem Buch *Diffusion of Innovations* (New York: Free Press: 2003) listet Everett Rogers fünf Kriterien neuer Ideen auf (hier in leicht veränderter und gekürzter Version):

1) **Der relative Vorteil**, das heißt, das Ausmaß, in dem eine Idee als besser empfunden wird als die, die sie ablöst.

2) **Die Kompatibilität,** das heißt, das Ausmaß, in dem sie übereinstimmt mit bestehenden Werten, früheren Erfahrungen und Bedürfnissen potenzieller Nutzer.

3) **Die Komplexität,** also das Ausmaß, in dem eine Innovation schwierig zu verstehen und zu verwenden ist.

4) **Die Testbarkeit,** oder das Ausmaß, in dem man in begrenzter Weise mit einer neue Idee experimentiern kann.

5) **Die Beobachtbarkeit,** oder das Ausmaß, in dem die Resultate der Erfindung von anderen erkannt werden können.

Angesichts dieser Struktur können wir uns fragen, welche Innovationen im Schulbereich positive Effekte hatten. Computer in Klassenzimmern hatten einen holprigen Weg und wurden oft diskreditiert in Bezug auf ihre positiven Effekte, aber sie sind so nützlich geworden, dass sie den ganzen Begriff "classroom learning" in Frage stellen. Natürlich wird jede Innovation, die in einem Schulbereich eingeführt wird, auf örtliche Weise interpretiert. Lehren und lernen sind ständig situativ und kontextbezogen. Egal, wie makellos die Innovation in den Händen der Bildungstheoretiker und Empiriker sein kann, ihr ultimativer Test findet statt in spezifischen Umgebungen, real oder virtuell, dort, wo Lehrer und Schüler die Bedeutung, Interpretation und Anwendung schließlich beurteilen. Das ist sowohl gut als auch schlecht. Man kann zum Beispiel darauf hinweisen, dass die Effektivität einer formativen, schöpferischen Beurteilung schon eine Innovation war, die extrem wirksam war, um die Leistung von Lernenden zu verbessern. Jedoch wird eine solche Beurteilung in jedem Klassenzimmer oder Vorlesungssaal immer in dieser besonderen kontextuellen Umgebung interpretiert und angewendet oder nicht angewendet.

In John Hatties Buch *Visible Learning for Teachers* (London/New York: Routledge: 2012), finden wir 138 Zusammenfassungen oder Meta-Analysen von verschiedenen Innovationen im Bildungs- und Erziehungsbereich. Unter denen, die eine hohe Bewertung in Bezug auf ihren Effekt erreichen, befinden sich Piaget-Programme, formative Beurteilungen, direkter Unterricht, Klarheit des Lehrers, und metakognitive Strategien. Im unteren Bereich befinden sich Innovationen wie Leistungsgruppierung, Teamunterricht, Fernunterricht und problemorientiertes Lernen. Ob Innovationen erfolgreich sind oder scheitern, kommt darauf an, in welchem Ausmaß sie mit örtlichen Regeln übereinstimmen, wie kompliziert oder einfach sie anzuwenden sind, was passiert, wenn sie im Unterricht probiert werden, und wie die mündlich überlieferten Meinungen in der Bildungsgemeinschaft wirken.

Dies alles heißt, dass wir mehr lernen über das, was erfolgreich ist und was nicht, aber es gibt viele

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Eventualitäten. Wir "beweisen" nie etwas in der "weichen" sozialwissenschaftlichen Forschung, aber im Laufe der Zeit finden wir Argumente für oder gegen etwas. Innovationen kommen und gehen; meistens verschwinden sie trotz der ursprünglichen Versprechen ihrer Förderer. Wir lernen immer besser, ihre Effektivität zu testen, und das ermöglicht es uns, evidenzbasierte Argumente vorzubringen. Zu beachten sind dabei aber immer auch kulturelle Normen, politische Erwägungen, vereinfachte Implementierungen, Aspekte der Nachhaltigkeit, der Skalierbarkeit, der Lehrerausbildung, ökonomische Faktoren einschließlich finanzieller Kosten sowie auch globale Wettbewerbsvorteile.

Die vorliegende thematische Sonderausgabe von *International Dialogues in Education: Past and Present* ist der Innovation gewidmet. Die Artikel, die auf den folgenden Seiten erscheinen, sind bearbeitete Beiträge für das sechste zweijährliche „Symposium: Educational Innovations in Countries around the World", das auf dem Campus der Seattle Pacific University in Seattle (USA), vom 30. Juni bis 2. Juli 2015 stattfand. Die Artikel sind in drei Kategorien eingeteilt: Bildungspolitik, Technologie und Curriculum/Unterricht.

Bildungspolitisch relevant sind Robin Chens Analyse der Aktion „No Child Left Behind" mit Reflektionen aus Taiwan und Ostasien; Pierre Ruffinis Untersuchung der finanziellen Kosten eines Universitätsstudiums in einem Zeitalter von beispielloser Expansion von Immatrikulationen; Anja Franz' Artikel über Retention und Attrition von Doktorandinnen und Doktoranden in Deutschland und den USA; Ryszard Kuchas und Dorata Zdybels Reflektionen über Schwierigkeiten der Bildungsentwicklung in Polen; Kas Mazureks und Margaret Winzers Artikel über widersprüchliche internationale Kadenzen hinsichtlich der inklusiven Bildung.

Im Curriculum- und Unterrichtsbereich betrachtet Douglas Asbjornsen die Effizienz von projektorientiertem Lernen als eine Bildungsinnovation. Solvejg Jobst und Tom Are Trippestad schreiben über die ambivalenten sozialen und kulturellen Konsequenzen von wechselnden Bildungsstrukturen in einer Zeit globaler Bildung. Daniel Johnson-Mardones untersucht das Curriculum als Phänomen, Feld und Design; Reinhard Golz vermittelt eine historische/kulturelle Perspektive zur Friedenserziehung. Oihane Korres und Iciar Elexpuru berichten über die Resultate ihrer Untersuchung von Werten, die Jugendliche über ihre bevorzugten Fernsehpersönlichkeiten wahrnehmen. Tatyana Tsyrlina-Spady und Michael Lovorn berichten über ihre Analyse der Nutzung von Geschichtsschulbüchern für russische und amerikanische Schulen. John Bond, David Denton und Arthur Ellis untersuchen eine "best-evidence" Synthese hinsichtlich ihrer reflexiven Auswirkungen auf den akademischen Erfolg von Lernenden. Richard Scheuerman, Kristine Gritter und Carrie Jim Schusters Artikel handelt von der Nachhaltigkeitsbildung im Zusammenwirken mit indigenen amerikanischen Perspektiven.

Mit Bildungstechnologien beschäftigen sich drei Beiträge: Shu-sheng Liaw schreibt über Geschlechterperspektiven in mobilen Lernumgebungen; Hsui-Mei Huang untersucht erfahrungsbasiertes Lernen in e-commerce Klassen, und Marianna Richardsons' Beitrag handelt von transformativen Eigenschaften sozialer Medien in einer globalen Gesellschaft. In jedem Fall betrachten die Autoren die strategische Nutzung bestimmter neuer Technologien aus einer kritischen Sicht.

Diese Artikelsammlung unter dem Gesamtthema „Bildungsinnovation" deutet auf eine große Auswahl von Interessen und Perspektiven hin. Man kann dies auch erwarten, da die Bildungswissenschaft nicht eine akademische Disziplin ist wie zum Beispiel die Physik, Soziologie, oder Geographie. Die Wissenschaft von der Bildung und Erziehung impliziert stärker – ähnlich wie

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die Medizin und das Recht – die Lebenspraxis. Individuen praktizieren im Bereich von Medizin, Juristik oder Bildung und Erziehung, und diese Praxis findet in einer Umgebung statt, in der Erwartungen der Gesellschaft sanktioniert sind, einschließlich aller Freiheiten und Verantwortungen. Als eine Praxis hat die Wissenschaft von der Bildung und Erziehung mit Theorie, Empirismus und täglicher Anwendung in realen Umgebungen zu tun. Daher spielen Politik, Regeln, Ökonomie, Pädagogik, Verwaltung und vielerlei andere Interessen eine Rolle. In diesem Sinne hoffe ich, dass die Leser diese Artikel nützlich und instruktiv finden.

Im Namen aller Teilnehmerinnen und Teilnehmer des Symposiums möchte besonders unserer Projektmanagerin Stephanie Wieland danken für ihre heroischen Anstrengungen, die ein unschätzbarer Beitrag zum Erfolg dieser Veranstaltung waren. Weiterhin danke ich unserem Redaktionsteam, Kelsey Creeden und Leandra Reuble sowie Oleg R. Zayakin für seine Übersetzungen ins Russische.

Schließlich muss gesagt werden, dass diese Sonderausgabe nicht möglich wäre ohne die großzügige editorische Unterstützung durch Olaf Beuchling, Reinhard Golz und Erika Hasebe-Ludt, die Herausgeber von International Dialogues on Education: Past and Present (IDE).

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Robin J. Chen (Taiwan)

From No Child Left Behind to Flexibility:

An Observation from East Asia

Summary: *Due to the highly demanding requirements of the No Child Left Behind Act, it seems out of the question for the U.S. government to achieve the original goal: 100% of students proficient at the national level by 2014. In order to conquer this challenging benchmark, the Obama Administration initiated regulations to waive individual state requirements and changed the content of accountability. This study is to demonstrate the change and the shift of the latest policy related above from the perspective of East Asia. In 2011 the Obama Administration declared the No Child Left Behind Act should be revised and the federal government initiate legislation to allow each state and the District of Columbia to apply for waivers from the No Child Left Behind regulations. This study argues the Obama Administration's reform of No Child Left Behind will turn to a "fair accountability" system, which stresses a more positive discrimination of each state and school district. Compared to East Asian countries that receive recognition through international tests, the Obama Administration shows its policy philosophy as "regulated centrally, run independently."*
Keywords: *NCLB, Education Policy, Comparative Education*

Резюме *(Робин Й. Чен: От проекта „Ни один ребенок не отстает в развитии" до гибкости: наблюдение из Восточной Азии): На основании высоких требований проекта „Ни один ребенок не отстает в развитии" правительству Соединенных Штатов казалось естественным достичь первоначальной цели: 100% успевающих учеников на национальном уровне до 2014 года. Для достижения этой претенциозной цели администрация Президента Обамы инициировала предписания, чтобы отказаться от отдельных государственных требований, и изменила содержание обязанности подотчетности. Данное исследование представляет изменение и смещение новейшей в этом отношении политики с точки зрения Восточной Азии. В 2011 году правительство Обамы объявило, что проект „Ни один ребенок не отстает в развитии" требует доработки. Федеральное правительство должно разработать закон, согласно которому каждый штат и округ Колумбия может ходатайствовать об освобождении от положений проекта „Ни один ребенок не отстает в развитии". Данное исследование аргументирует, что реформа приведет данный закон к системе «справедливой подотчетности» и обеспечит лучшую способность к вынесению суждения в отдельных штатах и школьных округах. По сравнению с восточно-азиатскими странами, получившими признание в международных сравнительных исследованиях, правительство Обамы рассматривает свою политическую философию как философию с «централизованным регулированием, независимой организацией».*
Ключевые слова: *проект „Ни один ребенок не отстает в развитии", образовательная политика, сравнительная педагогика*

Zusammenfassung *(Robin J. Chen: Von der Aktion "Kein Kind bleibt zurück" zur Flexibilität: Eine Beobachtung aus Ostasien): Wegen der sehr hohen Anforderungen des No Child Left Behind Act schien es für die US-Regierung keine Frage, das ursprüngliche Ziel, 100% der Schüler auf nationaler Ebene bis 2014 einzubeziehen. Um diese anspruchsvolle Marge zu erreichen, initiierte die Obama-Administration Vorschriften, um auf einzelne staatliche Anforderungen zu verzichten und veränderte den Inhalt der Rechenschaftspflicht. Diese Studie soll den Wandel und die Verschiebung der diesbezüglichen jüngsten Politik aus der Perspektive Ost-Asiens demonstrieren. Im Jahr 2011 erklärte die Obama-Regierung den „No Child Left Behind Act" für überarbeitungsbedürftig. Die Bundesregierung sollte ein Gesetz auf den Weg bringen, wonach jeder Staat sowie der District of Columbia die Freistellung von Regelungen des „No Child Left Behind Act" beantragen kann. Diese Studie argumentiert, dass die Reform dieses Gesetzes zu einem System einer "fairen Rechenschaftspflicht" führt und ein besseres Urteilsvermögen der einzelnen Staaten und*

Schulbezirke ermöglicht. Im Vergleich mit ost-asiatischen Ländern, die in internationalen Ver-gleichsstudien Anerkennung finden, betrachtet die Regierung Obama ihre politische Philosophie als "zentral geregelt, unabhängig organisiert."
Schlüsselwörter: *NCLB, Bildungspolitik, Vergleichende Erziehungswissenschaft*

Introduction

Following the trend of globalization, learning from western leading countries has become a dominant value rooted in educational governance in Asia, especially in East Asia. Taiwan, Japan and Korea, have been influenced by Confucian pedagogical thoughts. However, this ideology has been challenged by the wave of new discourse on managing schools, that is, accountability, accountability, and account-ability. Tracing back to the philosophy of Confucianism, the idea of accountability, or the result of teaching, has never been a concern. Here "Confucianism" is defined as the traditional attitudes and behavior prevalent in East Asia and associated with Confucius and the Confucian thought system. Take Taiwan as an example; Taiwan's meteoric rise is because it adopted a series of political reforms and a progressive education system in the 1980s. Taiwan is qualitatively different from the rise of Japan in the 1960s, but it is similar with the rise of Korea and the other little tigers of East Asia in the 1990s. Taiwan's difference lies in its size and the impact this is likely to have on the rest of the globe. Educational achievement has been at the core of these successes: Confucian societies are character-ized by the strong emphasis they place on education. A detailed European Union report from 2010 which uses Japan and South Korea as comparators confirms this point:

It was highlighted that in some non-EU OECD countries the share of total resources (both public and private) devoted to educational institutions by private households is exceptionally high. This is in particular the case in Japan and South Korea. In South Korea, more than one third of the total re-sources devoted to educational institutions came from private households whereas in Japan the share is slightly more than one quarter. In contrast in the EU, the share of total resources devoted to educational institutions from households varied from 13% in the UK to 1.6% in Portugal. (European Union, 2010: 212)

Value placed on education is particularly important in Taiwan, Japan and South Korea. The three countries place a high value on education and respect the educators. This stems from Confucianism roots. There are many reasons for high private educational spending, including negative factors such as poor state provision, but there is persuasive data on the overall effectiveness of the East Asian educational system. For example, the latest (2012) PISA data comparing the academic achievements of 15 year old in different countries, discussed in more detail below, puts 'Shanghai – China' at the top of its Reading, Mathematical and Scientific literacy scales by a significant margin. In Reading and Science, Confucian heritage cultures occupy four of the five top places, and in Mathematics they oc-cupy all five (OECD, 2014).

We used to argue that Western, or perhaps more accurately Anglo-Saxon, education teaches students understanding in a way that is difficult to test, whereas East Asian systems teach the kind of factual knowledge that can easily be tested in comparative surveys. But from the experience of the US, now in the US, the No Child Left Behind Act and its successor ESCE Flexibility, have shown that either the Bush administration or Obama administration truly takes test and benchmark making as the main solution while encountering global competition. Obviously, this reverses the impression held by Con-fucian heritage cultures so we ask: Why does the US government pick up something that we are trying hard to drop?

East Asia: the culture of embracing exams

Taiwan, Japan and South Korea have dominant high-stakes exam-oriented socioeconomic cultures. Taiwan, as well as the other three East Asian societies that excel in PISA (South Korea, Hong Kong and Shanghai) has a long tradition of prizing academic success due in part to its Confucian legacy. In Taiwan, academic achievement is the perceived passport to social and economic mobility and success in life, hence the popular sayings in Taiwan that 'No poverty is worse than a poor education' and 'One exam will determine your entire life'. Moreover, a highly competitive society with limited work places and the limitation of natural source invariably place a huge burden on the students themselves who feel obligated to obtain good grades for the sake of their parents an promote the social mobility. The predominantly pencil-and-paper assessment mode is privileged by the government for both exams as it ensures that the assessment is 'objective', 'fair' and 'scientific' based on the exam scores. That is why the Expanded Subjects and Inquiry/Research Subjects are not included in the terminal exams; they cannot be assessed summatively in a written exam since they are not confined to a particular academic subject, textbook or test question.

Due to the competitive and harsh learning environment and prolonged daily study time, in Taiwan there is a growing number of parents sending their children to the US for a more reflective or organic educational system. Most of these Taiwanese parents think the US schools consist an adverse range of projects, programs and activities that vary from school to school and are assessed through alternative assessment modes such as students' self-reflections and the teachers' observations. Similar situations also happen in China. A China Report 2009 conducted by Peking University shows that Chinese students living in big cities have relatively long study hours, more than 13 hours per day. Beijing students have the longest study hours per day in China, at 14.4 hours, then Shanghai at 13.2 hours (Li & Li, 2010). The principals and teachers who are the policy implementers have to juggle between offering Expanded and Inquiry/Research Subjects to promote 'quality-oriented education' as well as ensuring that their students continue to perform well in the terminal exams. That school principals and teachers are still judged by the parents and even some senior education officials primarily on their exam scores rather than the quality of their Expanded and Inquiry/Research Subjects means that an exam-oriented education remains culturally entrenched. Many schools therefore circumvent and mediate the curriculum reform by channeling substantial amounts of time and effort to the examined Foundational Subjects, offering Expanded and Inquiry/Research Subjects only to the non-graduating cohort, and giving extra classes to students after school hours and on weekends.

The second situated sociocultural element is the preference among students and teachers for exam-oriented approaches of teaching and learning. These approaches – transmission of textual knowledge, memorization, repeated practice and didactic teaching - are upheld as tried-and-tested methods for students to perform well in high stake exams. This makes many East Asian students directly accept what their teachers teach without questioning and are not forthcoming in articulating their views in class. Correspondingly, most teachers tend to rely on a didactic approach to transmit the 'correct' answers to students and spend time setting and marking their students' exercises to prepare them for the exams. Nestled within a high-stakes testing context where textual knowledge, memorization, repeated practice and transmission teaching style are given a premium, it is challenging for the curriculum reform to achieve its goals of nurturing young people who are lifelong learners equipped with the ability to add to, exchange and apply knowledge, conduct research, experiment, innovate and solve real-life problems and work well with others.

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Asian Education is associated with a person's social class. In traditional Chinese society, success is defined by one's social class, not necessary by a person's wealth. Social class is associated with occupations as well as the moral character related to the occupation. According to Confucius, out of four social strata which includes scholars *(Shi),* farmers *(nong),* workers *(gong),* and businessmen *(Shang)* based on occupation (Park & Chesla,2007), the scholars strata is considered the highest class. Scholars did "mental labor," and usually made decisions that influenced the whole society. Based on Confucianism, leaders needed to be intelligent, have high standards of ethics, and learn scholarly work. Therefore, scholarship was associated with high social class, leadership, and high moral character. Today, Asian society and families still retain the idea that scholars belong to a higher social class and education provides a route to reach the "scholarly" status (Huang & Gove, 2012). Highly educated people are to become leaders and contribute to society. This value of education and social class influences the everyday life of Asian families. Many Asian descendants believe that educational success leads to a better life, including higher social status, getting a good job, or a better marriage and relationships. Therefore, education is central to most Asian families' daily life. In fact, the various statistics indicated in the beginning of this paper is evidence of educational emphasis within the family. Asian parents, such as the author of "Battle hymn of tiger mother", Amy Chua, place a high priority on educational success and that success is often measured by the test scores.

The United States: from student center to standard center

The oath of No Child Left Behind (NCLB)

According to U.S. Department of Education (2002), NCLB gives the federal government its most extensive role in K–12 public education in the country's history. It demands that states test students in reading and mathematics annually in Grades 3–8 and in science once in elementary, middle, and high school. States must also produce annual report cards describing student test scores and multiple other indicators of the quality of each school district, with districts responsible for providing the same data for each school. States must ensure that all students reach proficiency on state tests by 2013–2014 and meet benchmarks for adequate yearly progress (AYP) the federal government sets to ensure that they reach this goal. Schools must meet AYP not just for their entire population but for each of their identified demographic subgroups, including traditionally underachieving populations. To give policymakers and the public a measure by which to judge the rigor of state tests and student progress, a sample of each state's students must take the National Assessment of Educational Progress every other year. If a school that receives federal funds fails to meet AYP for multiple years in a row, it is deemed a "needs improvement" school and must provide numerous services of escalating severity the longer it retains this designation, including giving students the ability to transfer to other schools in the district; providing supplemental educational services, such as private tutoring; and ultimately being forced to restructure by changing its school governance and governors. Finally, states are expected to ensure that every teacher is "highly qualified," which NCLB defines as having state certification and demonstrable proficiency in both pedagogy and his or her subject area.

NCLB is an important bill to consider because the coalitions that lined up against its passage spanned ideological and partisan lines. The far left opposed the bill because it was President Bush's proposal, but also because of its insistence on accountability provisions such as high stakes testing and the possibility of more charter schools emerging from public schools that failed to make AYP. The far right has traditionally been suspicious of any involvement of the federal government in educational

policy. They argue that education is a reserved power that should be controlled by state legislatures rather than federal bureaucracies. The far left and the far right ultimately failed in blocking passage of the bill largely because a consensus had emerged among national policymakers "in favor of standards, testing, and accountability" (DeBray-Pelot& McGuinn, 2009, p. 24).

Since the passage of NCLB, administrators and teachers focus on language arts and mathematics, assessing students in these domains and providing intensive instruction for those students in low-performing schools (Darling-Hammond 2006; Doppen 2007). The poor-performing schools, specifically those schools that receive Title I funding from the federal government, are targeted for school improvement. The well-performing schools that meet appropriate and significant gain yearly on standardized tests are awarded additional funding by the federal government. Those schools that continue to underperform are labeled for school improvement and can eventually be closed if they do not make specific gains in scores from year to year. Schools plagued by underperformance and labeled for school improvement are often located in urban areas with minority subgroups (Davis, 2006). It is a punitive cycle. The poor-performing schools, their teachers, and their students receive fewer funds for learning support and, thus, have fewer resources to commit toward improving or attaining higher scores.

From NCLB to Waivers

When NCLB became law in 2002, it provided large sums of money to states for education. The program also had very strict performance requirements as above mentioned, including a 2014 deadline for all students to be proficient in mathematics and language arts. During the past 10 years, concerns about NCLB requirements have mounted among East Asian educators, while reauthorization of the legislation has been awaiting congressional action since 2007. To provide some relief from the provisions of NCLB, the Obama administration offered waivers to states that wish to apply in 2011. The program is called ESEA (Elementaryand Secondary Education Act) Flexibility, but most refer to it as NCLB waivers (U. S. Department of Education, 2013). To date, 44 states have either requested waivers or have been approved to implement next-generation education reforms that go far beyond No Child Left Behind's rigid, top-down prescriptions (U. S. Department of Education, 2015). The philosophy behind waivers is to give control back to states and encourage both rigor and innovation. To receive one, states must address certain requirements, including adopting college-and-career-ready standards, focusing significant attention on the most troubled schools, and creating guidelines for teacher evaluations based in part on student performance. Once granted, waivers will free states to set their own student achievement goals and design their own definitions of failing schools. Instead of declaring that all students must be proficient by 2014 and insisting on adequate yearly progress requirements, waivers allow states to establish their own accountability goals, processes, and measurements. Rather than sanctioning failing schools, states can develop their own intervention programs to help the lowest-performing 15 percent of schools.

While waivers do give states and districts more freedom, they can also create complications. Here's a rundown of the good news and the bad news for educators in states that have been granted waivers. Each state has its own plan. The good news is that these plans can meet local and regional needs. The bad news is that inconsistencies across states may make sharing resources a challenge. With waivers, some funds may be tied to unique requirements in a state. In a multistate program, such as the new alliance between Ohio and Massachusetts designed to create an instructional improvement system (U. S. Department of Education, 2015), there is potential for conflict over how money can be used by each of the states. Each state has its own accountability requirements. The good news is that the rigor

of NCLB is mitigated. The bad news is that multiple strategies for dealing with accountability may cause problems as students move from state to state. Also, assessment providers may have to invest in customizing their offerings to meet these local requirements.

States have more flexibility in allocating some of the federal funds. The good news is that your local programs may benefit from this flexibility. The bad news is that there may be more confusion about how the funds can be used, which may stall their allocation to districts. States can combine subgroups of students, such as English language learners, students with disabilities, and economically disadvantaged students into "super subgroups." The good news is that it's easier to track only one big group. The bad news is that data on such a diverse population will not help to inform instruction for the various subgroups. Also, who will manage what funding is still an open question.

States must change how they deal with low-performing schools. The good news is that districts with low-performing schools will get support from the state to throw out products that haven't been working and purchase new ones.   The bad news is that, before purchasing new materials, districts must see evidence of effectiveness from the companies selling the products. And of course the   pressure will be on to quickly turn around assessment   results once a district has started using any new products.

Research design

This study examines what 4 scholars of education policy research, 2 school leaders, 1 teacher and 2 district administrators experienced when trying to incorporate NCLB into their daily work. Multiple pieces of data were collected from a background survey, journal questions, and focus group interviews to gain different perspectives about how and what content they thought. The following overarching research questions were posed:

About the influence of NCLB

1. Through different running time, what do you think is the most influential change coming from NCLB to schools?

2. As a scholar(think tank, principle, superintendent), what do you evaluate this policy when it was first launched in 2002? And from your observation, what are the attitudes of each state on this policy?

About the benchmark making of this policy

1. What do you think the federal government will make the benchmark that high in 2002?

2. When Obama's administration made the process in 2011 for waiving NCLB/ESEA, do you think the core value of initiating NCLB has been changed?

3. Do you see any challenge or difficulty of doing NCLB/ESEA waiver?

About the practice of waiving NCLB/ESEA

1. Do you see any difference among states when applying the waiving?

2. How long do you think the federal government will last this waiving for the state government?

3. Do you see any particular phenomena, from the district or school side?

Evaluating the policy

1. Overall, how do you evaluate the policy of NCLB/ESEA?

2. Do you think this legislation destroying the spirit of Constitution, that is, reserved the right to the state government?

3. What will be the next move of federal government?

Participants

A group of interviewees—2 females and 7 males—participated in this study from think tank, universities, elementary schools and district administration. The participants vary in age, ethnicity, and in the number of years they have experience at education policy studies and school leadership levels. Their practical experiences and perceptions are included in the findings of this study. Participants were also asked to write journal responses about the relative ease or challenges associated with NCLB and waivers.

Finally, a focus group interview was conducted to gain further details about their experiences practicing NCLB in their professional work. Journal questions were utilized as the basis of the focus group interview questions; however, an additional probing question asked participants to explain what they perceived to be the consequences of practicing NCLB within the context of accountability. During focus group interviews, care was taken to encourage all participants to discuss their experiences. It became an opportunity for the participants to further clarify their thoughts and also participate in dialogic sharing. While the focus group interview was valuable for triangulating the information provided, it also became a catalyst for further clarification of their own ideas about their own roles within the framework of accountability in determining educational value. The multiple data pieces from the background survey and written as well as verbal responses were transcribed and placed in various matrices to initially identify recurring patterns and categories. Open-coding was used to identify recurring patterns and emerging themes that are revealed in the findings below.

Findings

Four themes emerged from the triangulated data based on the participants' experiences and perceptions about the practicing and influence of NCLB: (1) Policy discourse is relevant and forces individual states toward an East Asian path; (2) assessed subjects dominate instructional teaching periods; (3) focus on assessed subjects deprives students of time for social, civic, and critical discussions; and (4) there is a lack of professional support for policy making.

Policy discourse relevance

All the interviewees believed policy discourse to be relevant in forcing schools and district leaders accept how the accountability of schooling remodels their world and their role in it.

> *I know the PISA affects federal government a lot. It's all about competition. Maintaining our competency in the world is the best way to persuade school teachers and students obeying this initiative.* Students *need to have a* good *ability in math, science, and language in order to help improve the quality of schooling*. (interviewee 2: 20-24)

The interviewees also agreed that NCLB and its discourse from federal government can be used as a

vehicle to raise up the standard of learning and reach the goal of accountability. Accountability topics (e.g., AYP, AMO, waivers, college-and-career-ready standards) provide the State Education Department with the concept that exams are the only way to fulfill education. The concept has been the core of East Asian educational practice for a certain of history.

Though the original intention of taking exams between East Asia countries and the U. S. are different, they both have been led the same direction.

> *When we talk about NCLB, teachers' feedback are very interesting, very weak looking back at me … they hardly can grab any point from this policy, although the stories are funny, they can't really relate to it. (Interview 5: 56-57)*

In addition, others observed that NCLB has changed the landscape of U.S. education   that can be tapped for legitimate discourse, such as accountability.

> *My district (12 schools) has been suffered from low academic performance for many years, many immigrant families coming from poor social status. I used to ask schools help students according to individual need, but now I have to focus more on performance in math and science. (Interviewee 9: 23-30)*

Most of the interviewees noted the relevance and potential for practicing NCLB strongly recognized students' academic achievement has been melted into the legitimized policy discourse. Stressing on the students' assessed subject scores makes the U.S. schools move toward East Asian pragmatic values in education. However, the former is made by policy promotion while the latter is formed by its traditional culture.

Assessed subjects dominate instructional teaching periods

All interviewees indicated NCLB-dictated subject matter focus and dominance in schools is a top-down approach and that language arts and mathematics have more educational value. Based on testing, subjects as social studies or art that appears to be the least important. (interviewee 4: 2)

Time is another challenge because schools wanted to focus on English Language Arts and never checked on other curricular areas. (interviewee 5: 17)

Taking social studies for example, teachers in my study said they spent less than 20 percent of their time teaching social studies. Two hours per week was the norm for the upper grades, and one-half hour per week for the kindergarten teacher. (Interviewee 1: 77-90)

Thus, the amount of time devoted to other subjects rather than math, science and language is relatively less than even. To give some time to teaching other important knowledge, teachers have to integrate the subject with language arts or math and science. One interviewee who runs an elementary school integrated the curricula with language arts and math with 40 to 60 percent of the school learning hour. Part of the reason for this integration was because the assessed subjects need more emphasis.

Assessed subjects deprive students of social, civic, and critical discussions

During the focus group discussion, some participants began to question whether the unbalanced instruction time allocated among different subjects counted as whole person education. An interviewee stated that even though social studies can be integrated, the language arts programs used do not generally provide enough background information to explicate cultural and historical content.

> *Look at the standards and find stuff online or anything because we don't have specific curriculum for it. (Interview 8: 11-12)*

As the discussion unfolded, other participants noted that those in low-performing schools English learners and other students become labeled, feel like failures, and can be turned off to education unless the subject matter is relevant to their lives.

Teachers wrote and talked about curricula content being superficially skimmed and given value only during specific historical holidays. A superintendent, from his observation, wrote about the pressure to squeeze the study of multicultural content according to holiday themes or trying to include it as homework or a writing assignment.

> *I always make sure that I make observation for social studies during February, which is Black History Month. Ironically, I have a serious issue with the idea of one month being dedicated to a particular race. However, I understand that when given an opportunity to teach young people the importance of history of all cultures, I have to take advantage of that moment.* (Interviewee 3: 38-45)

Lack of professional support for policy making

Based on the above discussions, the survey, and journal responses, the interviewees believed that although NCLB is relevant and provides opportunities for raising up the learning standards and connecting international tests, they also stated they receive little direction, training, or encouragement from administrators or curriculum leaders about how to incorporate it into their daily professional practice. A principle at the elementary school level wrote about their limited access to policy decision NCLB at the state level, even beyond textbook publishers 'overviews. He wrote about the time he received subject instruction in the credential program; but once within the school district, he observed, "We have not had any training for getting to know NCLB" Other interviewees also noted they had not received training through their district with adopted approaches for waiver. Despite not having had professional support in this policy, the interviewees believe that NCLB is relevant to schooling, but it is difficult to practice it more effectively based on the limited assessed subjects.

Conclusion

The findings coincide with much literature demonstrating that what is assessed is what policy makers believe is most valued. On this perspective, East Asia and the U. S. share the same value in education. The interviewees agreed that NCLB promotes a value that places a priority on standard building and accountability via assessed subjects. Through their discussions, they also noted how district administrators and school leaders are the conduits of how the new school ethos would be designed, how curriculum would be defined, and how teachers would be responsible for its implementation. And although the interviewees agreed that NCLB and waivers have symbolic value, the result of the

reform from the past 10 years is not as successful as expected. A couple of scholars in this study did not believe accountability detracted from waivers and believed the focus of accountability was beneficial in delivering policy value. However, all agreed that the standards for all subjects are over-whelming to meet in a year, and because some subjects are not assessed, they understand how it would be easy for administrators to make decisions that would diminish time spent teaching it. Many of the interviewees acknowledged that accountability-based learning placed minority and immigrant children at a risk for gaining civic and democratic knowledge. But it seems marching toward assessed subjects and allocating resources according to the test results have built up a barricade on the way to social justice. What is mandated at the federal or state level is followed and filtered down to the district offices and schools.

Although NCLB was created with good intentions, the punitive nature of accountability denies students in low-performing schools access to curriculum that may motivate them to stay in school. Little has actually changed since the 1980s, underperforming schools use remedial tactics to teach at-risk students (Nieto 2005). Whereas there may be few options of changing the role that accountability plays in school management, changes can be made at local administrative levels to ensure the purposeful management of schools while still meeting standards by providing (1) reflective thinking that promotes wide discussion and (2) professional development to provide insight into school leaders incorporating changes of environment that promote policy awareness.

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Pierre-Bruno Ruffini (France)

Economic Models of Higher Education: An International Perspective

Summary: *As other sectors, higher education can be characterized by the combination of market mechanisms and state intervention in its funding and organization. Although higher education systems of developed countries pursue similar goals (provide high-level manpower, meet individual and social demands, etc.) and face similar challenges (massive expansion, internationalization, MOOCs, etc.) their economic models differ significantly. In some countries, universities are public and charge no or very low tuition fees, whereas in other countries, the cost-sharing with parents and students is much more demanding. The paper will try to underscore and explain these differences by drawing on the lessons of economic analysis and on the historical and cultural background of countries.*
Keywords: *higher education, public good, market mechanisms , cost sharing*

Резюме *(Пьер Бруно Руффини: Экономическая модель высшего образования: международная перспектива): Как и другие секторы, высшее образование может быть отмечено комбинацией рыночных механизмов и участием государства в финансировании и организации. Хотя системы высшего образования индустриальных стран преследует аналогичные цели (они задействуют высококвалифицированных специалистов, выполняют индивидуальные и социальные требования и т. д.) и решают аналогичные задачи (массовая экспансия, интернационализация, МОДК и т. д.), их экономические модели значительно отличаются. В некоторых странах университеты являются государственными учреждениями и предлагают бесплатное обучение или обучение за очень низкую плату, в то время как в других странах участие родителей и студентов в расходах на обучение намного выше. В статье предпринимается попытка выявить и объяснить разницу между данными отличиями, с учетом теорий экономического анализа и исторических, культурных и национальных аспектов.*
Ключевые слова: *высшее образование, государственное имущество, рыночные механизмы, участие в расходах*

Zusammenfassung *(Pierre-Bruno Ruffini: Ökonomische Modelle der Höheren Bildung: Eine internationale Perspektive): Wie andere Sektoren, so kann auch die Hochschulbildung durch die Kombination der Marktmechanismen und der staatlichen Intervention in der Finanzierung und Organisation gekennzeichnet werden. Obwohl die Hochschulsysteme der Industrieländer ähnliche Ziele verfolgen (sie bieten hochqualifiziertes Personal, erfüllen die individuellen und sozialen Anforderungen, etc.) und stehen vor ähnlichen Herausforderungen (massive Expansion, Internationalisierung, MOOCs, etc.) unterscheiden sich ihre wirtschaftlichen Modelle deutlich. In einigen Ländern sind Universitäten öffentlich und verlangen keine oder nur geringe Studiengebühren, während Kostenbeteiligung der Eltern und Studierenden in anderen Ländern viel anspruchsvoller ist. Der Artikel versucht, diese Unterschiede zu unterstreichen und zu erklären. Dabei werden die Lehren aus der wirtschaftlichen Analyse sowie historische, kulturelle und   nationale Hintergründe berücksichtigt.*
Schlüsselwörter: *Hochschulbildung, öffentliches Gut, Marktmechanismen, Kostenteilung*

Introduction

Educational innovations, which constitute the core topic of this symposium, depend, among other factors, on the money education institutions can afford to spend on them. In most developed countries, higher education (the so-called "tertiary level", in the international organizations' vocabulary)

has experienced dramatic changes in the last forty years: massive expansion of enrollments, internationalization, adaptation to the digital word, etc. The traditional university model has been challenged culturally and economically: economic pressures have gained ground overtime and public subsidies have declined in several countries. In the current economic environment, facing increasing demand for higher education is a major policy challenge.

In this paper, our purpose is twofold: to address higher education both from an economist's point of view and from an international perspective. We would like to answer basic questions such as: What makes higher education something specific, according to economic analysis? How much does money matter in pursuing goals of economic efficiency and social equity? Should higher education be funded preferably by private contributors (students, companies…) of by public subsidies? How do responses differ across countries? Are there typical "national models" of higher education? In the limited format of this paper, our purpose is to try to answer these hotly debated questions in a brief and simple manner that should be easily understood by those who are not familiar with economic analysis.

Two keys of understanding, one analytical, the other historical, must be put forward before entering the discussion. First, the distinction between "market" and "state" is an essential prism through which higher education as an "industry" (or economic sector) can be scrutinized. Contrary to other industries such as automobile or pharmaceuticals, which in most developed (capitalist) countries are entirely run by private companies competing on open markets, higher education generally features a combination of market mechanisms and state intervention in its funding and provision, and we will explain why below. Suffice here to point out that market and state act as primary colors, with a general and normative question: where should the cursor be placed between market and state in the higher education industry?

The other key of understanding is historical. Over the last forty years or so, the cursor has moved. The historical trend is that market mechanisms have gained ground in higher education systems of most developed countries. A major indicator is the increase in the share of private funding in the higher education expenditure of most OECD countries, although public funding still represents a large part. This trend is generally explained by the growing demand for higher education observed during the last thirty or forty years, in a context of shortage of public funds. This shift in the balance of public and private funding will be documented below. This market-oriented evolution is being manifested in several forms: introduction or rise in tuition fees, extension of student loans, development of self-financed or profit-making private universities, emergence of foreign providers of higher education under the auspices of the World Trade Organization and the General Agreement on Trade in Services, etc.

For these reasons, the debate is very topical between those who believe that public support to students should be significantly increased, and those who advocate a larger place of private funding in the "cost sharing" of higher education. In this debate, ethical principles and philosophical preferences about the organization of society intimately intermingle with economic arguments.

Keeping in mind this change of the paradigm of higher education, we will organize our reflection as follows. We will first present the basic concepts of the economics of higher education (II). We will then explore the diversity of national situations (III) and discuss the combination of public and private commitment in higher education (IV) before concluding (V).

Basic concepts of economics of higher education:
a brief review

Analytical background: the market and the state

In our modern societies, the market and the state are the two poles of economic organization, that is, the two basic ways by which the allocation of economic resources (goods and services, factors of production such as labor and capital) is achieved.

When market mechanisms are at work, allocation is driven by selling and buying decisions made by millions of economic agents on free markets. Suppliers of goods and services are private profit-seeking companies. Prices tend to reflect production costs. Economists generally argue that, provided that competition is fair, such a market-driven organization ensures that economic resources are directed to their most efficient use.

Besides its sovereign function in setting the regulatory framework of economic activity, the state can commit itself in the production of goods and services through public companies and administration. The economic model is then specific: such public services are available to consumers for free or at a fee that covers only a small part of the cost. Providers of public services fund their expenses from government subsidies. Social goals, such as correcting income and wealth inequalities and improving equity, are pursued through the state-funded provision of such services.

In today's economies, no one objects to the commitment of the government in the economic sphere. But some (liberals) argue that the state should limit its role to guaranteeing the optimal working of market mechanisms, in order to ensure fair and effective competition, while some others think that the state should exert a larger control on the economy, through fiscal and monetary policies (in order to ensure macroeconomic stability) and through the provision of public services. Any country can be looked into through this prism: what are the respective roles played by the state and by market mechanisms in the working of the national economy?

Within national economies, the same question can be raised at the industry (sector) level: in a given industry (oil, automobile, banking...), what is the respective importance of market mechanisms and of state intervention? The answer depends on the sector which is considered. On the market/state axis, some sectors are closer to the "state pole" than others for social (healthcare) or national security (defense) reasons. This is also the case for higher education. Although sharp differences exist across countries, higher education in developed (OECD) countries stands on average closer to the "state pole" than to the "market pole".

However, as already noticed, the picture has changed overtime and market mechanisms in developed countries play a greater role than half a century ago. Nevertheless, such changes have not been so critical so far that they could eliminate the distinction between the two canonical national models of higher education: the "social-democratic model" – that is, a welfare-state-inspired model where funds for higher education are largely collected from the tax payer and transformed through redistributive schemes into subsidies to universities and financial aid to students; and the "neo-liberal model" (Meyer, John, Chankseliani & Uribe [2013]), where private funding dominates in the budgets of higher education institutions, and where bank loans play an important role in financial support available for students.

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Higher education is a public good that generates important positive externalities

We must first recognize that education is an economic good. The production of education services entails economic costs, and those who consume it have to face a dedicated monetary spending. It is thus relevant to consider higher education as an economic activity and as an economic sector, and therefore to analyze its production and consumption with the help of economic tools.

There is no country where higher education is fully ruled by market mechanisms and private suppliers. On the contrary, and we will illustrate this below, the public sector of higher education is dominant in most countries, and exclusive in some of them. The common pattern is that government plays a direct role in the provision of higher education. But the public/private or state/market mix is quite variable across countries.

Why is higher education not a 100% private business, and why is higher education by tradition thought to belong to the "public sector"? Economic analysis gives two answers to these questions.

The first answer is that higher education is a public good. The starting point is that higher education provides knowledge, and knowledge is a public good. For more than half a century, economic theory has identified public goods in general by the two properties of "non rivalry" and "non excludability": being consumed by one individual does not reduce the availability of the public good to others and no one can in principle be excluded from its consumption. National security or street lighting are among the most often examples of public goods quoted in textbooks.

However, one may question that higher education fulfills both characteristics of a "pure" public good. In most countries, access to higher education is restricted by specific requirements, and this means that the non excludability property is not satisfied, as it is possible to exclude some individuals from consuming it. In that sense, higher education should rather be seen as a "partial" (excludable) public good.

The second answer is that higher education generates positive externalities. A positive externality is a positive spill-over effect which arises when an economic agent produces or consumes an economic good. Spill-over effects take the form of benefits of higher education for the society as a whole, and not only for the individuals having followed university curricula. In other words, "positive externalities" is a technical naming for these public or social benefits arising from individuals having received university education.

Engaging in a tertiary degree curriculum is not compulsory. It expresses a personal choice of the student (and of his/her family, which most often will have to cover the costs). This choice is made from a cost/benefit analysis, which is not an easy exercise as costs are immediate and certain, whereas benefits occur in the longer term and are uncertain. Among the many private (personal) benefits accruing from higher education are better opportunities on the labor market, higher earnings, higher savings, higher social status, etc. Economists are interested in calculating the rate of return of higher education, and surveys show that higher education graduates benefit from wage premiums against individuals with only secondary education (see Sanyal / Martin, 2006).

As a public good, higher education brings benefits not only to the individuals, but also to the whole society. Private benefits accruing to those who have graduated at higher education institutions must be compared to the benefits that the society will reap from investing in higher education. The core idea is that, although private benefits may be high, social benefits (monetary and non-monetary) are

even higher: here lie the positive externalities, which are diverse and numerous (see: Tilak, 2008).

Three sources of positive externalities can be distinguished. Firstly, research and teaching at universities are a major source of production and dissemination of knowledge. Scientific results, new ideas and innovations irrigate the whole social body. Knowledge is a public good, with an open access, and when embedded by entrepreneurs in new investments, it increases the quantity and quality of goods and services (including public services) offered to all. Endogenous growth theory, which has been developed since the 1980s (Romer, 1994), explains the crucial contribution of R&D and of human capital to economic growth. Thus, higher education is a major input of a knowledge-based economy.

Secondly, higher education feeds the labor market and the society with highly skilled manpower, which allows for increases in workforce productivity and favors professional mobility. The positive impact of education and human skills on economic growth and development is a widely recognized externality. Thirdly, universities contribute to the building of student's personality, they assist in transmitting moral and social values to individuals and inculcate core virtues. They play a role in the formation of a nation-state spirit and by educating people, they enhance the participation in debates on societal issues. By favoring equality of opportunity between individuals, they also play for social harmony.

Involvement of the state in the supply of higher education

Having recognized that higher education is a public good that generates positive externalities and serves the public interest, the next step is to understand why this entails state funding and support. The main reason explaining why higher education is a matter for governments is that the social benefits of higher education are higher than individual benefits. In the absence of the state (pure market situation), higher education would be under-produced and under-consumed.

In a pure market situation, there would be an underproduction of higher education. Universities would be private companies that would only take into account the private benefits of their activity regardless of the external benefits accruing to the society, for which they would not receive any monetary return. In a pure market situation, private providers of higher education would lack incentives to push their production up to the socially optimal level. This is the reason why, as a public good, higher education, at least for a part of it, has to be financed by the state.

In a pure market situation, there would be an under-consumption of higher education. Using the vocabulary of economists, higher education is a "merit good", according to the denomination introduced by Richard Musgrave. A merit good produces social benefits that are higher than private benefits. When consuming higher education, students (and their families) only take into account the private benefits they expect from it. But they do not take into account (or undervalue) the external benefits accruing to the society. In other words, in a pure market situation their spontaneous consumption of higher education would reach a sub-optimal level, depriving the society of an abundant harvest of social benefits. Because of this gap, a merit good would be under-consumed and thus under-produced. In order to reduce the gap, the government policy consists in offering the good for free or at a very low cost, in order to push upwards its consumption. In some sense, the society – represented here by the state – is supposed to be more forward looking than the individuals and to know better than them what they need to consume. This argument explains why higher education, which is not compulsory, is made accessible to the greatest number of people through various incentives which reduce its monetary cost for students and their families.

In sum, the divergence between individual and social benefits of higher education explains why it

cannot be provided on markets by individual gain-seeking actors in a manner that satisfies social demand. Adding to this basic argument resulting from economic analysis, equity considerations play a role: without a strong public policy dedicated to mitigate social disadvantages, students with lower social backgrounds might not be able to enter higher education institutions.

An international outlook of the higher education sector: the diversity of national situations

In order to carry out this comparative analysis, we draw here on data gathered by the OECD (OECD, 2014) in the frame of the Indicators of Education Systems (INES) program. Their large geographical coverage gives an accurate view of the similarities and differences between higher education systems of developed countries. We select figures related to tertiary (higher) education, which great bulk is provided by universities. In what follows, figures refer to year 2011.

How much do countries spend for higher education?

To answer this question, a very telling indicator is the annual expenditure per student. In the following tables, the annual expenditure per student includes all sources of funds (that is, public funding – including R&D expenditure – individual contributions of students and their families, and other private funding from companies and non-profit organizations).

Table 1: Annual expenditure per student for tertiary education (2011) (In equivalent USD converted using PPPs, based on full-time equivalents)
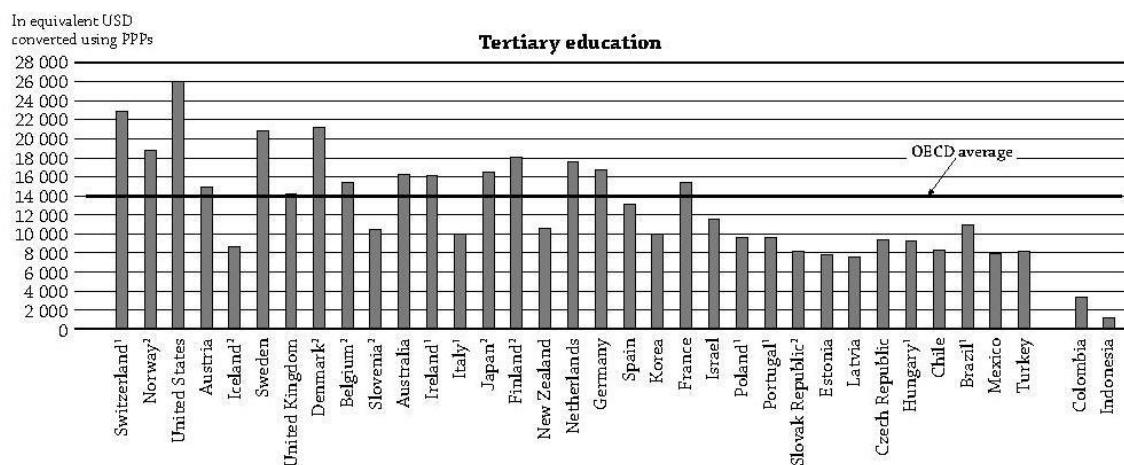
1. Public institutions only (for Colombia, in tertiary education only; for Italy, except in tertiary education).
2. Some levels of education are included with others. Refer to "x" code in Table B1.1a for details.
Countries are ranked in descending order of expenditure on educational institutions per student in primary education.
Source: OECD. Table B1.1a. See Annex 3 for notes (*www.oecd.org/edu/eag.htm*).
StatLink 🔗 http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/888933117079

Source: Adapted from OECD (2014), op. cit., p. 207. A part of the disparities is explained by the fact that R&D is in some countries performed in universities, which raises the expenditure per student in these countries (Portugal, Sweden, Switzerland).

On average, OECD countries spend USD 13,958 per student at the tertiary level. Table 1 shows large disparities across countries. Between 1995 and 2000, the annual spending per student remained constant on average across OECD countries, and then increased between 2000 and 2011. For more than one third of countries under review, however, the expenditure per student has decreased since

2008, due to the adverse effects of the economic crisis.

The share of national wealth (GDP) dedicated to higher education is a complementary indicator. Higher education expenditure represents 1.6% of GDP on average (6.1% for all levels of education). Here also, figures of Table 2 reflect large disparities across countries.

Table 2 Expenditures on tertiary educational institutions as a percentage of GDP (2011) (From public and private sources of funds)
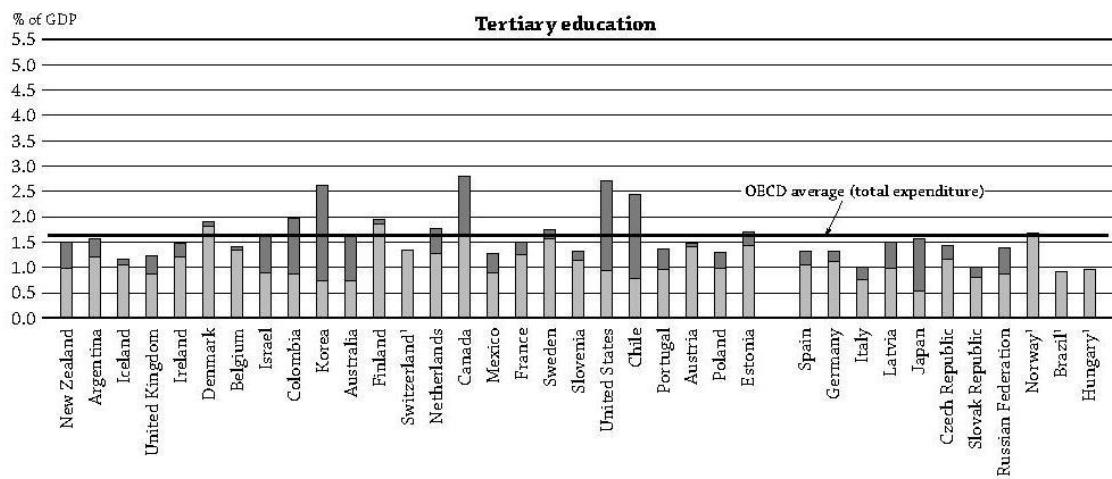
1. Public expenditure only (for Switzerland, in tertiary education only; for Norway, in primary, secondary and post secondary non tertiary education only). Countries are ranked in descending order of expenditure from both public and private sources on educational institutions in primary, secondary and post secondary non tertiary education.
Source: OECD. Table B2.3. See Annex 3 for notes (www.oecd.org/edu/eag.htm).
StatLink http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/888933117307

Source: Adapted from OECD (2014), *op. cit.*, p. 224.

Public versus private funding of higher education

Table 2 above shows the breakdown of public sources (light grey) and private sources (dark grey) in the share of GDP dedicated to higher education. The diversity of national situations is quite visible, with countries where public funding largely dominates (Northern European countries, Germany, Austria, France…) and countries where private funding is quite important (Australia) or dominates (United States, Korea, Japan, Chile). It is worth noticing that countries where higher education expenditures as a percentage of GDP are much above the OECD average are also those where private sources of funds are quite important or dominant (Canada, United States, Korea, Chile).

Table 3 below focuses on the share of private funding of higher education. The average share in OECD countries is 30%. But there is a sharp contrast across them. In some countries, the share of private funding is over 50% (Chile, Korea, United Kingdom, Japan, United States, Colombia, Australia, Israel), while in some others, this share does not exceed 10% (Sweden, Belgium, Iceland, Denmark, Finland, Norway).

Table 3 Share of private expenditure on educational institutions (2011)
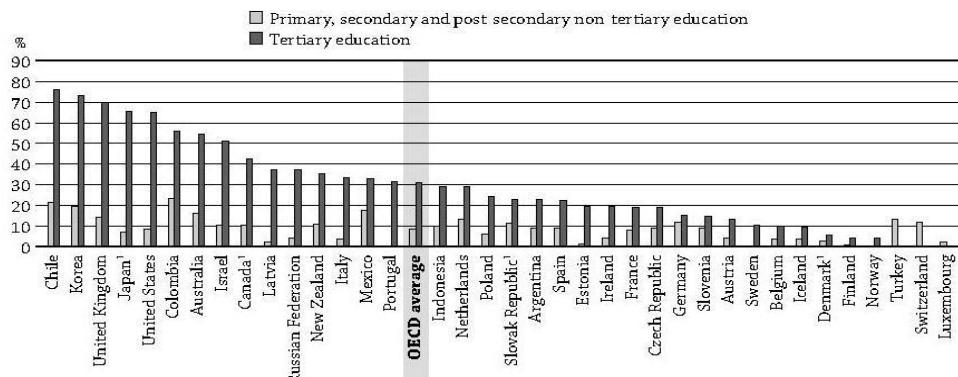
1. Some levels of education are included with others. Refer to "x" code in Table B1.1a for details.
Countries are ranked in descending order of the share of private expenditure on educational institutions for tertiary education.
**Source:** OECD. Table B3.1. See Annex 3 for notes (*www.oecd.org/edu/eag.htm*).
StatLink ᵃᵉˢ⁹ᵖ http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/888933117478

Source: Adapted from OECD (2014), *op. cit.*, p. 236.

We complete these data with the breakdown of higher education institutions (universities and other institutions) according to their public or private status. Institutional and legal differences across countries make comparison difficult, and the following figures give only a summary illustration for several countries (own compilation of data gathered at the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs [for year 2013 or 2014]). In the United States, there are 4,706 higher education institutions, out of which 1,649 are public, 1,653 are non-profit private institutions and 1,404 are for-profit institutions. In Japan, there are 1,190 higher education institutions, 1,077 of them being public. In Korea, there are 433 higher education institutions, with 376 private ones. In the United Kingdom, there are 166 government-dependent higher education institutions, with just one of them being private. Germany has 428 higher education institutions, all public. In Sweden, there are 48 higher education institutions (31 public, 17 private). However, the Swedish example shows that this public/private status may have only a relative importance, as private institutions are mainly fuelled with public subsidies.

Table 4 allows for a good understanding of what private funding means. For every country, the light grey piece of the vertical bar represents the importance of household expenditure (incurred by students and their parents), as a percentage of total expenditure. In most countries, household expenditure is by far the largest part of the private expenditure on educational institutions. In the United States, Korea and Chile, three of the four countries with the highest share of their GDP dedicated to higher education, the private spending by individuals is more important than the public spending.

From 2000 to 2011, the average share of public funding of higher education institutions decreased from 73.7% to 68.3% (on average across the 20 OECD countries that provide data for all the period). Co-relatively, the average share of private funding increased, due in some European countries to a rise in tuition fees and a greater commitment of companies in providing grants.

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Table 4: Distribution of public and private expenditure on tertiary educational institutions (2011)
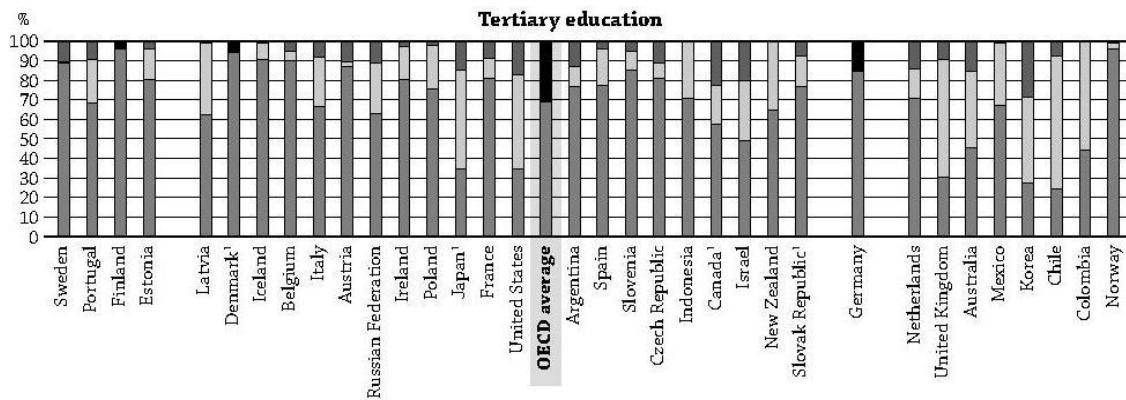
1. Some levels of education are included with others. Refer to "x" code in Table B1.1a for details.
Countries are ranked in descending order of the proportion of public expenditure on educational institutions in primary, secondary and post secondary non tertiary education.
**Source:** OECD. Table B3.1. See Annex 3 for notes (*www.oecd.org/edu/eag.htm*).
StatLink ᘓ⅃☎ http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/888933117497

Source: Adapted from OECD (2014), *op. cit.*, p. 239.

How much do students pay for higher education?

In order to get deeper into the topic which is addressed in this paper, we need to focus on the funding of higher education by individuals, and to examine more specifically the issue of tuition fees.

An overview of tuition fees in 20 selected OECD countries is given in Table 5 below. There are large differences, and countries can be classified on the following scale:

- No tuition fees: Denmark, Finland, Mexico, Norway, Sweden

- Tuition fees up to 1,500 USD per year: Austria, Belgium, France, Germany (Tuition fees were supposed to be totally eliminated in 2015), Italy, Switzerland

- Tuition fees between 1,500 and 4,000 USD per year: Australia, the Netherlands, New Zealand

- Tuition fees over 4,000 USD per year: Canada, Chile, Japan, the United Kingdom, the United States

Table 5 – Estimated annual average tuition fees charged by tertiary-type A educational institutions (2011) - *National full-time students, in equivalent USD converted using PPPs*

Annual tuition fees (USD)		Public institutions	Governement dependent institutions	Independent private institutions
No tuition fees	DENMARK	0 (?)	? (?)	- (?)
	FINLAND	0 (74%)	0 (26%)	
	MEXICO	0 (67%)	-	5,684 (33%)
	NORWAY	0 (85%)	? (5%)	5,868 – 7296 (10%)
	SWEDEN	0 (87%)	0 (7%)	-
< 1,500	AUSTRIA	860 (84%)	860 (13%)	up to 11,735 (3%)
	BELGIUM (FL.)	576 – 653 (52%)	576 – 653 (48%)	-
	FRANCE	200 –1,402 (86%)	1,138 – 8,290 (5%)	? (9%)
	ITALY	1,407 (90%)	-	4,406 (10%)
	GERMANY	? (96%)	? (4%)	-
	SWITZERLAND	865 (95%)	865 (3%)	? (2%)
1,000 to 4,000	AUSTRALIA	3,924 – 6,099(96%)	-	9,635–10,110 (4%)
	NETHERLANDS	1,966 (?)	-	? (?)
	NEW ZELAND	3,645 (?)	? (?)	? (?)
>4,000	CANADA	4,288 (?)	? (?)	? (?)
	CHILE	5,885 – 6,345(23%)	6,924 – 8,757 (18%)	6,230 – 8,357 (59%)
	JAPAN	5,019 – 5,106 (25%)	-	7,423 – 8,039 (75%)
	KOREA	5,385 (23%)	-	9,383 (77%)
	UN. KINGDOM	-	4,980– 7,814 (100%)	-
	UNITED STATES	5,402 (70%)	-	17,163 (30%)

Source: Adapted from data collected in OECD (2014), *op. cit.*, p. 271. Notes: The proportion of students enrolled is added next to the annual tuition fees figures". " - " means that category does not apply ; " ? " means that data are missing

There is a sharp contrast between countries which do not charge any tuition fees (This is the case also for Iceland, Poland and Slovenia in addition to the five countries already mentioned.) or charge moderate tuition fees, most of them belonging to Northern and continental Europe, and countries where higher education is expensive or very expensive for students and their parents, these countries being Anglo-Saxon ones, or with an American-inspired higher education system (such as Korea). Looking back to Table 4, we notice that countries with the highest level of tuition fees are also those where private funding by companies represents a significant share of the total higher education expenditure.

In recent years, many countries have showed an increase in tuition fees. One striking example is given by the United Kingdom. In 2012, tuition fees were tripled and this reform significantly altered the

whole higher education sector. Since then, they have amounted to GBP 9,000 per year. What is orig-inal in this reform is that tuition fees are coupled with a loan mechanism. Fees are paid by a public lending agency, which means that the student does not pay for them while attending university, but will have to reimburse the corresponding loan later, on a basis of 9% of his/her annual earnings, provided that they are over GBP 21,000 a year.

Data show that major differences exist across OECD countries in the way they share the cost of higher education among public sources, students and other private sources. But differences exist also in the financial support provided to students.

In countries where tuition fees are charged, and especially when their level is high, some financial support may exist in order to alleviate contribution by individuals. This must be taken into account for a proper appraisal of the effective cost of higher education for students. This financial support takes mainly the form of public grants (discounting tuition rates for low-income students is another form of support, with no repayment being required, and loans with repayments required in the future.

Loans are offered by many countries, usually at low interest rates. They are generally managed by a public entity. Grants are allocated to a subset of students on a meritocratic and/or social basis. They allow students to cover at least partly the tuition fees, if any, and the costs of living. Figures gathered by the OECD do not show any obvious relationship between the level of grants and the level of tuition fees (see Chart 1 below). The largest annual grants are to be found in Nordic countries (Denmark: USD 29,000; Finland: USD 9,000; Sweden: USD 8,000) and in Austria (USD 11,000). Among countries with the highest tuition fees, grants of a substantial amount are found only in the United States (USD 27,000) and the United Kingdom (USD 5,000) (OECD, 2014, op. Cit.).

Chart 1: Relationship between average tuition fees charged by public institutions and the proportion of students who benefit from public loans and/or scholarships/grants (2011)
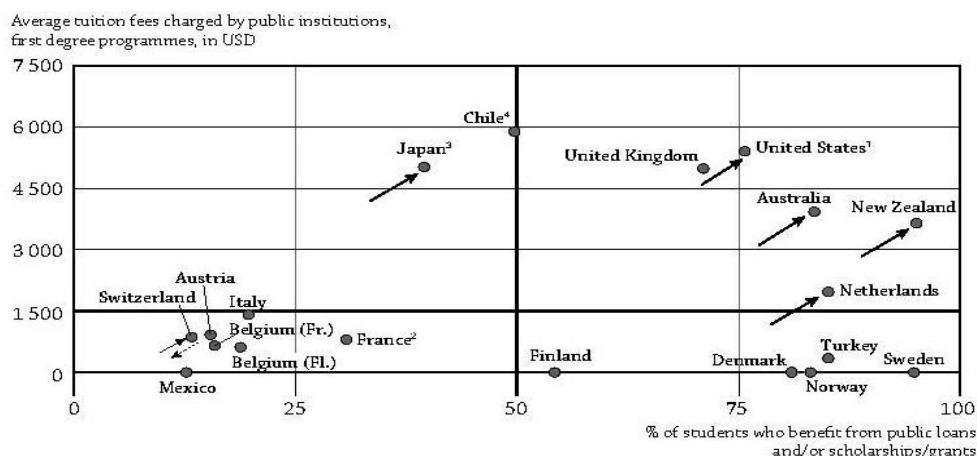
1. Figures are reported for all students (full time national and full time non national/foreign students)
2. Average tuition fees from USD 200 to USD 1 402 for university programmes dependent on the Ministry of Education.
3. Tuition fees refer to public institutions but more than two thirds of students are enrolled in private institutions.
4. If only public institutions are taken into account, the proportion of students who benefit from public loans and/or scholarships/grants should be 68%.
Source: OECD. Tables B5.1 and B5.2. See Annex 3 for notes (www.oecd.org/edu/eag.htm).
StatLink ⧉ http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/888933117801

Source: Adapted from OECD (2014), *op. cit.*, p. 260. These figures cover only "tertiary-type A" higher education, that is largely theory-based programmes with a minimum duration of three years.

Chart 1 shows the relationship between tuition fees and the proportion of students benefiting from a loan and/or a grant. The arrow indicates how the relationship has changed since 1995. Interestingly,

when looking at the right part of this chart we notice that in several countries the proportion of students benefiting from a public support is almost the same, regardless of the level of average tuition fees charged by public institutions.

The diversity of national approaches to the funding of higher education

Taking into account the level of the tuition fees and the financial support available for students, four different groups of countries can be distinguished - according to the OECD publication which large and deep statistical contents feeds the present paper.

Group 1: Countries with no or low tuition fees and generous student support systems

As already said, students in the five Nordic countries pay no tuition fees, and this is by law. In addition, these countries offer substantial financial support to students.

Group 2: Countries with low tuition fees and less-developed student support systems

The remaining European countries for which data are available constitute this group: Austria, Belgium, the Czech Republic, France, Germany, Ireland, Italy, Poland, Portugal, Switzerland and Spain. Mexico presents a similar profile. All these countries feature relatively low tuition fees (Ireland, Mexico and Germany do not charge tuition fees since 2015) and relatively low level of support (benefiting less than 40% of them). In these countries, loan systems are at an embryonic stage, and universities heavily depend on state funding.

Group 3: Countries with high tuition fees and well-developed student support systems

In this group we find countries such as Australia, Canada, the Netherlands, New Zealand, the United Kingdom and the United States. In these countries, the high costs of higher education for students are partially offset by financial support in the form of grants and/or loans, which benefit to 75% of the student population (Data are not available for Canada). Another characteristic of this group is that private entities (companies, non-profit organizations) make substantial contributions to the funding of higher education (see Table 4 above).

Group 4: Countries with high tuition fees and less-developed student support systems

Japan, Korea and Chile are the major representatives of this group. Students have to face high tuition fees (more that US 4,500 per year) without benefiting from appropriate financial support. In Japan and Korea, some of them benefit from reduction or exemption of tuition fees on a meritocratic basis. Few of them benefit from public loans.

Discussion

Although higher education systems in developed countries pursue similar goals and face similar challenges, their economic models differ significantly, as evidenced by the statistical overview that has just been presented. Keeping in mind the basics of the economics of higher education, we now discuss this diversity from a more theoretical and even normative point of view.

Many questions arise when comparing national models of higher education. Should students and their family pay for higher education, and why? Is higher education a right or a privilege? Should financial support to students take preferably the form of grants or loans? Are some national models

more favorable to equity and access to higher education than others? So many essential questions cannot be deeply addressed in the limited format of this paper. But we will try to provide general benchmarks for this conclusive discussion by focusing on the issue of tuition fees, which we consider as the pivotal issue. The level of tuition fees charged by tertiary education institutions – as well as the level and type of financial assistance countries provide through their student support systems – can greatly influence access to and equity of higher education. In every country, tuition fees are a marker reflecting the core values on which the society is grounded. Either tuition fees are substantial or high, and – although being far from covering the real cost of higher education – they tend to be considered as a price on a market, which the student-consumer has to pay for buying a service; or tuition fees are low or inexistent, and the logics of higher education as a marketable service is weak or absent. Market in the first case and state in the second are the polar forces that shape the higher education system.

What are the reasons for no or low tuition fees?

One country out of two among those reviewed by the OECD belongs to group 1 (no tuition fees) or group 2 (limited tuition fees). Group 1 and group 2 countries share in common the view that higher education must be a public service, which is supposed to be the best form of social organization for securing equality of opportunity and equity. Higher education is viewed as a public good which should be accessed for free. With no or limited tuition fees, financial obstacles to access higher education are lowered – all the more as financial support is simultaneously given to students through public grants, like in the countries that are the most advanced in this logic (group 1). Students from low-income backgrounds can thus access more easily higher education.

Adding to this first argument, which stands on the side of equity, a second argument refers to social efficiency. As explained in part I of this paper, higher education is characterized by high positive externalities. Without policy stimuli, the demand for higher education and also its supply would reach a level insufficient to reap all its social benefits. Inexistent or low tuition fees act as an incentive to push upwards the demand for higher education.

But one may advocate, on the contrary, that substantial or high tuition fees are justified. The first reason is grounded on the standard microeconomic theory, the goal of which is to explain economic calculation of individuals supposed to behave rationally in the context of a free market economy. According to this view, the private returns on higher education justify that individuals should pay for them – or at least provide a positive contribution to the costs. In the background stands the social philosophy of the market, which is in principle supposed to be efficient in inciting people to make efforts and in allocating economic and human resources to their best effective use. From this perspective, it is just normal that individuals pay for the educational services they benefit from. Here dominates the vision of higher education as a private economic good.

There is a second argument, which is more pragmatic. Tuition fees are a resource for universities, and when their level is high, they allow more easily universities to increase the quality of their services, to face increasing expenses coming from the extension of student enrollments and from the costly innovations required by changing forms of pedagogy. Of course, one may object that alternative sources of funds exist for meeting such challenges, and countries belonging to group 1 give evidence that universities can perform quite well without collecting tuition fees. However, in the recent context of pressures on overall public spending, several countries have seen in the rise in tuition fees the only way to raise somehow the size of university budgets. A compromise solution, which is adopted by an increasing number of OECD countries, is to charge higher tuition fee for international students. For instance, in Sweden, which is a no-tuition fee country, international students have been

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required to pay tuition fees since 2011.

Is there a correlation between the level of tuition fees and access to higher education?

Is there any relationship between the level of tuition fees and the entry rate (the percentage of an age class that is expected to follow a tertiary curriculum over a lifetime) into higher education? The entry rate is t. From the figures gathered by OECD, the highest entry rates are to be found in countries of group 1 and group 3. The average entry rate in countries of group 1 (Nordic countries) amounts to 74%, much above the OECD average (59%). In countries of group 3 (high tuition fees and well-developed student support systems), the average entry rate to higher education is 75%. Based on the entry rate indicator, both groups perform quite well although they follow quite opposite tuition fee policies. But they have in common to offer substantial financial support to students. In Nordic countries, more than 55% of students receive a public grant, a public loan, or both. This percentage reaches 75% in Australia, the Netherlands, New Zealand, the United Kingdom and the United States, that is, group 3 countries.

These figures suggest that the level of financial support which is available to students might be even more important than the level of tuition fees for explaining access to higher education. Conversely, in group 2 countries (low tuition fees but limited financial support available for students) the entry rate is rather low (56%), which suggests that low tuition fees are not sufficient in themselves to favor a better access to higher education.

Grants versus loans

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Should financial support to students be provided preferably through grants or through loans? Obviously, these are not equivalent forms of support, as receiving a grant does not imply any repayment in the future, contrary to a loan. However, such loans are normally available at low (subsidized) interest rates in the frame of public programs – and for that reason they are named "public loans".

High tuition fees coupled with student loans is now a well-fashioned cocktail in many countries. A review of 36 countries made by the OECD shows that two-thirds of them combine grants and loans. Both forms of support are widely developed in Australia, the Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, the United Kingdom and the United States. In one country, Iceland, loans are the only form of support available. A dozen or so countries – among which Austria, Belgium (Flanders), Finland and France – do not provide students with public loans and rely only on grants for supporting students.

Loans, contrary to grants, are somewhat controversial. Their major advantage, according to their proponents, is to transfer a part of the cost of higher education to those who benefit directly from it. Loans are in keeping with the liberal and individualistic vision of higher education. They are a temporary aid, as they must be reimbursed, and do not have to face the criticism of assistantship. And with income-contingent loans, they take into account the individual's own capacity of reimbursement, with repayments linked to future effective earnings. But on the negative side, besides the fact that loans are said to be less efficient than grants for encouraging low-income individuals to enter higher education, there is the burden of debt at graduation. This issue is not a theoretical one: student debt in the United States reached USD 1,100 trillion in 2013, and the default rate increased from 5% in 2008 to more than 10% today. And according to the Institute for Fiscal Studies, the UK government could lose 43% of the funds it advances to students, due to repayment thresholds and provisional default rates (Crawford / Jin, 2014): paradoxically, with the major increase in tuition fees the 2012

reform could benefit British universities mostly, while raising the financial burden on students and on the government.

Main findings and conclusion

As a conclusion of this outlook on economic models of higher education of developed countries, we would like to wrap up the main lessons. Drawing on the extensive empirical work done by the OECD, we have noted that OECD countries can be classified in four groups: countries with no or low tuition fees and generous student support systems; countries with low tuition fees and less-developed student support systems; countries with high tuition fees and well-developed student support systems; and countries with high tuition fees and less-developed student support systems.

Groups 1 and 2 gather countries with no or low tuition fees. They belong to the "social-democratic model", while groups 3 and 4 gather countries belonging to the "neo-liberal model". Recalling that our starting point was to read the organization of higher education from a state versus market perspective, we can easily recognize that higher education is – or remains – state-oriented in the "social-democratic model", and is more – or much more – market-oriented in the "neo-liberal model".

These two models share common features, and also differences. The general goals of higher education are roughly the same everywhere. In every country, governments declare their intention to combine access, equity and quality in what they think is the best possible way. And in every country, governments tend to push up the supply of and the demand for higher education through public commitment and/or public support, in order to maximize the social returns of higher education.

But countries use different paths to reach these goals, and the way they combine public and private funding differ widely across them, which gives rise to the two polar economic models that we have identified. Our opinion is that the core differences between the two models are not primarily based on economic grounds, but are rooted in national history and culture and in specific values of social philosophy. We summarize here these differences.

In the neo-liberal model, higher education is seen primarily as a private good which benefits the individual. This explains why individuals are basically seen as responsible for their choice of following a tertiary level curriculum and for the way they can face the resulting expenses. Like prices in a free market economy, the level of tuition fees acts as an economic signal and an input in the cost-benefit calculation of the incumbent student.

In the social-democratic model, on the contrary, higher education is seen primarily as a public good. In such a model, benefits of higher education for individuals are not undervalued, but a major emphasis is put on social benefits, with a quest to ensure that the core values of social equity and equality of opportunity are satisfied.

To put it sharply, in the neo-liberal model, the assets acquired by an individual through higher education belong primarily to him/her, whereas in the social-democratic model such assets are thought to belong also to the society. It seems to us that the same distinction can apply to human health, which can be seen primarily as a private concern, or seen primarily as a social concern (which justifies public support to health expenditure). These contrasted visions lead to differences in the way expenditures in higher education are supported. Market instruments are of a frequent use in the neo-liberal model: students buy education services through the payment of tuition fees, they get indebted in order to cover tuition fees and costs of living, they pay back their loans once the monetary return on

their academic investment becomes positive… while in the social-democratic model, higher education is not seen as a traded service by students who pay nothing or very little to enroll at universities, and for some of them benefit from publicly-subsidized grants.

This results in sharp differences in the way higher education institutions are funded. To put it simply, in the neoliberal model, less money comes from the state and more money comes from the student's pocket.

In this respect, it should be made clear that paying no fees at all while being deprived of a grant or loan is not equivalent to subscribing a loan or receiving a grant with one hand, and paying tuition fees with the other hand, even if similar amounts flow in and out at the student's level. In each of these situations, public money is channeled quite differently from the state to universities. In the social-democratic model, public money goes directly to universities through public subsidies – which students may not be quite aware of – while in the neo-liberal model, most of the public money flows from the state to universities through individuals.

These different ways of circulating public money tell a lot about societies. Socialization mechanisms dominate in the social-democratic higher education model, while mechanisms centered on the individual dominate in the neo-liberal model.

The shift that took place in the British policy of tuition fees with the 2011-2012 reform offers here a prime illustration. With this reform, direct subsidies to universities have decreased and tuition fees have increased three-fold. But these fees are not paid by students while they attend university, they are paid to universities by a public lending agency. In return, students must subscribe a loan from the lending agency. Among financial support to students, loans are the closest to the essential values of the market. Comparing with the situation that prevailed before the reform (and even more striking, with the no-tuition-fees situation that prevailed before 2000), the recent British reform testifies to a double process of "de-socialization" and "marketization".

As a final word, we will put forward that both models have to face today their own challenge. The neo-liberal model is being challenged by the student debt issue: the burden of the debt may not be sustainable in the long run, both for individuals who are strained by repayments during several years of their work life and for the state, which guarantees loans and may have to substitute borrowers for reimbursement. For their part, countries with a social-democratic model are challenged by the shortage of public money for higher education. This leads them to seek changes in the cost sharing of higher education, as illustrated by recent policy experiences.

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Anja Franz (Germany)

The Social Position of Doctoral Candidates within the Academic Field:
Comparative Considerations Regarding Doctoral Program Attrition in Germany and the USA

Summary: *During the ongoing period of transformation of the German doctoral education from the individual master-apprentice model to more structured PhD programs, US-American PhD programs have served as a model for many of the newly established programs. One of the political aims of restructuring doctoral education in Germany within the last decade is the reduction of attrition rates.*
However, it remains unknown whether differences exist between the attrition rates and what the causes of non-completion are. Therefore, the objective of this paper is to discuss the need of a comparative empirical study to understand doctoral program attrition in both countries.
This article first examines the organization of doctoral education in Germany and the USA with reference to doctoral program attrition. Secondly, it explains Bourdieu´s concept of the scientific field and the social position of doctoral students. Finally, it suggests taking a closer look at the position of doctoral students, their amount of capital and possible actions as implications for further research.
Key words: *Doctoral Students, Doctoral Program Attrition, Theory of the Academic Field, Comparative Study*

Резюме *(Аня Франц: Социальная позиция докторанток в научном пространстве: сравнительные наблюдения относительно прекращения обучения в аспирантуре с последующей защитой диссертации в Германии и США): В ходе длительных реформ в системе высшего образования Германии американские программы защиты диссертации служат примером для трансформации немецкой системы защиты диссертации от индивидуальной защиты к более сильным структурированным формам защиты. Кроме всего прочего, таким образом, преследуется политическая цель, сократить количество аспирантов, прекративших обучение. Однако, до сих пор неясно, насколько велики и какие различия имеются в этом отношении. Кроме того, неизвестны причины прекращения обучения в аспирантуре.*
Соответственно цель данной статьи состоит в обосновании необходимости проведения сравнительного исследования, состоящего в изучении причин прекращения обучения в аспирантуре в обеих странах. На переднем плане представлен обзор системы защиты диссертации в Германии и США; проводится сравнение результатов прежних исследований относительно прекращения обучения в аспирантуре с последующей защитой диссертации. После этого автор статьи концентрирует внимание на концепции научного пространства по Пьеру Бурдьё и на структурных признаках социальной позиции докторанток в этом пространстве. В заключении предлагается уделить внимание сравнительному эмпирическому исследованию причин прекращения обучения в аспирантуре с социальной позиции докторанток. Для этого необходимо подробнее рассмотреть наделение их финансовыми средствами и связанные с этим возможности действия.
Ключевые слова: *аспиранты, прекращения обучения в аспирантуре с последующей защитой диссертации, отказ от защиты диссертации, теория научного пространства, сравнительное исследование*

Zusammenfassung *(Anja Franz: Die soziale Position von Doktoranden im wissenschaftlichen Feld: Vergleichende Betrachtungen zu Abbrüchen von Promotionsvorhaben in Deutschland und den USA): Im Zuge*

der andauernden Reformen im deutschen Hochschulraum dienen die US-amerikanischen Promotionspro-gramme als Vorbild für die Transformation des deutschen Promotionswesens von der Individualpromotion hin zu stärker strukturierten Promotionsformen. Damit wird unter anderem das politische Ziel verfolgt, die Abbruchraten zu verringern. Dennoch ist bislang unklar, inwiefern und welche Unterschiede in Bezug auf die Abbruchraten bestehen. Außerdem sind die Ursachen für Abbrüche unbekannt.

Entsprechend ist das Ziel dieses Artikels, die Notwendigkeit einer vergleichenden Untersuchung von Abbrü-chen von Promotionsvorhaben in beiden Ländern zu begründen. Im Vordergrund steht zunächst ein Über-blick über das deutsche und das amerikanische Promotionswesen; bisherige Forschungsergebnisse zu Ab-brüchen von Promotionsvorhaben werden im Vergleich vorgestellt. Danach fokussiert der Artikel auf das Konzept des wissenschaftlichen Feldes nach Pierre Bourdieu sowie auf die strukturellen Merkmale der so-zialen Position von DoktorandInnen in diesem Feld. Abschließend wird vorgeschlagen, für eine verglei-chende empirische Untersuchung von Abbrüchen von Promotionsvorhaben der sozialen Position der Dok-torandInnen Beachtung zu schenken. Hierfür sollten ihre Ausstattung mit relevantem Kapital sowie die da-mit in Verbindung stehenden Handlungsmöglichkeiten näher in den Blick genommen werden.

Schlüsselwörter: *Promovierende, Abbruch von Promotionsvorhaben, Promotionsabbruch, Theorie des wis-senschaftlichen Feldes, vergleichende Studie*

Introduction

Doctoral education and training forms the first phase of any young researcher´s career and is there-fore a major priority for universities globally. However, doctoral students, deemed the most academ-ically successful students within the higher education system in Germany, also face severe problems in attempting to complete their PhD degree. Traditionally, achieving a PhD in Germany is individual-ised: The research proposals of candidates have to be accepted by an academic supervisor. Candi-dates then carry out the planned PhD work that typically does not require the completion of prepar-atory coursework or examinations within a PhD program. However, the traditional German PhD model has come under pressure. Since doctoral education and training has been included in the Bo-logna Process, it is becoming the norm for European higher education policy to embed doctoral edu-cation and training strongly in their institutional structures. During this ongoing period of transfor-mation and innovation, US-American PhD programs have served as a model for many of the newly established doctoral programs in Germany.

One of the political aims of restructuring doctoral education and training in Germany is the reduction of attrition rates, while the transformation of the traditional doctoral education into doctoral educa-tion programs is seen as a panacea from many education policy makers. Therefore, the objective of this paper is to discuss the need of a comparative empirical study to understand the course of doc-toral program attrition in Germany and the USA. This article first examines the organization of doc-toral education in Germany and the USA with reference to doctoral program attrition in both coun-tries. An overview of the institutional structure of each doctoral education and training system may help to understand the context of doctoral program attrition. Secondly, it explains Bourdieu´s con-cept of the scientific field and its implications (as a base) for further research on doctoral program attrition.

Doctoral Education and Training in Germany and the USA

The number of doctoral degrees awarded in Germany and the USA significantly increased according to the OECD within the past decade, with about 24,000 in Germany or 46,000 degrees in the USA awarded in 1999 and 27,000 and 73,000 respectively in 2011 (Hauss et al., 2012). Of the relevant age cohort in 2007 2.3 percent in Germany and 1.5 percent in the USA graduated at doctoral level (OECD, 2010). Approximately 0.45 percent of women and 0.95 percent of men in the overall working age

population between the age of twenty-five and sixty-four were doctorate holders in Germany in 2009; the same figure for the USA is slightly higher for women (0.55 percent) and slightly lower for men (0.8 percent) (OECD, 2013). In summary, Germany and the USA are those countries worldwide in which the highest numbers of doctoral degrees are awarded and both are among those countries with the highest proportion of the population holding a doctoral degree.

In Germany, the sixteen federal states own the greatest amount of responsibility for education in general. The majority of German universities are public, while only few private institutions exist. Regarding doctoral education, the German universities are required to enact detailed regulations according to the state law on higher education. The requirements within those regulations vary between universities and even schools (Kehm, 2008). All of the more than 100 universities in the country award doctoral degrees. Within the states of Bavaria, Berlin and Baden-Wuerttemberg most of the doctoral degrees have been granted in 2010 at the rate of 1.1 doctoral degrees per supervising professor (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2012a).

The US American university system is also decentralized; the federal government does not regulate those institutions. Public universities are usually administered by the states as part of the state university system. Many private universities are funded by endowments, beneficence, investments and student fees. Doctoral degrees can also solely be granted by universities. Although more than 400 institutions actually award doctoral degrees, doctoral education is mainly concentrated at the few major research universities which award more than half of the doctoral degrees in the USA. Doctoral education is under the sovereignty of the departments of those doctoral-granting (Nerad, 2008).

In the next chapter the general basic structure of doctoral education, admission processes, financing, completion of the dissertation and formal presentation as well as the average time to obtaining the degree and age upon completion will be addressed. The paper then focuses on ongoing reforms in both countries to understand recent changes in doctoral education.

Traditions and Ongoing Reforms of Doctoral Education in Germany

The doctoral degree in Germany is usually an academic degree that follows research-oriented master´s education. The traditional model of doctoral education and training (so called master-apprentice model) is based on a personal relationship between the doctoral candidate and the supervisor (so called "doctor-mother" or "-father"). Apart from possible colloquia organized by the supervising professor, the PhD project does not take place within formal doctoral programs or graduate schools at university level as it does in the USA. The doctorate is planned personally and achieved through individual study and research work. This system offers a lot of flexibility since there are usually no deadlines and no compulsory curriculum but it requires a great dedication at the same time.

As there is no federal structure for applications to doctoral education in Germany, the candidates have to apply directly with a prepared research proposal to the professor of their choice. The professor then chooses the appropriate candidate, takes over supervision and finally acts as the first reviewer for the thesis. Apart from that, every university/department has its own set of admission requirements. As a general rule a well-graded Master's degree is required for entry to doctoral education. Exceptionally well-qualified applicants may be admitted on fast-track with only a Bachelor's degree, in which case extra examinations will usually be necessary.

Doctoral candidates are often temporarily employed as part-time junior researchers at universities (50 percent of a full-time position). They are usually considered academic staff, not students (though they sometimes hold a student status as well). Holding such a position typically means that doctoral

candidates are also involved in teaching, research and administrative work at their supervisor's chair or research group. The supervisor usually acts not only as an employer but also as the first reviewer of the dissertation and main examiner of the oral defense, which implies a high personal dependency (Kehm, 2008). Other less frequent forms of funding a PhD in Germany are scholarships and grants (provided by the German states, political or elite foundations) or through working part-time and doing the PhD work avocationally (Wissenschaftsrat, 1995). Commonly, a doctoral candidate in Germany pays no tuition fees, but an administrative fee per semester ranging between 70 and 270 Euros depending on the university. Usually two formal requirements must be met for obtaining a doctorate in Germany: the completion of a doctoral thesis (dissertation) and an oral examination that includes a lecture or presentation followed by a discussion. The average time to degree varies between four and six years. The average age upon completion is 33 (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2014).

More than two-thirds of all doctoral candidates are still trained traditionally as described above while less than ten percent participate in a structured doctoral program (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2012b). While the traditional PhD can be structured freely to suit the individual research project, the PhD work in structural programs has to fit within an existing doctoral program. Those programs include compulsory attendance of lectures and seminars (covering topics such scientific methods, theory, writing and presentation techniques) and regular exams. The duration is generally limited to three years. The doctoral candidates are considered students and work steadily within a group of doctoral students while being supervised by a group of academic staff. However, one professor serves as their first supervisor and reviewer.

Meeting the needs of the Bologna Process (Bologna Declaration, 1999; Berlin Communiqué, 2003; Bergen Communiqué, 2005), universities now have to shift their focus to innovative structured programs. Within the last fifteen years, the overall number of doctoral programs offering structured doctoral education such as in the USA has increased steadily. Nevertheless, the idea of structured doctoral education in Germany is not as new as it seems. The German Council of Science and Humanities already recommended in the early 1990s more structured doctoral education programs. This was followed by the establishment of the first graduate schools by the German Science Foundation (DFG) almost twenty-five years ago. Today, the number of graduate schools and structured PhD programs is rising steadily, with over 200 graduate schools being funded by the DFG and 39 graduate schools being funded solely by the so called Excellence Initiative of the German Federal Government and the state governments, as two examples.

Traditions and Ongoing Reforms of Doctoral Education in the USA

In the USA doctoral education is part of graduate education. Graduate education as specialized advanced study can result in either a Master's degree or a doctoral degree. A doctoral degree can either be academic (such as PhD) or professional (such as EdD). There is a great variety between various doctoral programs but some standard structures are generally consistent throughout the USA. Doctoral education typically starts with a few semesters of full-time advanced classes, which are usually done in small groups. After usually three to four semesters students have to pass written and/or oral exams before they begin to work for a period of at least one year on their independent research project on a highly specialized topic and write their dissertation. They are considered doctoral students throughout the whole period of doctoral education.

Doctoral programs in the USA have a highly selective process of admission. An average of only one quarter of all applicants is accepted. In general, the requirements for attending doctoral education are a Bachelor´s degree (four-year course of study, a certain grade point average), a passed national

graduate entrance exam, several letters of recommendations of previous professors and a statement of purpose (Nerad, 2008).

Doctoral students in the USA pay high tuition fees compared to Germany, which have risen up to US$ 28,000-40,000 per year and even higher at elite private universities. There are some governmental and private foundations who fund doctoral students. Commonly, the graduate schools at universities also have their own graduate student fellowship programs. However, many doctoral students hold a working position at their department as teaching or research assistants for one up to four years to partially fund their doctoral education. Once the research work and the written dissertation are complete, the doctoral student earns the doctoral degree after defending the dissertation to a committee of three or more professors who are also part of the doctoral program the student participates in. The average time to degree ranges at present between five to nine years and the median age of completion was also 33 years in 2003 (Nerad, 2008).

Within the last decade and longer, doctoral education in the US has had to cope with further reductions in financing with just a few exceptions, such as life sciences or research focusing on national security aspects, which receive more state and governmental funding. Some major criticism of doctoral education in the USA includes the narrow training of doctoral students that focuses only on their special research topic, the lack of important professional skills such as the ability to work in a team or to properly teach at university level, and the long duration to completion of a degree. This criticism has led to the discussion of an increased federal role in graduate education. The National Science Foundation and the Council of Graduate Schools founded various national and local initiatives to further improve doctoral education. The goals are, for example, to provide independent funding for doctoral students through the doctoral program and not the advisor, to encourage multidisciplinary and interdisciplinary approaches and to reorganize the program structure in order to train the students in a wide range of professional skills so they will meet the demands of the labor market outside academia (Nerad, 2008).

In conclusion, the traditional model of doctoral education in Germany and the way doctoral candidates are trained in the USA have not much in common in terms of educational process, type of work, financing or status as student or researcher. The new concepts of structured doctoral education in Germany are strongly influenced by the US American traditional system, but there are considerable differences. For example, doctoral students in Germany have already obtained a research degree and then immediately start in a graduate school with their doctoral work. Possible coursework is usually complementary instead of required before the start of research. However, in both countries large numbers of doctoral degrees are awarded; the average time to degree in both models is comparable and the median age of newly awarded PhD holders is around 33. In the next chapter attention is given to attrition rates and possible reasons for departing from doctoral education.

Attrition from Doctoral Education in Germany and the USA: A Literature Review

One of the most discussed issues regarding doctoral education in both countries today is doctoral student attrition because of various critical issues:

Attrition generates opportunity costs for universities in financial aid and faculty time, and for students in foregone earnings and delayed entry into alternative career tracks that better fit their talents and interests, as well as psychic costs for students whose previous academic achievement was exemplary. (Smallwood, 2004, p. A10).

Even if lower attrition rates suggest benefits for the institution and the individual in terms of both resources in time and money, there is a lack of research on attrition in doctoral education in Germany. On the contrary, until now research has been focused almost solely on successful doctoral students. No federal statistical data in Germany exists on doctoral program attrition. The "Bundes-nachwuchsbericht", a study concerning the situation of doctoral students and faculty members at early career stages, suggests an estimated rate of attrition of between 30 and close to 70 percent based on a small regional dataset. That means: In the worst possible case only one in three candidates is successfully completing the doctoral degree (Burkhardt, 2008). Another study suggests, based on a wider database of more than one university, lower numbers with an overall attrition rate of 17 percent with a slightly higher rate for women than for men (19 vs. 16 percent). The highest number of doctoral candidates who leave their programs was found in psychology, pedagogy, social sciences and engineering with almost one quarter in each field (Fabian, Rehn, Brandt, & Briedis, 2013). The widely divergent figures are probably due to varying data and measuring methods. It can be reason-ably assumed that the numbers of doctoral students leaving their doctoral project are somewhere in between the stated numbers.

Supervision is considered as one of the main problems of doctoral education in Germany:

> Personal dependence on the supervisor, insufficient contact with the supervisor, or exploita-tion by the supervisor has been identified as typical problem areas in this respect (Kehm, 2008, p. 27).

Other reasons mentioned for attrition are the additional workload while working as part-time faculty members and in some cases professional reorientation (Fabian et al., 2013). Up to now, there is noth-ing known about similarities and differences in attrition between the traditional model of doctoral education in Germany and more structured programs.

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Thinking about leaving a doctoral project or dropping out of doctoral education seems to be quite common in Germany. Different studies show that between one quarter (Berning & Falk, 2006; Falkenhagen, 2008) and almost half (Abels, 2002) of the doctoral candidates had thought at least once throughout their doctoral work about leaving. Thinking about leaving relates to various socio-demographic, psychological, economic and institutional factors (Korff, 2015). Women are more likely to think about leaving than men (Berning & Falk, 2006; Abels, 2002). The financial situation of the candidates is similarily important. Berning and Falk (2006) show that thinking about leaving is a little more probable while doing doctoral work individually, outside of a structured program. How-ever, problems with supervision and additional workload are the main institutional reasons for thoughts about leaving (Berning & Falk, 2006). The study of Korff (2015) suggests that individual characteristics of doctoral students contribute to the explanation of the differences regarding thoughts of leaving but institutional attributes like supervision, coursework, overall workload and group dynamics among doctoral students play the most significant role within structured programs. However, at present, there is no knowledge of significant correlations between thinking and actually leaving doctoral education.

In conclusion, the numbers of doctoral candidates in Germany as well as the rate of attrition is un-known and can only be estimated. Besides nothing is known about the determination of the relation between causes and effects. Moreover, a comparison of attrition rates between the traditional Ger-man model and more structured programs is simply not possible due to lack of obtained data. In fact it is not known whether participants of structured programs are more successful and if so, why.

In the USA, continuously high attrition rates between 40 and 50 percent from doctoral programs have been found during the last decades (Bowen & Rudenstine, 1992; Sowell, 2008; Lovitts, 2001). Just like in Germany, these numbers vary considerably between the disciplines, departments and also universities (Golde, 2005; Lovitts, 2001). However, in summary almost every second student enrolled in a doctoral education program fails to earn the obtained degree and there is still little evidence that those numbers may be subject to changes (Halse & Malfoy, 2010; Willis & Carmichael, 2011). Overall, it has to be noted that

> the most academically capable, most academically successful, most stringently evaluated, and the most carefully selected students in the entire higher education system - doctoral students are the least likely to complete their chosen academic goals (Golde, 2000, p. 199).

Diverse studies suggest that attrition is more common in social sciences and humanities than in natural sciences (Sowell, 2008; Golde, 2005; Nettles & Millett, 2006). Looking closer at socio-demographic factors, the groups of women and of students of color seem to be more likely to be at risk of dropping out (Bowen & Rudenstine, 1992; Nerad & Miller, 1997; Nettles & Millett, 2006). The economic background seems to be important as well. Those who have less funding are found more likely at risk of leaving their program (Attiyeh, 1999). Additionally, Lovitts (2001) states, that those students are socially less integrated with the faculty and with their student peers.

Attrition rates in doctoral education in both countries are high. This seems applicable regardless of whether doctoral education is structured or not. Causes and reasons of leaving respectively thoughts about leaving in both countries appear to be more similar than expected.

Looking at the high numbers and the lack of research at least for the German case it could be questioned if attrition is intentional within the academic field or not:

> Attrition rates of 50 percent or more would be a scandal in any professional school, but seem to be accepted in doctoral education as part of the natural order. (Breneman, 1977, p.18).

If attrition is part of a "natural order" in academia, it is supported by those who are actors in the field or, at least, tolerate it. However, no matter if attrition is truly supported or just tolerated, it is necessary to understand doctoral program attrition in both countries, particularly if one of the aims of the described structural reforms in Germany based on the US American model is to reduce those rates. Therefore, a closer look needs to be taken at the structure of the academic field and the position of doctoral students within that field. Pierre Bourdieu (1975, 2004) suggests a concept of the academic field which is helpful to understand the "natural academic order" and gives some implications for research on doctoral student attrition.

Theoretical Assumptions about Doctoral Student Attrition:
The Concept of the Academic Field of Pierre Bourdieu

Bourdieu´s Concept of the Academic Field

Pierre Bourdieu (1975, 2004) uses the concept of social fields to describe the social world. A social field is understood as a social space which is structured by connected social relations between agents and their positions. The idea is, that cultural production and its products are constituted in terms of a number of processes and social realities. Cultural products and producers are located within a

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space of positions and position-takings that constitutes a set of relations. A social field is characterized by its own rules, hierarchic schemes of power and domination and special legitimate opinions and objects of interests. The social world consists of a variation of different social fields. Those fields are considered relatively autonomous from external forces, while the agents follow its own specific distinctive logic. The less external resources a field requires and the higher the price of entry is, the more anonymous it is at the same time (Bourdieu, 2004). Since social agents have the belief ("illusio"), that it is worth investing in the objects of interest and that the rules of the social field are reasonable and rightful, Bourdieu describes the social field as social game or competition which is valuable playing to its participants. The objective of the participants is to accumulate capital in that special social game, while the type of the capital of interest differs between the various social fields, while capital means anything that is valuable in the field. The more capital of interest social agents accumulate, the higher their social position and the more powerful they are within the field. However, in modern societies and their social fields, capital is unequally distributed between social agents and causes social hierarchies. Depending on the amount of relevant capital agents have different chances to become successful within the field. Those differences regarding social positions constitute the social structure of a social field. Those within the field understand the strategies and powers and they know how to behave in the field. That understanding feels natural to them (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). According to Bourdieu, one of the fields in modern societies is the academic field, which is

> a social field like any other, with its distribution of power and its monopolies, its struggles and strategies, interests and profits, but it is a field in which all these invariants take on specific forms" (Bourdieu, 1975, p. 19).

The logic of the academic field is based on the aim to discover the universal truth which is within the field believed to be a truth found via scientific methods and measurements such as testable explanations or predictions (Bourdieu, 2004).

In the academic field or competition the social agents struggle for authority over the academic truth which means "the sense of a particular agent's socially recognized capacity to speak and act legitimately (i.e. in an authorized and authoritative way) in scientific matters" (Bourdieu, 1975, p. 19).

The more academic authority social agents have, the greater their influence is on the definition of scientific objects of interest such as scientific knowledge, findings or methods. The most valuable capital in the academic field is called "academic" or "scientific" capital. The acquisition of academic capital is only possible within the academic field as it means recognition or acknowledgment through peer review by other academic agents or competitors. Social mechanisms of valuation are e.g. the publication of scientific papers, amount and quality of citation, academic presentations at reputable conferences, academic awards, tenure or the membership in academic societies. In addition, a doctoral student's acceptance by a certain professor, studying at a certain university or the receipt of scholarships are mechanisms of recognition within the academic world, in this case, for students. Academic achievements or an excellent research performance is therefore a social product. Interestingly, the importance of recognition by other social agents within the field means that the competitors are at the same time consumers and senders: "In the scientific field, where recognition of "competence" and "authority" cannot be forced without the scrutiny of other competitor producers, credit comes from symbolically appropriating others´ work, incorporating into one´s own work and going beyond it." (Lenoir, 1997, p. 54). The position of social agents varies depending on their capacity and success to accumulate academic capital in the past. This special capital is also unequally distributed between social agents and therefore causing social hierarchies. That is, the most powerful social agents and their academic practice is the criterion for the production of scientific knowledge and defines current regulations for the measurement of scientific truth (Lenoir, 1997).

The Position of Doctoral Students within the Academic Field

The cost of entry into the academic field is considered high because e.g. certified evidence of training in higher education is needed. A successful scientist follows a certain career path and the doctorate is the most important but also terminal official degree on the academic career track and demonstrates the candidates´ ability to complete a substantial body of original research, although many PhD holders do not end up working in academia.

Following Bourdieu, the doctorate must be understood as an institutionalized form of acknowledgment, meaning academic capital, through peer review within the field. Doctoral students are newcomers or beginners and have to adapt to the rules of the field. They have some cultural capital such as education certificates but they usually lack social capital within academia as they commonly have only been in contact with their undergrad teachers. They also lack economic capital as they normally earn much less than others within the academic system. Accordingly they have a relatively weak and dependent position within the social hierarchy of academia. Robert Merton (1968, 1988) has shown in his research on Nobel Prize winners that there is a strong relation between accumulated academic capital and the accumulation of further relevant capital called the "Matthew Effect" or "accumulated advantage". That means powerful agents within the academic field receive a much larger amount of recognition for comparable research work than weaker agents like doctoral students or candidates who are forced to produce even more scientific knowledge for true acknowledgement. At the same time, doctoral students are highly dependent on a professor or supervisor but also on other powerful social agents within the field like journal editors who have sufficient academic capital and determine the rules for the production of scientific knowledge. In summary, doctoral students can be considered rather weak within the social field of academia which impedes doctoral research work generally and the completion of the PhD degree specifically.

Following the theoretical approach of Bourdieu, talent, intellectual ability and hard work are important but plenty of other field-related aspects have also to be taken into account for doctoral achievements. To better understand doctoral program attrition it would be useful to subsequently take a closer look at the position of doctoral candidates, their amount of relevant capital and their related possible actions within the academic field in comparison between Germany and the USA.

Summary and Conclusions

This paper examined doctoral education in Germany and the USA and took a closer look at doctoral program attrition in both countries. On the basis of those reflections the aim was to shed some light on Bourdieu´s concept of the scientific field and its implications for further research on doctoral program attrition.

Both the US and Germany belong to those countries worldwide in which the highest numbers of doctoral degrees are awarded. The traditional model of doctoral education in Germany and doctoral programs in the USA have not much in common in terms of educational process, type of work, financing or status. However, the newly structured doctoral education programs in Germany are strongly influenced by the US American concepts and the restructuring is politically seen as a universal remedy for all problems considered to be within the traditional German doctoral education. Nevertheless, when comparing the two, in both countries large numbers of doctoral degrees are awarded, the average time to degree in both models is quite long and the median age of completion is around age 33. Attrition rates in both countries are high and this seems to apply regardless of whether doctoral education is structured or not. Estimated causes and reasons of leaving appear to be more similar than expected. Therefore, attrition could be considered as part of the natural order of academia. It would

seem important to question the academic field and its social structure and mechanisms while re-searching doctoral program attrition. Pierre Bourdieu´s (1975, 2004) concept of the academic field might be helpful as it suggests the field as a hierarchic social structure centered on the production of scientific knowledge and the accumulation of acknowledgement and recognition. Assuming academia as being such a field consisting of hierarchical social positions of field agents with different social power it would not be artificial to consider doctoral students holding a social position as well. However, the position of doctoral students or candidates can be considered as weak within the scientific competition as they did not receive much scientific capital earlier and they do not own much other capital, such as economic capital, either.

In conclusion, the hypothesis of this paper is the success of doctoral students apart from talent, scientific abilities or workload, depending primarily on various field-related aspects. An approach for research on attrition focusing solely on the individual students´ intellectual or social ability is too narrow because it ignores the mechanisms of the academic field of work.

Hence, this paper suggests taking a closer look at the social position of doctoral candidates, their amount of relevant capital and their possible actions within the academic field and thus compare Germany and the USA. In order to gain a deeper knowledge of the social position of doctoral candidates it is necessary to analyze the multidimensional relations regarding these candidates within the academic field and how their position might change throughout their doctoral education. To understand the phenomenon of a doctoral attrition process qualitative case-focused research is needed to investigate the reasons and paths of making a dropout decision. The findings will lead to implications for restructuring German doctoral education based on the US-American model.

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Kucha: Polish Educational Reforms between 1989 and 2014
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Ryszard Kucha (Poland)

Extremely Difficult Paths of Polish Educational Reforms between 1989 and 2014

Summary: *In the 25 years after the events of 1989, a mismatch between the system of education and the system of market economy has become a universal phenomenon in Poland as one of the European countries. There are also signs indicating the educational expansion does not promote the role of the individual in the process of socio-economic development of the society. As a result, the younger generation experiences a great dissatisfaction and frustration generated by their difficulties in fulfilling their educational, social, and professional aspirations and expectations. This paper provides a review and critique of the educational strategies implemented by bureaucratic central and local administration of the last 25 years of Polish society life.*

Keywords: *education system, expert analyses, economical crisis, bureaucracy, irresponsibility, Himalayan heights of inertia and simulation of activity, expectations and hopes.*

Резюме *(Рушард Куха: Чрезвычайно сложные пути польских образовательных реформ между 1989 и 2014 годы)* : *Спустя 25 лет после событий1989 года, в Польше как одной из европейских стран, в качестве универсального феномена возникло недопонимание между образовательной системой и системой рыночной экономики. Налицо тот факт, что меры по реорганизации системы образования не способствуют увеличению значения роли индивидуума в процессе социально-экономического развития общества. В результате этого у молодого поколения растет большое недовольство и разочарование вследствие возникновения сложностей в осуществлении своих образовательных, социальных и профессиональных амбиций и ожиданий. Данная статья предлагает обзор и критический анализ образовательных стратегий, реализованных в польском обществе бюрократическими, центральными и локальными органами власти за последние 25 лет.*

Ключевые слова*: система образования, экспертные анализы, экономический кризис, бюрократия, безответственность, инертность и симуляция деятельности, ожидания, надежды.*

Zusammenfassung *(Ryszard Kucha: Extrem schwierige Wege der polnischen Bildungsreformen zwischen 1989 und 2014): In den 25 Jahren nach den Ereignissen von 1989 entstand ein Missverhältnis zwischen dem Bildungssystem und dem System der Marktwirtschaft als ein universelles Phänomen in Polen, einem der europäischen Länder. Es gibt auch Anzeichen dafür, dass die Bildungsexpansion nicht die Rolle des Individuums im Prozess der sozioökonomischen Entwicklung der Gesellschaft fördert. Im Ergebnis dessen entwickelt sich in der jüngeren Generation eine große Unzufriedenheit und Frustration durch die Schwierigkeiten, ihre Bildungs-, sozialen und beruflichen Ambitionen und Erwartungen zu erfüllen. Dieses Papier bietet einen Überblick und eine Kritik an den Bildungsstrategien, die durch bürokratische, zentrale und lokale Verwaltungen in den letzten 25 Jahren in der polnischen Gesellschaft umgesetzt wurden.*

Schlüsselwörter*: Bildungssystem, Expertenanalysen, Wirtschaftskrise, Bürokratie, Verantwortungslosigkeit, Trägheit und Simulation von Aktivitäten, Erwartungen, Hoffnungen*

Introduction

Education systems of individual countries, particularly school systems of different types and educational levels, are the object of continuing and critical assessment, as well as ambitious plans to reconstruct or even reform them. This has almost always been so since the dawn of schools and teachers (Kupisiewicz, 2006a, p. 7). The second half of the twentieth century was exceptional in this respect because it was then that a wave of unprecedented criticism was leveled at the school as an anachronistic institution, or even harmful in many ways. The height of this criticism was the demand that

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societies be descholarized. However, school was not eliminated and such plans seem unfathomable today.

On the contrary, there was a 'school explosion", the period of rapid development of school systems. The only positive outcome of these critical attempts to modernize the system was that various improvement strategies and reform efforts appeared. The concept of alternative school was proposed and the strategy for the continuing improvement of school was advanced, becoming the foundation for plans to reconstruct the school system in respect to the whole content of the concept. In some countries, expert teams were commissioned to prepare such plans. This was the case in Poland, where many expert analyzed the school system. However, only three finished plans for school reforms were prepared between 1973 and 2005 (Kupisiewicz, 2006a, p. 7).

The above mentioned expert analyses and plans were followed by a series of hollow declarations, particularly those about the government's priority endeavors to improve the education of the Poles, which, especially when implemented by the next governments, turned out to be empty promises. In 2005, the Polish Academy of Sciences Research and Prognostics Committee [The Committee] presented the "Guidelines for Development Strategy for Poland until 2025". The document in question devoted a lot of attention to education, calling for improving the training level of the population in rural areas, such as villages and small towns, from where 60-70 % of young people entering the job market would come after 2010. It also called for starting widespread continuing education among the adults, in particular among those employed, and for carrying out curricular reforms from the standpoint of the needs associated with the rise of new vocations/professions and specializations. Finally, it sought to guarantee that the school will be, as is the case now, the principle source of knowledge and the primary place where knowledge is continually renewed (Kupisiewicz, 2006a, p. 149).

The Committee also emphasized the need to radically improve the training system of Polish teachers, to spread preschool education, to expand parallel education, and to increase spending on education to 6.5% of national income. The Committee pointed out that education should be not only a commodity in the information society, but also an independent value; schools should not only impart knowledge but also foster civic ethos (Kupisiewicz, 2006a, p. 148).

In the context of the Committee's conclusions, it is in order to ask the question whether any of the signaled reforms and educational expert analyses was fully reflected in the daily practice of political and educational activity of persons responsible for their implementation. The answer should be the thesis voiced by Polish eminent educationalist and teacher, Professor Czesław Kupisiewicz, who formulated an explicit conclusion in his 2006 book, stressing the "indispensable need to re-reform the Polish school system and higher education, i.e. to thoroughly reform the ministerial education reform of 1998" (Kupisiewicz 2006a, p. 149).

Professor Cz. Kupisiewicz strongly supported the correction of the structure of the school system and the reform of the curriculum content (e.g. completing work on the authorial and core curricula, on tightening the assessment criteria, and on authorizing the use of new Polish school handbooks). He also deemed it extremely necessary to abandon the existing receptive-reproductive doctrine for the generative doctrine. Furthermore, he was also in favor of preparing reforms in such a way that they would be participated in by the central educational authorities and by teachers as equal partners of the educational authorities. He believed that the starting point for education reform should be the all-out restructuring of the system of training, complementary training, and in-service training of teachers. The reform should take into account the changing social, economic, and cultural needs of the Poles. In addition, every reform of the education system requires extremely careful consideration

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and preparation in terms of concepts, teaching personnel, funds, organization, and infrastructure; moreover, it has to be approved and supported by the country's administrative-political authorities. Should these authorities be unwilling to offer support and funds, positive results of the reforms cannot be counted on. Finally, the help and participation of representatives of educational sciences was necessary in implementing these reform tasks (Kupisiewicz, 2006a, pp. 149-150).

The late 1990s brought the next, far-reaching changes and transformations, taking place under the conditions of rapid social changes in Poland. Successive stages of the lasting development of market economy progressed, and the institutionalization of the democratic system was being established. Nevertheless, all those processes occurred under the conditions of a profound socio-economic crisis. Poland had to experience and fight against inflation, recession, huge unemployment, and the financial penury of the Polish state, making the already difficult living conditions of many social groups even worse, including the disabled and other at-risk groups. The operation of economic entities on the unstable labor market was accompanied by growing unemployment and mass layoffs. Social spending was reduced and the real value of social security benefits such as pensions, disability pensions, allowances, or compensations dropped. The traditional state system of care and assistance collapsed, despite initial weak signs of initiatives for social help and self-help being restored, chiefly through various foundations or NGOs (Radziewicz & Winnicki, 2001, p. 9).

It might be in order to consider the problem posed by Professor Bogusław Śliwerski, who had plenty of meetings with teachers, school principals, local government activists and academic communities in Poland during the subsequent years to share his thoughts on the democratization of public education in our country. Before presenting his reflection, however, it is important to refer to the little-known and very seldom recalled theses of J. Regulski about the development of local government:

If the political system does not allow local communities to self-govern, they will never acquire the indispensable skills. You cannot learn to practice democracy from books. The necessary skills can be acquired only through actual, practical action. The best government system will not produce self-government if communities are unable to implement it. (Regulski, 2012, p. 230)

Referring to Regulski's theses and the atmosphere of Śliwerski's meetings, Professor Śliwerski explicitly stated that all the participants in these meetings responded almost the same way as regards democratization: "very well, we agree as long as it does not concern us, to our schools, our children, our teachers, our commune or town" (Śliwerski, 2013, p. 7).

It seems, therefore, that the art of appearances and its related methods fully blossomed in Poland while it was forsaking Communism. For over a hundred years, representatives of various trends in humanism deliberated on how to make the country more democratic and its institutions more self-governing. In contrast to those diagnoses, which almost always held cognitive dissonance, it is surprising that this stuck, because a normative pedagogical project has never, throughout history, evolved to be identical with reality. In the past, its assumed functions were not identical with the previously laid down theoretical and practical assumptions. There is always a person who will distort and reduce them, or even prevent their practical implementation (Śliwerski, 2013, p. 8). Morality is measured with the actual conduct and benefits arising out of it, even when the benefits allow us only to avoid evil, injustice, loss or conflict (Nowak, 2008, p. 13).

In the course of analysis of the complex issues concerning the relationships and connections between the school system and democracy in Poland, education always was, and still is, under the influence of ideology, social philosophy and democratic ideas. These matters were already discussed several decades ago by one of the most eminent Polish educationalists an expert in the history of French school

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system, Professor Bogdan Nawroczyński. He argues that the school system of every country and state is more than the institutions of kindergarten and school alone, which guarantee access to free education. In the legal meaning, these institutions constitute a school system as long as their establishment, operation, or liquidation are regulated by the school law, which itself is a derivative of the common principles of educational policy and products of one leading idea. Nawroczyński (1981) wrote:

A politician will say: schools become a school system when they mold good citizens who serve the state with their work in peace time and with their combat skills and technical competence during war. A teacher will say: schools are only organizational forms. We are dealing with the school system only when these forms are teeming with pedagogical work, animated by one spirit and implementing ideals in common. (pp. 11-12)

The same Nawroczyński also voiced an opinion that "schools become a school system when they become a higher order whole. Taken together they are not merely a sum total of schools but a structure oriented towards (accomplishing) some goals" (Nawroczyński, 1981, p. 12). Referring to the views of and statement by the Marquis Condorcet of April 1792, he said that the most freedom-minded Constitution and most progressive legislation only create the possibility of freedom and equality. These objectives can be accomplished only through education. Hence, the significance of pedagogical issues in democracy and the necessity of establishing the school system towards educating enlightened and devoted citizens for the democratic state (Nawroczyński, 1981, p. 17).

There is no other way of equalizing life opportunities of citizens and ensuring the exercise of their rights except through giving them an opportunity to gain the best and highest education; everyone should decide for themselves where truth and where falsehood lies since the state authorities are always prone to falsify the truth for their particular interest. This was also stressed by Condorcet when he said that no public authority should have either the right or even opportunity to inhibit the development of new truths or impede the advocacy of theories inconsistent with its political direction or temporary interest (Nawroczyński, 1981, p. 20).

Another Polish education historian, Antoni Smołalski, conducted a historical analysis of the origin of school authorities and the nature of their whole activity because it changed within the context of political and government-system transformations in Poland. He wrote that school was established first; it was only later that educational authorities appeared, especially in other countries, which sought to acquire a school monopoly (Smolalski, 1999). Supervision over schools developed as state-owned schools were established, thereby leading to the creation of national educational authorities. This process was begun by the French Revolution in the 18th century. Smołalski regarded the Pole, Antoni Popławski, as the first school-authorities theorist, who was convinced that "educational authorities are indispensable but their power over schools should not be too great" (Smolalski, 1999). He suggested in 1780 that educational and school authorities be subordinated to the Commission for National Education "but only to the extent that they could not infringe on national interests" (Smołalski, 1999, p. 7).

The Partitions of Poland destroyed the legacy of the Commission for National Education. Although Bronisław Trentowski believed that the state authorities should take care of the school system so that it would serve the nation, he opposed the state monopoly in education. He was also against the state's interference in the operation of private schools. Under the Russian Partition, the educational system entirely eliminated the autonomy of schools, while in Galicia (the Austrian Partition), Józef Dietl recognized the autonomous school was only subordinate to the state with respects to the general goal of activity (Smołalski, 1999, pp. 11-12).

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After the rebirth of the Polish state in 1918, Stefania Sempołowska demanded that the Council for National Education [The Council] be set up in Poland apart from the Ministry of Education; the Council should be an elected collegial body and have the powers of the highest authority regarding pedagogical issues. She argued that "giving all power to a minister who was replaced with each new alignment of political parties puts education and upbringing at risk of fluctuations and alterations dependent on political change each time". In this respect three rules were to be followed: (1) independence of school authorities from the general administration, (2) independence of schools from political parties, and (3) elective management boards of educational institutions (Smołalski, 1999, p. 6).

It should be observed at this point that all decentralist tendencies, both in the area of managing schools and in pedagogical issues, have distant roots in the tradition of Polish educational thought. In each period when they occurred, however, they encountered strong resistance by state authority. As historical sources show, the teachers who were expected to be pioneers of democracy were often the entity that supported the state of affairs, slowed down democratization tendencies, and even, under totalitarianism, effectively destroyed them (Nawroczyński, 1981, pp. 41-42).

The beginnings of Polish infernal climb to the heights of educational pretense after World War Two

It is indisputable that an extraordinary development of the school system of diverse types and education levels existed after WW2. It began with the period of restoration of education from war damage, which provided conditions for a further development of education systems. The period lasted until the mid-1950s, followed by what is called "school explosion" or universal scholarization. The number of people educated by early and secondary education rose almost three times on a worldwide scale. Furthermore, the number of university students more than doubled, or even tripled in some countries (Kupisiewicz, 1995, p. 7).

This high rate of development of school networks, except for those in higher education, lasted until 1973, when it was suddenly hampered under the conditions of the fuel and energy crisis. This started a significant decrease in the pace of development of education, including higher education (i.e. the stagnation stage because many countries, including the wealthiest, reduced the funding for these purposes in the years 1973-1989) (Kupisiewicz, 1995, pp. 7-8).

The early 1970s in Poland witnessed insufficient progress in the spread of institutionalized education. Only 50% of children from 3 to 6 years of age were covered by preschool education in 1988, and only 43% of primary school graduates continued their education in high school. Furthermore, barely 10% of 19-year-olds were enrolled in universities for the first year. This was 4% less than in the late 1970s, indicating that the number of college students in Poland between 1979 and 1988 decreased from 500 thousand to about 350 thousand, by as much as 34%. Moreover, 80 % of those students graduated from general-education high schools, in which only 20% of eight-year primary school graduates continued their education. Consequently, universities turned out to be unavailable to a great number of talented young people in Poland (Kupisiewicz, 1995, p. 111).

Also clearly noticeable was the lack of about 5000 new educational facilities, with over 10 thousand operating facilities in desperate need of renovation; there were gross deficiencies in the provision of schools, since other educational institutions had appropriate equipment and teaching and study aids. Facilities unfit for further use housed 30% of kindergartens, 40% of primary schools, over 40% of high schools, almost 35% of vocational schools and school workshops, 35% of dormitories, 30% of special schools, and as many as 40% of long-term care facilities. The well-known universities, such

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as University of Warsaw, Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznan, and Jagiellonian University in Kra-
kow, were also in a very unfavorable situation. As a direct consequence of the foregoing conditions,
the teaching and education process decreased in quality. The school systems' personnel quality and
quantity was also dramatically decreased: a deficit of 150 thousand teachers, a significant number of
who did not have pedagogical qualification (over 40 thousand in 1988) or with low qualifications
(over 79 thousand). The structure of teachers' qualifications enlarged and at the same time grew
worse because many worked outside of their learned specialties (Kupisiewicz, 1995, pp. 112-113).
Furthermore, low levels of teaching and educational results obtained by schools were reported, as
well as the incompatibility of the content, methods, and organization of teaching/educational work.
The inadequacies of the syllabuses and curricula were seen in their encyclopedism, historicism, cu-
mulativism, uniformism, intellectualism, and lack of connection with life. Consequently, the possibil-
ity of working with talented students was increasingly limited, which caused numerous additional
educational deficiencies (Kupisiewicz, 1995, pp. 114-116).

This was accompanied by polarized calls for reform to the educational and upbringing system and
opposing demands "to leave school alone", which would be tantamount to freezing the existing and
inefficient status quo. This demands for no reform would have certainly worsened the situation of
the Polish educational system (Kupisiewicz, 1995, p. 118).

In the context of the observable deficiencies of the educational system, the "strategy for the continu-
ing improvement of the school" was formulated in Poland. This strategy became the foundation for
the restructuring of the school system: some of them were minor modifications while others meant
fundamental changes in the organization, curricula, and personnel. With regard to some of the plans,
changes were to be prepared by larger or smaller groups of education experts. Between 1973 and
2005, several expert analyses and three finished projects on school reforms were completed in Po-
land (Kupisiewicz, 2006a, p. 7). These projects were: (1) Report on the Condition of Education in the
Polish People's Republic Warszawa 1973, (ed.) Jan Szczepański, (2) Expert Analysis on the Situation
and Development of Education in the Polish People's Republic Warszawa 1979. PAN. Joint study,
(ed.) Bogdan Suchodolski, (3) Education – A National Priority, and Education under Conditions of
Threat, Warszawa – Krakow 1989 and 1990. Joint study (ed.) Cz. Kupisiewicz, (4) A Comprehensive
Report on the Need for and Directions of School Reform. Authored by Cz. Kupisiewicz. "Głos
Nauczycielski" 1996, (5) Strategy for the Development of Education in Poland until 2020. A Study by
Cz. Kupisiewicz, in collaboration with Cz. Banach. Warszawa 2000. Mimeographed version, (6) A
Draft Reform of the Education System in Poland.. Warszawa 1998. MEN, (7) The Main Theses of The
Polish Teachers' Union concerning the Reform of the Polish Educational System."Głos Nauczycielski"
2000, (8) Smooth and Rough Roads of Polish Education between 1945 and 2004. Warszawa 2005.
Joint study (ed.) Cz. Kupisiewicz., and (9) Strategy for the Development of Education in 2007-2013.
MENiS. Warszawa, August 2005 (Kupisiewicz, 2006a, 8). [The Polish titles are placed at the end of
Bibliography.]

The transformations initiated in People's Poland after Edward Gierek's group took power in Decem-
ber 1970 also included education, especially focusing on the school system as the leading element.
The new political/party leadership decided to bring about reform to the inefficient educational sys-
tem. This time, however, the preparation of the draft of thorough-going reforms was commissioned
to a team of experts set up especially for this purpose. It was composed of the, then eminent, educa-
tional theorists and practitioners headed by well-known sociologist Jan Szczepański. The 24-member
Committee for the Preparation of Report on the Condition of Education in the Polish People's Repub-
lic published an extensive and in-depth report in May 1973; it indicated the necessity of carrying out
a reform and presented its major tasks and objectives (Kupisiewicz, 2006a, p. 10).

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Underlying the work on the report were the inclinations of the political and administrative authorities of People's Poland towards an urgent need to spread high school education, and their resolutions concerning the necessity of fundamentally accelerating the process of socio-economic development across the whole country. The Committee initially analyzed such forms of the school system as would provide the optimal form of schooling at the high school level in order to guarantee education to citizens which would enable them to conduct optimal activities in all spheres of life (Kupisiewicz, 2006a, p. 11). All these were meant to prepare people for multifaceted professional, social, and cultural activities, as well as the primary purpose of continuing self-teaching. What then were the main theses of the demanded reform in preparation? The Committee assumed that education/upbringing is not, and could not, be exclusively the responsibility of the family and school, although the two institutions play a significant role in the process. Also important were the extracurricular and extra-school activities of the school and the appropriate professional training enabling one to achieve dynamic professional mobility. This indicated the need to continue lifelong training. In addition, this would be connected with the democratization of the training process at all levels of education. For those reasons, the Committee supported the scheme of an eight-grade primary school, a three-grade basic vocational school, a four-grade general education high school, and a five-grade technical high school. Moreover, the Committee believed that the optimal organizational and curricular variant would be one in which the mainstream eleven-year general-education school would eliminate the dual paths of school education for the young generation. The eleven-year school would be based on the widespread system of preschool education (Kupisiewicz, 2006a, pp. 12-18). It is therefore meaningful that the Committee strongly suggested that a full high school education be promoted among the Poles and that university education be widely popularized. These statements could not fail to be appreciated because they are greatly important for the present. We are living in the age of "various revolutions," including the "information revolution" which requires the flexibility of education to the ongoing transformations.

We cannot fail to regard the above-mentioned theses as continually relevant. Some of them still remain topical and are the subject of in-depth analyses carried out by multiple authors; for example, the one about the ongoing process of in-service teacher training or training students to self-educate (Kupisiewicz, 2006a, pp. 19-20).

While Poland's educational bureaucrats did not try to challenge the foregoing propositions of the Committee, they did not implement an educational policy that would be consistent with the aforementioned principles. With regard, however, to the division of the primary school into two tiers: the six-year primary school and three-year gimnazjum (junior high school), which was critically assessed by many intelligent and responsible teachers, the educational bureaucracy acted contrary to those theses, which greatly impeded the educational advancement of Polish children in small towns and villages (Kupisiewicz, 2006a, p. 20).

While the "Report on the Condition of Education in the Polish People's Republic" was highly assessed by specialists not only at home but also abroad, it was completely ignored by the Polish educational bureaucracy. There were no politicians ready to bear the burden of responsibility for a radical reform. They simply treated all the expert analyses and reports as a smoke screen to hide their unwillingness to begin radical educational reforms, rather than as a starting point for taking remedial measures in such an important field as the education of the Poles.

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A continuation of the climb to the heights of bureaucratic unconcern and irresponsibility in the field of reforming the education of the Poles

It was only in 1978 that some well-known scholars in the Polish Academy of Sciences were again approached and asked to prepare a report on the current state of, and necessary conditions for the development of, the Polish educational system. The appointed five-member team headed by Professor Bogdan Suchodolski prepared the "Expert Analysis on the Situation and Development of Education in the Polish People's Republic". This small team, composed of Warsaw University professors, formulated five major theses, which can be assessed as the substantive centers of gravity of the "Expert Analysis". The first pertained to the teaching personnel and strongly emphasized that without comprehensively remedying the situation (from the doctrine of educating and in-service training of teachers and other educational personnel to decent conditions and terms of work and pay) it would not be possible to successfully carry out the planned school reform. Teachers should be persuaded to accept the reform and be prepared to implement all the consequent tasks, especially the curricular and educational ones. The second thesis spoke of complete democratization of the school system because the experts assumed that this meant implementing the actual rather than declared equalization of educational opportunities for all social groups in People's Poland. The third thesis stressed the need to restructure the school as an educational institution. The fourth thesis contained statements on the system of continuing and parallel education as the main directive on the thorough restructuring of the schooling system. The final, fifth thesis introduced the idea of building "the educating society" (Kupisiewicz, 1995, pp. 23-26).

The question should now be asked about how the recommendations and theses of the "Expert Analysis" were received by the educational authorities at that time. The experts did not openly settle the essential problem of the ten-year school as the structural core of the Polish school system. The plans of the contemporary educational authorities were not openly opposed, but their implementation would have lowered the education level of Polish society since it would shorten the time of general education from twelve to ten years. This was determined by the planned superstructure of the two-year specialization school over the ten-year school, whereas the outline of the former was not explicitly defined. Although the experts avoided the issue, the ministerial officials failed, luckily for the Poles, to carry out that project.

To sum up, the authors of the "Expert Analysis" presented an interesting concept of restructuring the educational system in People's Poland; they correctly showed its main problems and directions of development (apart from the 10-year school). However, they did not indicate or develop a list of specific objectives, the schedule of their realization, specification of necessary funds, or institutions and persons responsible for the project. Consequently, the educational authorities and bureaucrats did not have to implement the conclusions of the experts or take any remedial measures. This also allowed the authorities to invoke the experts' findings, which they did not intend to realize in daily practice (Kupisiewicz, 2006a, pp. 28-29).

In the trenches of bureaucracy at the Himalayan heights of inertia and simulation of activity

After nine years of feigned organizational-curricular and reformatory activity, a new 34-member Committee of Experts for National Education [KEEN] was established on February 25, 1987 by the Polish Prime Minister. It consisted of scholars of different specialties, representatives of the economy, technology, and cultural fields, and teachers representing major types of schools and educational in-

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stitutions. The Committee was asked to prepare a diagnosis of how the contemporary system of national education functioned, as well as to give directions for restructuring the schooling system, especially schools of all types and levels of training. The final result of KEEN's work were two reports: (1) Education – A National Priority: Report on the Condition and Directions of Development of Education in the People's Republic of Poland (Warszawa – Krakow 1989) and (2) Education under Conditions of Threat (Warszawa – Krakow 1990). Moreover, KEEN published 30 partial reports on the condition of education and directions of necessary changes, and five position papers on the need for changes, improvement of the situation of the teaching profession, and improvement of vocational training and schools (Kupisiewicz, 2006a, pp. 31-33).

The Polish educational authorities did not utilize the foregoing studies and reports, although they often referred to their content. Sadly enough, a similar fate fell to the 1989 report Education – A National Priority; the Tadeusz Mazowiecki government recognized it as a significant achievement, but they did not use its findings at all. The next governments – those of Jan Krzysztof Bielecki, Jan Olszewski, and of Hanna Suchocka – behaved in an identical way, while the condition of Polish education steadily deteriorated because the education authorities were content with promises and insignificant alterations to the increasingly worsening situation in education (Kupisiewicz, 2006a, pp. 36-48)

Sources show that the actions of the bureaucracy cannot inspire optimism. However, because of the relevance of the assessments and recommendations made by experts, we hope that there is still time to make proper use of the recommendations. The sooner this happens, the better it will be for the whole Polish educational system. However, all this will be attained when the authorities put the verbal acceptance of the experts' recommendations into actions consistent with the recommended measures. It appears, though, that in order to do so, the relevant authorities, regardless of their political orientation, cannot confine themselves only to promises and petty alterations to the real situation (Kupisiewicz, 2006a, pp. 47-48).

In order to break the apathetic condition of educational bureaucrats, the "Outline of the Concept of the School System in Poland" appeared in May 1996. It presented the introductory material for discussion, together with opinions of eminent Polish specialists in pedagogical sciences, and the Annex. The driving spirit of the document published in the "Głos Nauczycielski" journal was Professor Czesław Kupisiewicz, who saw no other way of spurring on the educational bureaucrats except for shattering their self-satisfied contentment through the teachers' journal. This eminent expert in education saw no other way of shaking up the bureaucrats, but through a shock to stimulate university teachers and teacher-practitioners, who dreamt of opportunities to equal Western countries, by immediately implementing a well-prepared education reform. He wanted a breakthrough in the telling torpor of the officials' lack of imagination and reluctance to change anything (Kupisiewicz, 2006a, p. 50).

Professor Kupisiewicz referred, naturally, to the opinion of the Polish Academy of Sciences Research and Prognostics Committee [Poland 2000 Plus], saying that: "in the last two decades our school system lagged behind the reforms that were implemented in this field in the West at the same time /.../, particularly [behind] in educational permeability, which is an affront to liberal-democratic and humanist norms of equal start" for children and teenagers. The author concluded, therefore, that without a breakthrough concerning science and education, Poland would not stand a chance to catch up with Western countries in socio-economic and civilizational terms. A thorough and comprehensively thought-out reform of the educational system in Poland was the necessity of the day. Professor Kupisiewicz also enumerated the directions of the most urgent reforms: the goals of and conditions for the success of the reform, general principles of the operation of the school system, long-term

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tasks, the strategy for reform, scenarios of educational transformations, and the responsibilities of the teachers and authors and implementers of the reform, with the division and also assignment of tasks to be realized. It should be added that opinions on the Outline were voiced by Professors: Jan Szczepański, Heliodor Muszyński, Stefan Wołoszyn, Wincenty Okoń, Czesław Banach, and Tadeusz Lewowicki (Kupisiewicz, 2006a, p. 55).

And how was the "Comprehensive Report" received by the Polish educational bureaucrats? The response was similar to the response to the expert reports and studies of 1973, 1979, and 1989. All in all, the report was met with interest; however, not as much interest was expressed by the Education Ministry as representatives of pedagogical sciences and a large number of teachers. The situation changed only in the late 1990s, when the Ministry of National Education trumpeted its own plan for restructuring the school system in Poland, and started to publicize it intensively (Kupisiewicz, 2006a, p. 68).

Nonsense and hypocrisy of the bureaucrats continued: the fanfare of the Ministry of National Education in 1998

In May 1998, the book Reform of the Education System. A Draft was published by the Wydawnictwa Szkolne i Pedagogiczne Press. Triumphant fanfares were sounded announcing that this was the preliminary concept and starting point of the reform of educational system. It was presented in public in January 1998 in Poznan, and then developed into the Draft Reform of the Education System, shown in May of the same year in Krakow and Tarnow to the presidents of Polish universities, superintendents of schools, and to local government employees. The soloist part in the book was played by Education Minister Mirosław Handke, who sang paeans in praise of the reformers and the scope and extent of the planned reforms. He pointed out that:

> discussion on the guidelines of the reform once again confirmed that the need for change was actually widely felt because even the most critical opinions did not challenge the necessity of carrying it out. What aroused emotions was the pace of the planned changes, their comprehensive scope, and the obvious question about the cost and ways of funding. It should be remembered that we suggested this schedule because we wanted to adjust the education reform to the great transformation of the state's political system which will take place as of 1 January 1999. (Kupisiewicz, 2006a, pp. 70-71)

As Professor Kupisiewicz stressed, the ministerial initiators emphasized that the reform would be the road to achieving the following goals: to enhance the standard of education of the Poles by spreading high school and university education, to equalize educational opportunities, and to create conditions conducive to the improvement of the quality of education understood as the integral process of upbringing and training (Kupisiewicz, 2006a, p. 71).

When the triumphant fanfare and enthusiastic choirs of acclaim by the educational bureaucrats died away, the humdrum of daily life of schools and their teachers was felt. Firstly, the principle cause of restructuring the organization of the primary and secondary school system, combined with the liquidation of kindergartens and primary schools well-rooted in the local environments, including small establishments in villages, was the introduction of the new model of primary-school and high-school organization according to the 6 + 3 + 3 pattern. This entailed the reduction of the schooling period in the primary school from eight to six years, the adding on top of it the three-grade gimnazjum (junior high school), and the reduction of the schooling years in the high school from four (or five) to three years. Many organizational problems also appeared because it was not possible to separate primary

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schools from junior high schools everywhere. Similarly, small village schools were in danger of being closed down. These phenomena were criticized for social reasons.

There were issues of financing the activity of educational institutions that faced the threat of being closed down due to inadequate funding from the education budget. In 2000, Poland allotted barely 3.2% of the budget for financing primary/secondary education, and 0.8% for higher education, while at the same time the figures in the European Union were 6% and 2% respectively (Kupisiewicz, 2006a, pp. 76-77). Moreover, many accompanying and unfavorable changes made themselves felt; these were more non-school factors, such as the state's social and financial policy, the system of educating and in-service training of teachers, expenditure on science, etc. Low interest in the reforms is another challenge for teachers, who did not recognize the ministerial plans as their own (Kupisiewicz, 2006a, pp. 83-85).

Unfulfilled expectations and hopes of the Poles

The Ministry of National Education's school reform, or rather a ministerial empty promise, did not meet the expectations of Polish society because, as Professor Czesław Kupisiewicz concluded, its object was not education, but only one of its departments: the school system, first of all primary and high schools. It is in order therefore to ask several questions at this point: (1) What is the current condition of education in Poland, particularly the school system as its leading department? (2) Can the 1998 ministerial reform improve this state? (3) If this should prove impossible, what needs to be done to remedy this (Kupisiewicz, 2006a, pp. 123-124)?

Extremely accurate answers to the first question can be gained from closely reading the diagnoses prepared in 1998 and 2001 by the Polish Academy of Sciences Research and Prognostics Committee [Poland 2000 Plus], by the Government Center for Strategic Studies, (May 2000), Polish Teachers' Union (2000), and by the authors of the Krakow-based Citizens' Declaration: Education for Development (March 2001). All these diagnoses emphasize in unison that the state of the school system in Poland during the years 1998-2001 is unsatisfactory and even tragic in the rural areas. This remark applies both to the scope and quality of educational training, as well as the conditions in which it is conducted. Access to education is also unequal because it favors children and young people from richer social strata. In general, this requires immediate and effective actions and necessary remedial measures.

The answer in the affirmative to the second question applies to the goals of reform only, i.e. the spread of high school education, equalization of educational opportunities, and improvement of the quality of education and upbringing, together with the conditions for implementing this process. However, the affirmative answer does not apply either to the conditions or resources with which the foregoing goals would be attained. This assessment stems from the fact that the 1998 reform was not prepared adequately and sufficiently enough in terms of concepts, personnel, infrastructure, organization, and funding.

With respect to concepts, the functions to be implemented by particular school tiers were not defined; consequently, appropriate criteria were not set and assigned to determine the choice and systems of educational content. At the same time, a rigid formula of the 6 + 3 + 3 structure was imposed on the school system. The need to restore and expand preschool education was underestimated and the teachers were not prepared for the implementation of new tasks. The organizational difficulties related to school transport determined by the liquidation and reductions of social functions of the school system were also underrated, nor were appropriate financial resources acquired or provided to implement the new tasks (Kupisiewicz, 2006a, pp. 124-125; Kupisiewicz, 2006a, pp. 138-139).

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What did the bureaucrats do with Polish education and what are its chances of further development and indispensable advanced reforms?

When in 2006 Professor Czesław Kupisiewicz recapitulated the achievements of several decades of activities by Polish bureaucratic reformers and asked why, despite the lapse of so many years, they did not contribute to improving the situation of Polish science, schooling and higher education, the condition of which still leaves so much to be desired, he probably never suspected that another educationalist, Professor Bogusław Śliwerski, would write the following in 2013 in his book Diagnosis of Socialization of the Public School System in the Third Republic of Poland in the Straightjacket of Centralism (Krakow 2013):

In the Third Republic the systemic reform in education has not been completed: its indicator, announced in the early 1990s, was to be democratization, the socialization of the whole educational system in the public sphere. Nor has the revolution of the empowered subjects been finalized, i.e. the possibilities of social, individual and collective self-realization of the main actors of public education: students, teachers, parents, out-of-school youth workers, and allies of these institutions (for example scout instructors, chaplains, sports coaches, etc.). (Śliwerski, 2013, p. 301).

In his opinion, starting from the third post-Solidarity parliamentary term, the educational politicians - as members of the ministerial educational authorities - locked in their desks the ideas of education and Polish schooling, and thereby the model of the Polish school, for which they fought during the outbreak of the Solidarity Union revolution in late 1980 and early 1981, during the martial law and the subsequent political stagnation period, during the Round Table talks, and when the law on the education system was amended in 1991. But they did not forget everything because the Sejm (Parliament) finally confirmed compulsory education for six-year-olds in 2015.

Everything that happened in and with the Polish school system during the period of over 25 years of new Poland is only proof "of departure not only from the ideas and ideals of the new, free, democratic school but also [evidence] of the fear of implementing solutions, to create and promote which the opposition did not lack the courage under the quasi-totalitarian rule in People's Poland" (Śliwerski, 2013, p. 302).

However, after 25 years of building the state on the principles of the democratic system, Poland's educational system still resists these processes. In contrast, the election manifestos of the major Polish political parties still devote considerable room - albeit declaratively - to the schooling system and education. Life experience teaches the Poles that the educational system should change, but this never meant that it must find its significant position in different projects, dreams, expectations, or even demands presented by particular political parties. These programs strongly emphasized ideological differences, which their representatives wanted to include in the public school system in order to penetrate the natural educational environments such as for example the family or specific social groups. Thus, the dispute over the position, role, and formulas of training and educating children and young people did not disappear with the coming to political power of a particular party, but it intensified the needs to stress one's identity or discontentment (Śliwerski, 2013, p. 302).

The successive appointees to the post of the Education Minister knew that the scope of their job, its actual content, and, possibly, their most important dreams and expectations were defined only by the length of the ministerial term linked with the reshuffle in their political parties or with the execution of directives of the top ruling groups. They also realized that it did not always pay to change,

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improve, or reform anything because their successors could begin by stopping or reversing their reforms anyway (Śliwerski, 2013, pp. 302-304). Moreover, "it did not /.../ matter whether one was in power or in the opposition, because the most important thing in the educational changes being introduced was to blot out the memory of 'predecessors' (defined as enemies, foreign element, etc.), their plans or actual achievements, gaining a feeling of satisfaction by belittling, deprecating, or destroying them " (Skarga, 2008, p. 24).

The above-mentioned Professor Śliwerski wrote a characteristic opinion on this subject:

> For years we have had pseudoreforms, which are not only a declarative, fantasizing form of politically seducing the society with a better condition of its education in the future but which are also attempts to 'carpet-bomb' the 'rotten' /.../ structures and curricular-organizational as well as legal solutions in public education. (Śliwerski, 2013, p. 307)

The ruling political parties in Poland usually are concerned with "right" redefinitions/reevaluations, in accordance with what Bauman called the intention of the authorities to guarantee themselves "official fear" (Śliwerski, 2013, p. 308). Similarly, Śliwerski wrote that an indicator of the betrayal of the Solidarity Movement's 1980-1981 reform program is first of all: education/upbringing system dominated by political parties, stopping of decentralization of the educational system, depriving education of social supervision, pseudo-self-government in schools and in the educational system, curbing the autonomy of teachers, parents and students, and authorization of appearance and educational fiction. This stems from the fact that Poland's educational macro policy depends primarily on the war of ideologies, waged since 1991 by political parties, which use the education system for this purpose as a means of indoctrination and implementation of ideological programs. That is why the changing National Education Ministry authorities (not only as a consequence of elections won by the ruling grouping) try to attract many supporters to the ideology of the ruling party, but also manipulate the actors of education in accordance with the idea of political correctness. The achieved measurable effect is as follows: as a result of constant disputes and the top-down and centralist implementation or elimination of specific reforms or changes, the educational system is either weakened by the policies of those in power or the policies and the parties in power are defeated by the educational system (Śliwerski, 2013, pp. 308-309). Consequently, the school of the transformation years transformed itself from its status of an agency of the undemocratic state into an institution trying to helplessly and unsuccessfully free itself from the influence of new forms of ideological and political domination (Śliwerski, 2013, p. 309).

Are Legacies and Welder, therefore, right when they say that democracy is based on trust and erodes if trust is lacking (Legacies & Welder, 2012, p. 94)? In the conclusion of his fascinating book, Śliwerski writes that:

There is no sign that Poland's educational system will cease to be geared towards short-term interests and actions of the governing parties or political groups, because the existing process of de-statification of the educational system does not mean its de-partification and depoliticization. (Śliwerski, 2015, p. 603).

In this context it might be worth posing one more question asked by the same author: "What do the children, young people, adult learners, and their teachers need an army of officials for, who care mainly about themselves and have nothing to do with the needs and educational potential of Polish society?" (Śliwerski, 2015, p. 606). Mendel and Szkudlarek may just be right when they write:

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Economics, social issues, law or education return to specialized government agencies and onto the desks of civil servants; the people leave the city squares and disperse into more or less reformed institutions. 'The political' of society, its openness to demands and their new combinations and the accompanying awareness of the arbitrariness of its construction then hides behind the 'politics' of managing parceled up and bureaucratically administered problems. (Mendel & Szkudlarek, 2013, p. 19)

Or perhaps US Ambassador to Poland, S.D. Mull is right saying that a great merit of democracy is that no one makes you believe what the government tells you (Mull, 2014, p. 41)?

What are we left with from the years of feigned reforms and empty rhetoric of educational bureaucrats?

We are left with the conviction about the necessity of re-reforming the Polish schooling system and higher education or reforming the ministerial reform of 1998. It should be an all-out enterprise involving not only the remaking of the system structure, but primarily the modernization of the content, organizational forms, methods, and means of educating. The second conviction is that reforms make the most sense if they have been prepared and implemented with the active participation of the central educational authorities and properly prepared teachers. The third conviction concerns the transformation of the system of training, retraining and in-service training of teachers, which should take into account the constantly changing social and economic needs. Fourthly, the country's political authorities should truly want and strive for reform as an obligatory continuing task. And finally, the reform has to be extremely carefully prepared in every respect (including funding) and has to gain active support from representatives of pedagogical sciences (Dudzikowa & Knasiecka-Falbierska, 2013, pp. 498 + 6 nlb; Kupisiewicz, 2012, pp. 301-303; Szymański, 2004, pp. 197-199).

It is certainly debatable whether all these open problems will possibly be solved because this depends on many different factors. Regrettably, Poland is not a country with ample financial resources. Moreover, those in power do not often muster the courage to put the difficult advice of experts into practice; sometimes it so happens that they even distort these recommendations with their own actions (Kupisiewicz, 2010, p. 195; Kupisiewicz, 2006b, pp. 118-123).

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Zdybel: Pedagogical Innovations as Part of Educational Policy in Poland
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Dorota Zdybel (Poland)

Pedagogical Innovations as a Part of Educational Policy in Poland – Trends and Prospects

Summary: *The last 20 years in Polish educational policy has been marked by radical but positive change in the social perception of new, innovative ideas in educational practice. This change, however, came along with important misconceptions, including: superficial/or insubstantial understanding of the very concept of "innovation", "staging" innovations to fulfill bureaucratic demands. The article explores popular barriers and veiled threats in the process of introducing innovative ideas into schools, searching for potential means of overcoming these barriers. How to bridge the gap between the educational sciences and the school practice? How to prevent the decline in the quality in teacher training? What changes in teacher training are necessary to create the culture of enquiry, self-regulated learning, building learning potential of both, teachers and students? Can innovative teacher training be the answer to bureaucracy, politicization and fake reforms in the Polish educational system? These are the main questions addressed in the presentation.*
Keywords: *pedagogical innovations, innovative teacher, teacher training*

Резюме *(Дорота Здыбель: Педагогические инновации как элемент образовательной политики в Польше – тенденции и возможности): Последние 20 лет польской образовательной политики были отмечены радикальными, но положительными изменениями в общественном восприятии новых инновационных идей в педагогической практике. Однако данные изменения совпали со значительным недопониманием, включая поверхностное и неполное понимание собственно термина «Инновация»; «инсценировки» инноваций должны выполнять бюрократические требования.*
Данная статья исследует популярные барьеры и скрытые угрозы в процессе введения инновационных идей в школах и ведет поиск потенциальных средств преодоления этих препятствий. Как необходимо восполнить пробел между педагогикой и школьной практикой? Как остановить процесс снижения качества педагогического образования? Какие изменения необходимы в педагогическом образовании для создания культуры исследования, самоуправляемого обучения и развития учебного потенциала учителей и обучающихся? Может ли инновационное педагогическое образование быть ответом на бюрократию, политизацию и неправильные реформы в польской системе образования? Это главные вопросы, рассматриваемые в данной презентации.
Ключевые слова: педагогические инновации, передовые учителя, педагогическое образование

Zusammenfassung *(Dorota Zdybel: Pädagogische Innovationen als Bestandteil der Bildungspolitik in Polen – Trends und Chancen): Die letzten 20 Jahre der polnischen Bildungspolitik wurden geprägt von radikalen, aber positiven Veränderungen in der gesellschaftlichen Wahrnehmung der neue, innovativen Ideen in der pädagogischen Praxis. Diese Veränderungen fielen jedoch zusammen mit großen Missverständnissen, einschließlich eines oberflächlichen oder unvollständigen Verständnisses des eigentlichen Begriffes "Innovation"; "Inszenierungen" von Innovationen sollten bürokratische Anforderungen erfüllen. Dieser Artikel untersucht populäre Barrieren und versteckte Drohungen im Prozess der Einführung innovativer Ideen in Schulen und ist auf der Suche nach potenziellen Mitteln zur Überwindung dieser Hindernisse. Wie ist die Lücke zwischen den Erziehungswissenschaften und der Schulpraxis zu überbrücken? Wie kann der Rückgang in der Qualität der Lehrerbildung verhindert werden? Welche Veränderungen in der Lehrerbildung sind notwendig, um eine Kultur der Nachforschung, des selbstgesteuerten Lernens zu schaffen und das Lernpotenzial der Lehrer und Schüler zu entwickeln? Kann eine innovative Lehrerausbildung die Antwort sein auf Bürokratie, Politisierung und gefälschte Reformen im polnischen Bildungssystem? Dies sind die wichtigsten Fragen, die in dieser Präsentation erörtert werden.*
Schlüsselwörter: pädagogische Innovationen, innovative Lehrer, Lehrerausbildung

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Introduction

In the last 20 years a substantial change has occurred in legal regulations and philosophy of education. Alternative pedagogical solutions are no longer treated like they used to be in the communist system as "suspicious and undesirable political activity", an eccentric whim which should be suppressed, curbed, or at least brought under strict bureaucratic control (i.e. "a bureaucratic murder" should be committed). After Poland joined the European Union, the legal changes forced by the process paved the way for teachers' innovative activities – educational innovations became a desirable phenomenon which was promoted and present in nearly all educational documents. As B. Śliwerski estimates, in the first period of pro-democratic opening (1989–1994) when the educational system was decentralized and initiative was handed over to teachers, over 4,000 innovative curricula and "authors' classes" based on creative educational concepts were developed in Poland (from: Dudel et al, 2014, p. 49). The quality of the changes varied considerably - there were both unconventional solutions which were groundbreaking for the Polish post-socialist pedagogy, and projects which were seemingly alternative, superficial, and quasi-innovative. However, their large number clearly indicates how strong was the desire for changes and search for solutions which would be alternative to the educational mainstream. Currently, after 25 years since the system was changed, the situation does not provide scope for much optimism. Polish schools are being increasingly criticized. On the one hand, they are treated as a tool for maintaining social cohesion, transmitting cultural heritage, and building national identity. On the other hand, they are criticized for ineffectiveness, inhibition or even blocking intellectual potential of students and teachers, for helplessness in the face of discipline problems and narrow didacticism. One of the outstanding Polish educationalists, Prof. D. Klus–Stańska makes the following diagnostic statement:

> The picture of school presented in numerous studies is overwhelming. The Polish school, paralyzed by pseudo-reforms, with teachers whose rights to professional independence have been deprived, is becoming increasingly subject to the dictates of the market and is no longer a supportive place for students. It forces conformism, impairs critical thinking abilities, kills curiosity about the world, limits the richness of peer relations. It turns education into a kind of struggle for survival. It does not meet the expectations even of those who accept the unfavorable atmosphere but believe it to be fully effective in teaching. On the contrary, Polish school teaches inefficiently. In international mathematical and natural science competence tests Polish third-form students did not do as well as their European peers (although the results of secondary school graders have improved in recent years). It happens that school hinders skills which were mastered outside an institution. The fact is proved by the studies in which students appear to be relatively the best at the tasks which have not yet been covered by school curriculum. They have a potential which school transforms into cognitive helplessness (in: Socha, 2014).

We are particularly behind on education for creativity and releasing the innovative potential of Polish society. Here are some harsh facts (Szmidt, 2013a, p. 15):

- "We rank fifth in Europe for innovation and number of patents; however, we are 5 places from the bottom in the ranking.

- There are only 71 patents per one million Poles (while there are 405 in France and as many as 650 in Germany).

- Only 0.6% of GNP is spent on research and development in Poland, whereas in Europe the average is 2.3%, and as much as 4.53% in Israel, 3.73% in Sweden, 2.62% in the USA

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- Psychological knowledge of creativity, creative processes, and innovativeness is underdeveloped in Poland. We lack research institutions which could deal with the issues in a systematic way and on a long-term basis, not only from one doctorate to another" [or because of a passing trend – the author's own comment].

At the same time, the term "innovations" itself, suffered a kind of erosion– it is misused and overused, stripped of its original meaning; it entered newspeak as a key word (or picklock?) which opened the door to modernity, progress, knowledge society, and common happiness. A bureaucratic order to innovate caused every change, improvisation or just a counterbalance for tradition to be perceived as "innovation", and a project of educational activities or scientific research in whose description that key-word was missing was doomed to failure in the system of grants, competitions, and struggle to obtain funds for educational institutions. The results are easy to predict– it became common practice to simulate innovativeness and build appearances; for example, one of the state universities in eastern Poland considered pre-work experience as innovative when collective lesson observations were organized - a group of 15-20 students was sitting at the back of the classroom, passively watching a teacher conducting a lesson. While commenting on this kind of "innovations" it is worthwhile recalling an ironic but very accurate remark made by M. Dudzikowa, who says that observing changes in Polish school reality, both in the area of educational reforms and innovations, brings inevitable associations with the di Lampedusa Principle

“If we want things to stay as they are, things will have to change. And, the secret of this principle is that it should not be preached too openly and should stick to the strategy of appearances” (2013, p. 71).

In this context, the question should be asked: what blocks creative potential of Polish teachers? What are the barriers and threats in the way to effective implementing educational innovations in Polish schools? And what changes in teacher training are necessary to create a culture of enquiry, self-regulated learning, building learning potential of both, teachers and students? These are the main questions addressed in the presentation.

Legal and cultural framework of educational innovations in Poland

The key legal document which defines the framework for innovative activities of Polish teachers is the Decree of Minister of National Education and Sport of 9 April 2002 on conditions for performing innovative and experimental actions by public schools and institutions (Journal of Laws No 56, item 506). The document outlines the nature and kinds of educational innovations and also determines procedures and conditions for implementing them in school practice. According to the decree, pedagogical innovations are considered to be all kinds of "innovative solutions in the area of curricula, organization or methodology of teaching aimed at improving the quality of school work" (§1, section 1). Innovative means: pioneer, non-standard, untraditional, breaking out of the routine or schematic actions, unusual, characterized by different quality than the solutions previously chosen in an institution. It should be noted that in the legal sense pedagogical innovations are different from pedagogical experiment which, apart from the fact that it introduces a qualitative change in school work i.e. is aimed at improving the efficiency of education, by modifying conditions or organization of classes or curriculum contents; in addition, it must be under constant substantive supervision of a scientific institution. At the same time, both innovations and pedagogical experiments must remain consistent with other legal acts regulating the functioning of school system in Poland, and particularly must not infringe on the students' right to free education, upbringing and care which was determined by the act of 7 September 1991 on the educational system and on the scope of obtaining knowledge and skills essential for graduating from a particular type of school as well as conditions and methods of

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conducting examinations and external tests.

Furthermore, the Decree of the Minister of Education specifies the procedure for implementing innovations into school practice (diagram 1). In accordance with § 4 of the decree, a resolution concerning introduction of an innovation is adopted by the teacher board of an institution, after the following requirements are met, i.e. it is necessary to obtain:

1) a permission from the teachers participating in an innovation program,

2) an opinion from the school board (or, if there is no such organ, from the teacher board – a meeting of all the teachers employed in an institution),

3) a written permission from the author or a team of authors of the innovation for implementing it in a school (in the case when the assumptions of the innovation were not published earlier).

Then, the documentation, together with a detailed description of theoretical assumptions and operational rules, is submitted to the superintendent of education and to the body managing the institution (local government). A full description of implementing the educational innovation process is presented in the diagram below.

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Idea of an innovative solution	
Developing the project of educational innovation – analysis of contents of the literature on the subject, consultations with other teachers and academic researchers, conducting preliminary research, assessing originality and novelty of the idea	*Preparing documents, obtaining a permission from the author /team of authors and other teachers participating in the project*
Consulting with school headmaster – presenting the project (aims, assumptions, planned stages), obtaining a permission stating that the school will ensure staff and organizational conditions for implementing the project	*If the project requires additional funding – obtaining a written permission of the managing body for obtaining financial support*
Submitting the innovative project to the teacher board in order to obtain a substantive opinion / assessment	
Adopting the teacher board's resolution on implementing the innovation	
Submitting the documentation at the School Superintendent's Office and to the body managing a school/ an institution at any time during the school year	
Implementing the project	
Preparing a report on implementing the innovation and sending it to the School Superintendent's Office	

Diagram 1: Procedure for implementing pedagogical innovations in Poland (based on: Dudel et al, 2014, p. 73)

Thus, the legal procedure seems rather complex and time consuming, however, it should also ensure proper substantive supervision of the project, eliminating, in due time, pseudo-initiatives or weak projects which are incompatible with the school mission or current legislation. On the other hand, the project documentation accompanying the procedure should be perceived as a tool for promoting the school in the local environment and, at the same time, prevent copyright infringement of the authors of previous innovations which could have inspired new ideas (Dudel et al, 2014).

Interestingly enough, it is not legal procedure that is perceived by teachers as a major obstacle to their creative initiative, but it is rather educational culture understood in the broad sense as a system of certain cultural models – stereotypes of thinking, acting and evaluating educational activities (Bruner, Olson, 1996). As B. Przyborowska rightly notes,

> education not only 'absorbs' and draws upon the culture prevailing in a society, but at the same time it also develops its own culture which includes specific taboos, the way of members' life, certain order and discipline. It reflects both standards and values of the formal system and also their interpretation carried out in the informal system (2013, p. 191).

Thus, on the one hand, school teaches and preserves the culture specific for a society; on the other hand it creates its own culture – a distinctive, unique system of institutional values and standards.

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And it is that unique "hidden" culture of an organization that determines and creates opportunities for performing the two basic functions of school, i.e. transmitting and innovating. Such educational culture of an institution:

> influences the whole strategy for creating and promoting pedagogical innovations. It determines the content of created innovations, the direction for the changes, the frequency of reforming activities. The influence of culture can be observed already at the stage of diagnosing problems, at which negative phenomena, requiring change, are assessed. Culture also determines the factors of pedagogical success, the criteria for success or failure of a teaching practice (Schulz, 1980, pp. 303-304).

The reception of innovative projects will depend on internal differentiation of that culture, on the level of its modernity and openness, on the ability to find a delicate balance between transmission (i.e. the effort to maintain the current status quo) and innovation (i.e. the ability to absorb changes, to internalize and accept them). As every institution has certain innovative absorbency (limited capability to transform), resistance to changes may occur at the intersection of the two functions – transmission and innovation. As Przyborowska (2013) notes, it is difficult to introduce a complex innovation, especially if it requires substantial changes of habits or perspective of perception and evaluating school reality, without taking into account the power of the existing culture, its ability to absorb innovation, regardless of the need to negotiate new meanings with all the participants in an innovation process. All of them, both teachers and students, and sometimes parents, will need support to accept the time of exploration and uncertainty, to go beyond comfortable and reliable conventions and to enter unknown territories. It is the cultural reluctance of institutions to accept the suggested changes that is a frequent reason for blocking innovative attitudes of teachers, especially in the Polish educational system which since 1999 has been struggling with a wave of unfinished or unsuccessful reforms, as well as with changes of governments and ministers of education "who ad hoc introduce improperly prepared innovations to schools, without research, without monitoring, just to abandon them quickly in an un-pedagogical way" (Przyborowska, 2013, p. 197). Furthermore, the politicization of the educational system, uncertainty about the future, insecurity and lack of professional stability additionally reinforce the attitudes of resistance or discouragement.

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In other words, even in the most modern democratic knowledge society "innovations cannot be decreed. Innovativeness emerges only in those areas in which adequate conditions have been created for it" (Dudel et al. 2014, p. 50), where there is social and cultural need for change.

Personal barriers to pedagogical innovations

The other group of variables inspiring or blocking educational innovations in the school practice are personal barriers – associated with the personality profile and competences of a teacher. Among these the most vividly discussed in the modern Polish pedagogical literature are: the lack of teachers' emancipatory competences and consequently their inability to resist the unrealistic requirements relating to their professional role imposed from outside, the lack of ability and habit to critically reflect on one's own professional practice, the lack of contact with scientific pedagogy and the resulting commonness and conceptual chaos accompanying pedagogical activities, and finally, the phenomenon of occupational burnout. The above provides a concise characteristics of these inhibitors and their mechanisms of action.

To define the meaning of personal variables it is essential to understand the fact that innovativeness constitutes one of the stages in a teacher's professional development process, the stage a teacher needs to grow up to, namely, he or she not only has to master some set of instrumental skills and test

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them in action, but also to build up his/her own interpretation of the school reality (the so-called personal educational theory) and the vision of his own professional role – his professional identity (Czerepaniak-Walczak, 1997). That is a complex, long-standing task, going far beyond the field of pedagogical studies – it requires not only some sort of "toughening" in the profession, testing oneself, "domesticating" one's own knowledge and skills, but also further questioning, restructuring and re-interpreting this knowledge. In addition, it requires an individual work on one's own self, deliberate effort to be put in self-structuring, self-education and auto-creation. All this is absolutely necessary for a teacher to be able to convert the formerly thoroughly learned, stereotypical norms and patterns of action and where necessary, to react flexibly and with adequate confidence and responsibility in-dispensable for the process of shaping young minds. As M. Buber rightly noted:

> the ability to intentionally convert the world and one's own self is based on...perceiving one-self not as someone who only reflects somebody else's light but as someone who is able to shine himself, create his own glow (in: Czerepaniak-Walczak 1997, p. 8).

The driving force, and an important tool in the process of settling oneself into the professional role of a teacher, is reflection – intentional and critical thinking about oneself, about the effectiveness of one's actions, about the essence and sources, genesis of one's own beliefs. Paraphrasing the thought of R. Kwaśnica it may be said that a teacher becomes an innovative person while practicing his pro-fession - "he becomes one as a result of his own struggle to understand and convert himself, thanks to his self-reflection and the resulting transformations of his personality" (2003, p. 314). No institu-tions can replace or relieve the teacher in achieving this, they can only give him assistance by creating adequately flexible, although still demanding, frameworks of action.

As pointed out by R.I. Arends, the essence of the teacher's professional development process is the transition from the conventional phase (adjusting to the existing norms and patterns of action) to the post-conventional phase ("creatively overstepping the bounds of the professional role"), based on the capability to replace the social requirements of the role with individual personal identity (1995, pp. 49-50). The highest levels of professionalism are therefore reached by those teachers who, while performing their professional role, are able to go beyond the two types of rationality - instrumental and practical (Kwaśnica, 2003). The first one connotes the teachers' focus on finding the answer to the question: "what to do and how to do it?", and thus, on an "artisanal" implementation of available rules and policies of educational actions to skillfully achieve the intended standardized results. In the case of practical rationality the teacher's efforts are supplemented with additional attempts aiming at finding the answer to the vital question "why?", which provokes understanding of the actual mean-ing of the actions taken within the existing norms and standards and giving them a clearly defined sense, that is, proper interpretation and substantiation (Czerepaniak-Walczak, 1997, pp. 6-7). In both cases we are dealing with the issue of understanding the teacher's professional qualifications as con-centrated on mastering the ability to implement the commonly accepted rules (either with a rea-soned substantiation or without it) shaped in the effect of participation in various social events and situations governed by some specific patterns of action, as well as the rules of their interpretation (ibid). However, to achieve full professionalism in teacher's profession it is necessary to go beyond the above mentioned types of rationality and to achieve its particular type which constitutes the per-sonal teacher's identity, and which "does not warrant anything but expresses itself in a continual exploration, critical evaluation, as well as in responsible and bold verification of particular elements of one's own activities" (ibid, p. 32). A teacher's professional development is consistently heading in the direction of emancipatory rationality (Kwaśnica 2003). Finding the way to this type of rationality is inseparably linked to bold efforts to break free from restrictions and to go beyond the traditional models of professional behaviors. The so understood independence is a peculiar sort of "enlighten-ment" as a result of which

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professional knowledge is perceived as temporary and relative, not assuring but giving a possibility to justify one's own mental perspective. Thanks to this, professional practice is expressed in continuously going beyond the proven, firmly established regulations and algorithms, beyond the personal experience gathered so far and beyond the commonly accepted models (Czerepaniak-Walczak, 1997, p.137).

Lack of teachers' emancipatory competencies is highlighted by many researchers as the main barrier hampering the introduction of educational innovations. Research shows that Polish teachers do not lack creative potential (understood as the ability to detect problems or to trigger divergent thinking). But they lack such features as: "autonomy, independence, nonconformity, reflective thinking, the ability to give constructive criticism and feedback in an existing situation, team work skills, willingness to fight against mediocrity, crumminess and routine" (Dudel et al, 2014, p. 17). They lack the ability to engage in so-called transformative resistance considered to be a source of motivation to perform innovative actions – "transformative resistance is a transgressive (auto-creative) action the aim of which is to go beyond what an individual is and what he possesses. It is a property and the ability to create a new quality through overcoming difficulties unassisted" (Adamek, 2013, p. 29). Contemporary, variable and unpredictable reality - Baumann's "liquid post-modernity" (2012) - requires a teacher to possess "the critical knowledge giving him the right to resist the schemes and stereotypes, the imposed roles and justifications of the status quo" (Adamek, 2013, p. 8). In such reality a teacher is no longer, as he can no longer be, "a man of answers" – he must convert himself into "a man of questions", a researcher becoming aware of defeasibility and uncertainty of knowledge, and overthrowing the existing school reality in search of another - a qualitatively new reality, tailored to students' needs and capabilities (ibid, p. 30).

As proposed by I. Czaja-Chudyba, in this particular context, we should rather talk about teachers' critical/creative competencies (2013, p. 183), thereby appreciating the value of those two fundamentally different, but inevitably interrelated, poles of creative interaction: the first one - generating ideas (regulated by creative skills) and the second - appraising those ideas, implying a critical evaluation, testing their social adequacy and applicability, searching for workable solutions and possible application of those solutions in the school practice (that is, the factors constituting the rudiments of innovativeness). The lack of the critical component may cause innovativeness to remain only a dead letter to be found among educational documents. On the other hand, it should be noted that criticism does not always carry an embryo or a promise of innovativeness. Research shows that negative, destructive criticism, sometimes referred to as hypercriticism or negativism, may effectively block creative processes (Szmidt 2013a). Creativity is encouraged rather by critical thinking, defined as evaluative and constructive reasoning, launched at the stage of verification of creative ideas, selection of the relevant solution from numerous possibilities. In other words, it is not the criticism itself that is the source of innovations in pedagogical work but rather "the attitude of constructive skepticism" giving way to pose questions, to question the reality and to reinterpret one's own knowledge, being thus a very peculiar "approach to the world expressed in mindfulness, reflective thinking, open and constructive skepticism, perceptiveness and neutrality in information analysis" (Czaja-Chudyba, 2013, p. 184). Such constructive criticism helps to make a distinction between real and superficial creativity, and its elimination from the processes of one's own thinking exposes us to trivial, inaccurate and worthless creations (Czaja-Chudyba, 2013, p. 180).

Another factor that blocks the innovative potential of Polish teachers is the dissonance, developing in the course of professional career, between the findings of the latest psychological research and the teachers' personal knowledge (Klus-Stańska 2010). As J. S. Bruner (1996) rightly states, educational practice is inevitably based on teachers' notions about the nature of the learner's mind. These commonsense concepts and hidden presumptions do not only help teachers to explain children's mental

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activity, the process of acquiring and structuring knowledge, the reasons of classroom behaviors, etc. They also determine the choice of particular methods and strategies of educational interaction, even if the performers themselves - that is the teachers - do not realize their overwhelming influence on a type of pedagogy they are practicing. This private, "naive" psychology constitutes a natural and immanent element of any classroom culture, even though it is only rarely verbalized, stated directly and openly.

Such a personal pedagogical theory constitutes some sort of "handy knowledge" (Stemplewska-Żakowicz 1996) which is naturally and automatically activated during learning processes, both in and outside school, and although it is not always realized by the teacher himself, is inevitably influencing the course and the results of constructing one's own knowledge. However, its "naïve" and commonsensical character hides some threats, the most important of which is the fact that personal pedagogy, brought by a student to his or her pedagogical studies as foreknowledge, becomes a specific interpretative filter for newly acquired scientific knowledge.

> The more personal knowledge departs from the scientific knowledge, the more the scientific knowledge is perceived as unrealistic and not very useful to be applied in practice. Leaving this fact to the natural course of events results in the division of the knowledge into two, isolated from each other, categories which are formed in the student's cognitive structures. Those two categories of knowledge are: the scientific knowledge which needs to be acquired to be demonstrated, in the case of which it is not proper not to have it when being a teacher, and the practical, personal knowledge, which proves useful in specific situations in a school classroom (Dudzikowa, 2015).

Such a dualism makes it difficult, if not impossible, for the scientific thought to permeate the teacher's practice which often leads to the trivialization of educative actions and causes them to become intuitive, with the simultaneous helplessness or rather inertness of theoretical knowledge, which is referred to by D. Gołębniak as "inability to go beyond one's own definitions" (ref. to in: Klus-Stańska, 2010, p. 72). D. Klus-Stańska adds:

> The inertness of those definitions, their focus on the local everyday life and their dependence on specific teacher's working conditions may lead to an anti-developmental stabilization of the system of not only the teacher's knowledge but also of the reality created by the teacher with the use of such knowledge in the classroom. This type of stabilization stands not so much for traditionalism (although it may in fact consist in leaning towards it) but for creative inefficiency when a teacher is in two minds about a hazy need for change and a semantic closure of his own ideas (2010, p. 72).

In this sense the key to releasing the teacher's innovative potential is "to realize his own hidden presumptions, tacit premises and reasons creating the deep structure of human experience" (Kwaśnica, 2003, p. 318), or as stated by J.S. Bruner "to deconstruct and reinterpret" those areas of the personal educational theory, which even though hidden, "silently" shape our proceedings in a classroom (2006, p. 77).

Teachers' personal theories deserve more attention, as they became an inspiration for interesting reformatory initiatives in the field of teacher training in Poland. Although these initiatives are still scattered and locally implemented (realized by one researcher or a group of researchers within a particular institution), they gradually form a characteristic, although diversified, area of searching for improvement of the effectiveness of teacher training. The author's own research used as a form of pilot studies for preparing improvements in curricula for training elementary education teachers

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during postgraduate studies at Marie Curie-Sklodowska University in Lublin can serve as an example (Zdybel, 2009).

Revealing lay concepts in teachers' personal epistemology – research study

Design and methodology

The aim of the study was to reveal lay concepts and hidden assumptions in teachers' conception of mind: what is the concept of child's mind underlying teachers' personal theories? What qualities and characteristics are the most important in that concept? And what areas of teachers' assumptions might be potentially dangerous for educational practice?

The teachers were asked to complete a sentence "A child's mind is like ………. because ……..." in three different ways. The statement formulated in this way takes the form of a metaphorical analogy, where a child's mind is an object (i.e. the compared element), while a carrier medium (the comparing element) should be selected in the way it corresponds to the prescriptive object, reflecting its complexity and nature to the fullest possible extent. The specific character of the object which provided ground for the analogy caused the statements to take a metaphorical form (Haman, 1993). A metaphor as a tool for eliciting hidden beliefs of the teachers, influencing their personal educational theory, was deliberately chosen as it is a typical human tool for partial understanding or just getting familiar with the things which cannot be fully understood or explained, including abstract phenomena, emotional or esthetic experience, moral dilemmas, etc. In this sense the representatives of cognitive linguistics argue that metaphors are deeply rooted in our experience "organizing and mirroring the way in which we understand different kinds of phenomena, which is reflected in a systematic and coherent way in language structures" (Lakoff, Johnson, 1998, p. 8). The linguistic form is more or less motivated by our sensory experiences, becoming their outcome and generalization. However, it is never a direct reflection of sensory experiences, it rather results from their mental processing and interpretation.

Thus, constructing metaphors is a symbolization process, requiring a particular mental effort of an individual. At the same time, that kind of focus on seeking unusual but pertinent associations weakens logical control of a statement and causes that an individual is no longer careful about "political correctness", revealing such elements of their beliefs which would never be pronounced directly. The metaphorical perspective in research is then based on an assumption that the choice of particular words "is not accidental, and represents more than the surface meaning of the concepts" (Inbar 1996, p.78). It represents "the deep structure of language" (ibid), serving as a link between different layers of human knowledge: the explicit one, available to critical reflection, and the tacit one - not readily accessible, difficult to verbalize, hidden in deep structures of mind. As a result, metaphors do not only reflect the reality experienced by an individual, but they also help to establish it – the notions offered by metaphors, on the one hand, give a mirror reflection of human views on what the world is (and what it is like), on the other hand, they influence individual behavior in relation to the world, shaping it in the way consistent with the adopted vision.

46 postgraduate students of integrated education in forms I-III participated in the study. All of them were actively employed primary school teachers; as far as their background is concerned - 62.5% of them came from towns and cities whereas 37.5% came from rural areas. Nearly 75% of the group were graduates with the MA degree in pedagogy or special education. Another 16.7% were graduates in the humanities, for example Polish philology, family studies, theology, etc. Only four students had

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a degree in mathematics or natural science and they also had the longest professional experience. The largest group of the tested individuals, 35%, included teachers with employment history of 4-15 years. The groups of teachers starting their professional career or having the most experience were of almost equal size (respectively 31.3% and 33.3% of the total number of participants).

Research results

A total of 138 metaphors were collected, of which 11– 8% were considered inappropriate, vague or unable to capture the essence of the subject. Other metaphors were categorized and some common features or assumptions were distinguished. The largest group of metaphors (47.1%) was based on the perception of a child's mind as a kind of a container. Here are some examples of such statements:

- "A child's mind is like a sponge, it readily absorbs all kinds of information, whether it is useful or not, it "takes in everything that a child observes, what he experiences, all those factors influence its life in the future" (27,5%);
- "A child's mind is like a blank sheet of paper (tabula rasa) because it can be filled in a thousand of different ways" (14 statements) or "like a board which should be written on in a thoughtful and organized way" (2 people);
- "A child's mind is like a CD on which all things surrounding a child can be recorded. If an error occurs, it is difficult to erase" (1 person);
- "A child's mind is like a sieve because a lot is put into it but there is not much left, frequently it is not what should remain" (1 person).

It is worth noting that the metaphor of a container proved to be relatively unsophisticated and limited. Although a container can have various forms, shapes and sizes (a board, a sheet of paper, a box, a supermarket, etc.), the mind as a container is passive, has no influence on what is put into it, has no ability to assess or select its content, unable to change this content independently. It does not produce anything, it only receives – it is filled with knowledge and information, created by the others.

Passiveness and dependence on the adults as well as tenderness and fragility of a child's mind, also susceptibility to injuries, are stressed by another group of comments, comparing a child's mind to a plant (a tree, a flower) – the associations of that kind accounted for over 10% of the statements, for example: "A child's mind is tender like a flower, it must be properly nurtured to develop and grow"; "A child's mind is like a field where nothing will grow without proper fertilization", "A child's mind is like a seed which can give rise to either a beautiful flower or a weed". The plant metaphor seems to be much richer as it brings in an aspect which no container will have – it has energy for growth, constant development, flowering and bearing fruit, e.g.: "a child's mind is like a forest with diverse vegetation which continually grows, thickens and gradually takes shape".

A relatively large body of the statements described the mind as a machine (13 persons), which accounted for 9.4% of the suggested metaphors; the teachers made the following statements comparing a child's mind to:

- "a modern computer containing a small number of data. It does not know much, but can quickly learn a lot of things", however as some teachers stressed "suitable tools for processing information must be provided" (7 persons);
- "a satellite dish which attracts and focuses different waves moving towards it, then it processes them and emits a feedback signal" (1 person);
- "a microscope which wants to examine everything carefully and notices the smallest details" (1 person).

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As Lakoff and Johnson rightly note, the machine metaphor offers a richness of meanings and manifold interpretation possibilities – "it gives us the idea of the mind as something that can be turned on and off, has a certain level of efficiency, production capacity, an internal mechanism, a source of energy, and conditions which are most favorable for its functioning" (1988, p. 51). However, in the teachers' statements the semantic potential of the metaphor underwent a significant reduction – three basic properties were stressed: a) ability to process information,   b) constant movement, uninterrupted functioning, and c) unexplored, complex, multilayered and complicated structure, which is also mysterious and difficult to describe.

Another group of metaphor offered an image of the mind as a material (substance) with unusual properties – 11 individuals (8%) stated that a child's mind is like:

- "wax on which it is easy to leave marks using words and actions of the adults", "plasticine which may be easily formed" (7 statements);
- "rubber – flexible, extensible, without rigid patterns" (1 person);
- "stone – negative experience is imprinted on it forever and it may always have profound impact on further decisions" (1 person);
- "building material– a professional who handles it determines the final result: one specialist will use it to construct a beautiful building, while another will build an uninteresting small house, in a constant need of repair" (1 person).

Apparently, the substance is supple and flexible, it is also easy to mold. Only in one case flexibility means lack of rigidity and standard thinking.

To sum up, the concept of a child's mind included in the teachers' statements is characterized by a set of certain features: it seems to be mainly passive and waiting, dependent on external conditions and environmental influences. Supple but tender, prone to retain negative stimuli, vulnerable to damage and injuries which are difficult to eliminate in future life. It can be mysterious and inscrutable at times, full of surprises. It is always endowed with everlasting energy for growth, with a tendency for development and self-improvement. What is missing in these teachers' concepts of a child's mind? There is a noticeable lack of such features as: cognitive curiosity, active search for knowledge, inventiveness, and creativity. That is a serious gap, both worrying and startling. It seems that the features of a child, which according to contemporary cognitive psychology are considered as crucial and which are the core of the learning process and the main engine of development, have been eradicated from the private psychology of mind used by teachers participating in the study. Most of the contemporary theories of development regard a child as an active creator of his own knowledge, as an experimenter and a researcher actively searching for knowledge about the world, trying to understand the surrounding environment, striving to explain it, asking questions, formulating hypotheses and, on that basis, constructing his own representation of reality which in turn is used as a ground for interpreting further experience. If one looks at the teachers' statements collected in this study from the perspective of personal epistemology, they primarily give a mirror reflection of teachers' beliefs – their hidden views and assumptions. On the other hand however, they also constitute the school reality in which a child's mind becomes incapacitated and reduced to the role of "an object of educational impact", subjected to careful processing. In such reality, teachers" main concern of is to avoid causing damage or injury, but to mold the child's mind according to the standardized patterns, to fit it into the proper framework, to shape this mind in a desired way, and imprint on it the teacher's marks like in modeling clay. Will it be enough to create the classroom environment which is favorable for "a meeting of two independent minds", as J. S. Bruner postulated? It is hard to resist the impression that collected metaphors represent rather… deficits in teachers' knowledge, lack of precise scientific information concerning the child's mind and its working in educational settings (Kiklewicz,

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2006, p. 248).

Personal epistemology as an area of teacher training – trends and prospects

A growing gap between scientific psychological research results and teachers' personal knowledge has been observed in many studies. D. Klus-Stańska (2008) claims that Polish students have creative achievements not thanks to school, but despite of what school has done to them – conceptual chaos and superficiality of teachers' knowledge, behavioral didactic based on transmission of knowledge create the space of anti-education rather than for effective development of child's learning potential (Klus-Stańska, 2014). K.J. Szmidt noticed that Polish teachers are strongly oriented on "pedagogy of deficiency" (2013b, p.13), perceiving mainly negative phenomena in classroom life – as a result they focus their attention on dysfunctions, developmental disorders or diseases rather than on positive potentials for development, creative strengths of a child. M. Szczepska-Pustkowska (2011, p. 362) stresses that such negative, doubting attitude toward children's creative forces activates a particular "methodological vicious circle": the teacher who does not believe in a child's potential in a particular area (e.g. potential to philosophical thinking), does not create the educational possibilities/ environment to reveal this potential. And because he does not create proper environment, he has no possibility to observe and experience these behaviors in action. The fact that he has never had the possibility to observe them in his classroom, makes his convictions even more confirmed and strengthen. The vicious circle works particularly well for these areas of children's thinking which are barely present in traditionally oriented curricula, e.g. philosophical thinking or political knowledge.

The common ground in such discussions is a strong conviction that teacher training in Poland has been deprived of critical reflection on one's own knowledge – epistemological reflection, which would offer a training not only in posing the questions on educational practice (its rationale and effectiveness), but also in making ontological enquires – questioning the essence of one's own knowledge, on the course and rationality of one's own thinking (Klus-Stańska 2010; Dylak 2013; Uszyńska-Jarmoc 2014). Such epistemological reflection constitutes a vital area of metacognitive awareness (King, Kitchener, 2004), and according to B. Hofer includes two intertwined areas of beliefs (2004, p. 46): a) beliefs about the nature of knowledge, its certainty and simplicity: What is knowledge? How is it organized? And b) beliefs about the nature of knowing, its sources and justification: What are the sources of my knowledge? How do I judge it to be credible? Can my knowledge be confirmed by scientific evidence? Can I reconcile theory and evidence?

Inspired by such observation Polish researchers are searching for possibilities to improve teacher training (on both, pre-service and in-service levels) to include epistemological reflection as an instrument of deconstructing one's own tacit theories. Two main directions or lines of enquiry can be observed in this search. First one, based on a psychology of constructivism (Bruner 1996) is focused on a direct training of teachers' metacognitive abilities, e.g. providing tools to learn "how to learn", to build one's own learning potential (Uszyńska-Jarmoc 2014; Zdybel et al, 2011; Bednarczuk et al, 2011).

Second direction, more general, inspired by a psychology of creativeness is focused on "education for wisdom" (Szmidt, 2013b; Białecka-Pikul, 2012; Pietrasiński, 2001; Nosal, 2002; Płóciennik, 2013). Wisdom is a concept highly difficult to define or scientifically operationalize – vague and multidimensional concept, almost absent in pedagogical discourse. However in postmodern society, overwhelmed by redundancy of information, which are almost impossible to be processed by human mind, in society where the ability to study has been substituted by the skills of surfing (or rather

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drifting along the surface of information, in Bauman's words), wisdom becomes increasingly desirable virtue. It provides the criteria to estimate incoming information, introduces logic, discretion, mindfulness, and moderation to human decisions and actions. Some even claim that "education for wisdom" should be perceived as an alternative to "education for knowledge" (Płóciennik, 2013). According to the Polish psychologist Z. Pietrasiński (2001), wisdom is a highest level of cognitive culture, a kind of "methodology of knowing" - "a type of cognition organized to avoid tendency, to search for sufficient justification, to appreciate multidimensionality, to consider the difference between knowledge and ignorance (…) Wisdom does not guarantee anything, but as a superstructure over the mind provides the coding programme to knowing" (in: Szmidt, 2013b, p. 32). For R. Sternberg (2009), wisdom is a sagacity – an integration of metacognitive thinking style and reflective knowledge based on life experience. The important components of such sagacity are (Szmidt, 2013b, pp. 33-34): meta-knowledge (an insightful understanding of one's own assumptions, the meaning and constrains of personal knowledge), understanding and resistance to an automated, stereotyped thinking, reflective judgment and a high tolerance to ambiguity, openness to different interpretations. Paraphrasing the words of K.J. Szmidt, it might be said that to educate a wise teacher we need to teach him to distance himself from problems, to tolerate ambiguity, to analyze stereotypes in thinking and acting, to question one's own hidden assumptions and cognitive constrains – "we need to awaken and support his metacognitive attitude, his reflective epistemological awareness of personal knowledge, and of methods useful in deepening and enriching this knowledge " (ibid, p. 34). In such terms, teachers' education for wisdom should establish the way to self-formation, awaken the need of self-knowledge, the desire to preserve personal integrity and identity, the pursuit to define oneself. Unfortunately, such "didactic of wisdom" is still in the course of arising.

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Kas Mazurek & Margaret Winzer (Canada)

Intersections of Education for All and the Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities: Explaining the Conflicting International Cadences of Inclusive Schooling

Summary: *Education for All (EFA) was encapsulated in a series of UN summits and conventions throughout the 1990s. In 2000, governments around the world adopted the Dakar Framework that addressed education for both development and the eradication of poverty. In 2006, changes in the global landscape for those with disabilities emerged with the Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (CRPD). Although the cadences differ, both the CRPD and EFA clearly identify inclusive education as one of the key strategies to address issues of marginalization and exclusion. Yet only 2 to 3 percent of those with disabilities go to school and, in the vast majority of education systems around the world, inclusive schooling remains extremely limited, if not non-existent.*

This paper centers on the CRPD embedded within the universal policy frameworks of Education for All. It explicitly draws attention to contradictions between the universal EFA and the disability-centric CRPD by assessing aspects such as hard-to-reach children, the invisibility of disabled persons on UNESCO's statistical maps and in development agendas, and increasing segregation. We conclude that although progress of the CRPD is intimately connected to broad global education governance, the treaty is limited in maintaining an effective, proactive position within policy systems where it has constricted formal authority and financing.

Keywords: *Education for All, Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities, international educational governance, inclusive schooling, marginalization, disability.*

Резюме *(Каз Мазурек & Маргрет Винзер: Точки пересечения Закона об общем образовании и Конвенция о правах людей с ограниченными возможностями: разъяснение противоречивых международных позиций в отношении инклюзивной школы): Закон об общем образовании упоминался на конференциях на высшем уровне и съездах, проводимых ООН в 1990-е годы. В 2000 году правительства стран по всему миру приняли Дакарские "Рамки мировых действий в области просвещения", направленные как на развитие образования, так и на ликвидацию бедности. В 2006 году изменения в мировом ландшафте оказали влияние на положение людей с ограниченными возможностями – это стало возможным после принятия Конвенции о правах людей с ограниченными возможностями. Несмотря различные позиции, как Конвенция о правах людей с ограниченными возможностями, так и Закон об общем образовании считают инклюзивное образование одним из важнейших критериев при решении вопросов о маргинализации и социальной изоляции. На сегодняшний день всего 2-3 процента детей с ограниченными возможностями посещают школу, и в преобладающем большинстве образовательных систем по всему миру инклюзивное образование остается крайне ограниченным, если оно вообще существует. Авторы данной статьи концентрируют внимание на Конвенции о правах людей с ограниченными возможностями, являющейся частью универсальных политических рамочных условий Закона об общем образовании. В данной статье авторы открыто рассматривают противоречия между универсальным общем образованием и образованием людей с ограниченными возможностями. В статье рассматриваются такие аспекты, как труднодоступные дети, факт неупоминания людей с ограниченными возможностями в статистических данных ЮНЕСКО, обязательства по развитию и возрастающая сегрегация. Однако в контексте глобальной системы управления образованием необходимо констатировать прогрессивные шаги по отношению к людям с ограниченными возможностями, хотя утверждение эффективных, проактивных позиций доклада ограничено и сжато политическими системами и их формальной авторитарностью и финансовой политикой.*

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Ключевые слова: общее образование, Конвенция о правах людей с ограниченными возможностями, международная система управления образованием, инклюзивное образование, маргинализация, инвалидность

Zusammenfassung (Kas Mazurek & Margaret Winzer: Schnittpunkte der Bildung für alle und das Übereinkommen über die Rechte von Menschen mit Behinderungen: Erörterung widerstreitender internationaler Haltungen zur inklusiven Schule): Bildung für alle (EFA) wurde in einer Reihe von UN-Gipfeln und Tagungen in den 1990er Jahren unter anderem mit genannt. Im Jahr 2000 verabschiedeten die Regierungen auf der ganzen Welt das Dakar Framework, das sowohl auf die Entwicklung der Bildung als auch auf die Beseitigung der Armut gerichtet war. Im Jahr 2006 hatten Veränderungen in der globalen Landschaft auch Auswirkungen auf Menschen mit Behinderungen – mit dem Übereinkommen über die Rechte von Menschen mit Behinderungen (CRPD). Obwohl sich ihre Positionen unterscheiden, identifizieren sowohl CRPD als auch EFA die inklusive Bildung als eine der wichtigsten Strategien, um Fragen der Marginalisierung und Ausgrenzung anzugehen. Allerdings gehen nur 2 bis 3 Prozent der Menschen mit Behinderungen in die Schule, und in der überwiegenden Mehrheit der Bildungssysteme auf der ganzen Welt, bleibt die inklusive Bildung äußerst begrenzt bis nicht existent.
Dieser Beitrag konzentriert sich auf die Behindertenrechtskonvention, eingebettet in die universalen politischen Rahmenbedingungen von Bildung für alle. Er richtet die Aufmerksamkeit explizit auf Widersprüche zwischen der universalen EFA und der behinderungszentrierten CRPD. Betrachtet werden Aspekte wie z.B. schwer zu erreichende Kinder, die Nichterwähnung von Menschen mit Behinderungen in UNESCO-statistischen Daten, Entwicklungsagenden und die zunehmende Segregation. Zu konstatieren sind zwar Fortschritte der CRPD im Kontext eines globalen Bildungsmanagements, aber die Durchsetzung effektiver, proaktiver Positionen des Vertrages wird begrenzt und eingeschnürt durch politische Systeme und deren formale Autorität und Finanzierungpolitik.
Schlüsselwörter: Bildung für alle, Übereinkommen über die Rechte von Menschen mit Behinderungen, internationales Bildungsmanagement, inklusive Bildung, Marginalisierung, Behinderung

Introduction

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Much of our recent research joins the fields of special education and comparative education to examine various aspects of inclusive schooling for students with disabilities. We have devoted a considerable amount of space to the *Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities* (CRPD, UN, 2006) and its impact- or hoped-for impact- on persons with disabilities and their schooling, particularly in developing nations (Winzer & Mazurek, 2014; 2015a, b).

Disability and its attendant education principles and practices are often considered to be specialty fields; scholarly commentary is primarily from the field of special education. In contrast to this view, we believe that inclusive schooling for students with disabilities should be deeply entrenched in the international discourse on educational opportunity and inequality. Disability deserves a central place in discussions about social and education reform, if only because of the numbers. Global estimates place from 650 million to one billion people in the disabled category, making it the world's largest minority (UN, 2011). Levels of impairment appear highest in low-income countries, where disability is associated with multidimensional poverty (Winzer & Mazurek, 2015b). More than 80 percent of people with disabilities live in low-income nations; of the 93 to 150 million disabled children under 14 years of age, 85 percent are found in the South (UN 2011; UNESCO 2013-14).

Obviously, issues related to disability and inclusive schooling are multiple, diverse, and complex. In this paper, we reflect on disability-related education approaches of the United Nations as implicitly contained in Education for All (EFA) and explicitly detailed in the CRPD. Although EFA and the CRPD are ideologically in the same tradition, each espouses a different set of parameters to guide inclusive schooling. The respective directions and cadences connote subtle but real differences that underlie the "perceived failures to date of the EFA" for students with disabilities (UNICEF, 2012, p. 8).

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Inclusive schooling is the fulcrum of our arguments, so it makes sense to begin with an outline of what inclusive schooling actually is, and then place the definitions within the disability-specific legislation embodied by the CRPD and located as part of the wider EFA. The hub of the paper centers on the fundamental incompatibility that exists between the two commitments in terms of in policy making, funding mechanisms, the population to be served, and the implementation process.

Two caveats are in order. First, length and time constraints mean that we must overlook vital pledges such as the Millennium Development Goals and skim over or ignore critical dimensions such as UNESCO's responsibility, external aid, and donor agencies. (A full discussion is found in Winzer & Mazurek, 2015c). Second, as the CRPD is recent, few countries yet have the capacity needed to ensure full implementation of the treaty, limited information is available on planning and provision, and there is an absence of reliable and consistent data on the outcomes in developing nations (see UN, 2013b, 2013c). Current data is therefore best seen as flows of change rather than a set of informed conclusions or clear, unambiguous trends.

Defining inclusive schooling within international governance

The generic term, inclusion, is broad and generally seen as a philosophy that aims to maximize the participation of all in society and education by minimizing exclusionary and discriminatory practices (Booth, 2005). Inclusive schooling is more difficult. A single, universal, or generally accepted version simply does not exist; both ideologically and operationally inclusive schooling is contested and passed off in many guises (Slee, 2014, p. 217). Because its interpretation is the product of a particular way of thinking, multiple epistemological and philosophical ravines divide advocates.

The burning question germane to this paper is how to frame theoretically the population for inclusive education. One school of thought views the debate about the rights of the disabled as being intimately connected to a larger debate about the place of difference in society. Inclusive education is therefore an approach that sets out to transform education systems and other learning environments in order to address and respond to the diversity of all learners. The central issue for a secondary school is how to accommodate one particular kind of diversity, that is, students who have differences that substantially change the way they learn, respond, or behave. The latter perspective seeks to establish disability as a centerpiece in policy making, arguing that a narrow focus will facilitate stronger advocacy at national and international levels for a traditionally marginalized group.

This semantic debate is significant and consequential; how inclusive schooling is defined is important. Definitions both locate the action required to address the processes associated with it and bracket those with disabilities within different paradigms. The current lack of consensus on definitions among global organizations exacerbates difficulties surrounding reform initiatives, and is the essence of the different cadences that we identify within EFA and the CRPD.

Education for All

The idea of universal education first emerged during the formation of UNESCO in 1945. Education for All (EFA) was formally delineated in 1990 (UNESCO, 1990) and reaffirmed in 2000 with the creation of the Dakar Framework for Action. Education for All was the global agenda tasked with achieving Dakar's six-goal time-bound education framework (UNESCO, 2000). Broadly, the Dakar goals established a unifying set of development objectives for the global community. They sought to end the cycle of exclusion from education associated with chronic poverty and endow the world's poorest and most vulnerable people the social and economic benefits of schooling.

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The logic of EFA matches the conception of inclusive schooling as universal entitlement to accommodate diversity and stresses that education should take place in environments that are inclusive of all learners. Inclusive schooling is "a process of addressing and responding to the diversity of needs of all learners," defined as the "presence, participation, and achievement" of all young people in mainstream settings (UNESCO, 2005, p. 15). It seeks to increase the participation of all students with unmet learning needs including girls, children from ethnic minorities, those from poor and remote communities, as well as students with disabilities (Giffard-Lindsay, 2007).

Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities

The Dakar Framework represented a purposeful and deliberate set of activities on the global front to direct the EFA agenda. However, at its roots, EFA is a moral commitment from the international community that lacks legal effect. On the other hand, the Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (UN, 2006) is a holistic UN human rights treaty that, in theory at least, represents binding legislation on nations that ratify it. The treaty, along with its Optional Protocol, was adopted by consensus by the General Assembly of the United Nations on December 13, 2006. It opened for signatures on March 30, 2007, and entered into force on May 3, 2008 after receiving the twentieth ratification. As of June 2013, 132 nations had ratified the treaty. Notably, although the United States signed in 2009, it will not ratify the Convention (Lynch, 2014).

The CRPD is first and foremost meant for people with disabilities (Rieser, 2012; Winzer & Mazurek, 2014). The Preamble, 50 Articles, and 18-Article Optional Protocol legitimize the exclusive concerns and restrict the scope to the specific rights of those with disabilities. Article 24 codifies a core set of education obligations for the provision of equal access to schooling. Ratifying nations agree to "ensure an inclusive education system at all levels" so that "persons with disabilities are not excluded from the general education system on the basis of disability" (Article 24).

Untangling the CRPD and EFA scripts

Goal 2 of the Dakar Framework set out to ensure that "by 2015 all children, particularly girls, children in difficult circumstances, and those belonging to ethnic minorities, have access to complete free and compulsory education of good quality" (UNESCO, 2000). Though theoretically inclusive of all learners and explicitly pro-poor, the Dakar goals overlooked the links between disability, poverty, and social and educational exclusion; issues surrounding disability were not articulated, much less accounted for (Inclusion International, 2009). It was only in 2002 that annual EFA meetings included disability organizations for the first time and singled out disability as a specific target for action (Lawrence, 2004). Addressing disablity within EFA was then flagged as a key development issue and as a global EFA initiative (UNESCO, 2003; World Bank, 2002).

The main arguments held that the Dakar targets would not be achieved without the inclusion of those with disabilities in education. Complementary assumptions held that national progress in education would eventually trickle down to the most disadvantaged (UNESCO, 2010) while the 2002 Flagship and the CRPD would fill gaps and secure rights for children and youth with disabilities. Today, these promises are unkept and it appears that the assumptions are flawed. Accumulated data from EFA Global Monitoring Reports together with reviews by OECD (2007) and UNICEF (2005) do little to credit the effectiveness of global commitments to universal primary education in securing access for students with disabilities.

True, Annual EFA Global Monitoring Reports document marked successes on criteria related to par-

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ticipation. For example, since 1999 the numbers of out-of-school children have fallen from 108 million to 57 million (UNESCO, 2012). Still, developments, by and large, fall short of what was envisaged: not a single Dakar goal was achieved globally by 2015. And, most importantly for the subject of this paper, programs have failed to reach marginalized and vulnerable groups. Together with child labor and ill health, UNESCO (2010) identifies disability as a major barrier to achieving the goal of universal primary education.

Of those still out of school, it is estimated that one third have disabilities (Barriga, 2012; Miles & Signal, 2009). While data are too speculative, dated, and unreliable to pinpoint prevalence rates (UNICEF, 2015), researchers note it that one in ten children in developing nations has an educational special need (Dawson, Hollins, Mukongolwa, & Witchalls, 2003). Only about 2 percent of disabled children receive education, worldwide (Coulby & Zambeta, 2005; World Bank, 2009). Put another way, 90 percent of children and youth with disabilities are not attending school in developing nations (UN, 2011). Additionally, girls have even less access than boys.

Bernard (2001) described "an intricate web of education-related factors that play out in a process of being and becoming excluded" (p. 4). These include social stigmatization, negative public attitudes, and prevalent views that some children are uneducable. There is a persistent lack of public support for inclusive schooling; disabled students are seen as an additional burden: a drain on meager resources in overcrowded and under-resourced schools, and under-producers and academic liabilities (Winzer & Mazurek, 2015a). Continued and pervasive exclusion for children and youth with disabilities also rests on and feeds into contrary expectations and two all-too-often distinct conversations about 'all' and 'inclusive education' created by EFA and the CRPD. Below we outline some, but certainly not all, of the intimately connected, overlapping, and tangled dimensions.

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- Disability tends to fall off the statistical map. Disability data are particularly weak in low-income nations (Eide & Loeb, 2005; Peters, 2008) and there are multiple calls for more robust disability statistics. The drafters of the CRPD, for example, were deeply concerned about the dearth of disability-specific data and statistics. Article 31 requires State Parties to "collect appropriate information including statistical and research data in order to create and implement policies that give effect to the Convention." UNESCO stated that the "starting point" for extending education to children with disabilities should be "a credible needs assessment based on a national survey of the prevalence of disability" (UNESCO, 2010, p. 203). Unfortunately, rhetoric outweighs operation: disability is one of the most neglected areas in EFA monitoring reports. EFA reports do not disaggregate data for students with disabilities, do not spell out the situations of disabled children in much empirical detail, and do not engage in any great depth with the educational status of such children.

- Invisibility in EFA reports, international pledges, and demographic surveys inevitably leads to invisibility to government departments of education, to international agencies, and to donor networks. It follows that national governments and multinational donors have failed to give adequate attention to the rights and needs of persons with disabilities in mainstream development policy (Lord et al., 2010) while inclusive education for those disabled remains a fringe policy issue that has gained little attention within mainstream development (Handicap International, 2013).

- The struggle to develop primary education for all children takes precedence over the needs of students with disabilities. Accommodating all forms of diversity is key to EFA's emphasis on increasing the participation of students with unmet learning needs who represent multiple social differences and attributes. In contrast, the CRPD's assertion of privilege and priority is solely for disabled students. The text implicitly posits that disability is not simply another form of diversity

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and educational remedies are not the same as remedies for other types of difference. Explicitly, the CRPD seeks to privilege disability through a minority rights approach that essentially involves the identification of a class of persons entitled to protection from discrimination and special measures to compensate for disadvantage (Kayess & French, 2008). The emphasis is on both the right to education and to equity and inclusion in the general system as part of that right.

Hence, the CRPD's dominant global discourse on education for those disabled depicts inclusive schooling as a philosophy and program pinned to a non-negotiable set of precepts while EFA's principle of inclusion is expressed in "a child-seeking school" that "actively seeks out all eligible children for enrolment" (UNICEF, 2009, p. 9). When put to the test, the circumscribed claims of the CRPD are unevenly integrated into EFA. Currently, the strongest political and policy links in developing nations are broad international education targets; disability is viewed as just one cross-cutting issue to be pursued alongside gender, ethnic, and other issues (Bines & Lei, 2011).

▪ Dakar's goals lacked precise targets and indicators. This translates into a lack of clarity over what equitable provision for those with disabilities concretely looks like in the areas of planning, implementation, and monitoring. For example, while many developing countries go through the process of preparing comprehensive sector plans that focus on country-specific education issues, reports associated with various donor agencies show that disability is inadequately addressed in sector plans (e.g., Ahuja, 2005; Bines & Lei, 2011; World Vision, 2007). Despite the explicit obligations entailed by the CRPD, in many instances inclusive provision is not documented, even for planning purposes (Bines & Lei, 2011). Dedicated schooling for those with disabilities is generally viewed as a discretionary responsibility rather than a core value; disability-specific initiatives are adjuncts of, not integral to, the EFA (Thomas, 2005).

▪ Education cemented to utility is a central preoccupation of EFA. Utility-related benefits drive EFA strategy so that "the discourse is concerned with inclusion being potentially the most cost and time-efficient way of improving access to educational institutions" (Giffard-Lindsay, 2007, p. 5). Utility generally implies access to an educational package, no matter how basic that package may be. When inclusion is interpreted mostly as ensuring that all children are within the educational system, systems may see any education as a major step toward inclusion, and all settings, from mainstream classrooms to special schools, are considered inclusive (Kalanypur & Misra, 2011).

▪ In its solemn affirmation of the rights of persons with disabilities to education and equity, the CRPD does not refer to existing special education settings such as special classes and special schools. Rather, it valorizes full inclusion as the norm or the baseline and highlights how it is to be implemented and guaranteed. However, indifferent EFA participation adds to the continuity of segregation. Enrolment is general schools is often simply denied; when students are enrolled, provision remains in separate special education programs. Donors in developed countries have mostly funded non-government organizations to deliver special education in separate settings and many nations are actively involved in building more special schools (Inclusion International, 2009; Kalanypur & Misra, 2011; Winzer & Mazurek, 2015a).

Postscript

Education for All is an ambitious international movement to expand learning opportunities for every child and youth. Inclusive schooling is a globally influential set of theories and practices that are conceptualized in certain ways in international discourse. At least two parallel conversations about inclusive schooling are occurring and the global education advocacy regimes seem to be in competition. EFA defines inclusion as being concerned with the right to non-discriminatory provision together

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with a conviction that schools have a responsibility to educate all children (UNESCO, 2005). The minority rights stance of the CRPD privileges disability.

The Dakar Framework that clarified the goals of EFA essentially overlooked disability. However, the Convention should span the link to EFA, make the international architecture of EFA more effective, and place disability within the frame of a global compact on education for development and poverty eradication. But, as the above examples show, embedding the CRPD within the EFA has a dismal record to date. The intersection of the politics of difference that inform the CRPD and the discourses and discursive practices of EFA create a situation of unresolved misassumptions that curtail efforts to secure access for those with disabilities (Winzer & Mazurek, 2015c).

The moral reform of the CRPD that sees disability as inequality is trumped by the EFA's powerful emphasis on broad access and utility. Generally, disability is blanketed under overall accessibility for disparate groups of disadvantaged people. Despite promises of universal access unfer the EFA umbrella, those with disabilities still form a radically marginalized sector of society that has "remained relatively invisible in the efforts to achieve universal access to primary education" (UNICEF, 2012, p. 8). In result, the inclusion factor for those with disabilities is sidelined; this in turn reinforces and justifies a mélange of options and a range of provisions from special schools to general classes.

Deliberations about the implementation of the CRPD continue in multiple areas and contexts-legal aspects, standards, the interpretation of fundamental principles, the quality of social inclusion and, most particularly, inclusive schooling (Pfahl & Powell 2014). Subscription to the ideals of the CRPD is growing, but progress is distressingly slow and confused and it is almost impossible to predict the future course.

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Douglas J. Asbjornsen (USA)

The Development of Innovation Skills through Project Based Learning

Summary: Innovation is valued worldwide. Some would argue it has been and continues to be one of the strengths of the United States. Both technical and social innovators are sought after by businesses and other organizations, seeking to invent new products, cure diseases, develop new processes, etc. But how does one become an innovator? How do we as individuals acquire the requisite knowledge, skills, and attitudes that are critical for innovation? Are these directly and/or indirectly taught? If directly taught, are there strategies and methodologies that are more efficient and effective in teaching innovation? Can we measure the learning? Project-based and Problem-based Learning, based upon Constructivist theory, are teaching/learning strategies that may be both effective and efficient in helping students become better innovators. This review asks a number of questions, attempts to answer them, and does a review of the history and empirical research on Project-Based Learning/Problem-Based Learning (PBL). Originally, special emphasis of this study focused on the impact Project-based Learning has on 1) Creativity, 2) Self-Efficacy, 3) Energy, 4) Risk-propensity, and 5) Leadership. After no connections were found due to lack of research focusing on PBL and these constructs, the focus turned to the impact PBL has on overall academic performance.
Keywords: innovation, project-based learning, problem-based learning

Резюме (Дуглас Й. Асбьорнсен: Развитие способности к инновациям на основе проектного обучения): Инновации получают высокую оценку по всему миру. Некоторые утверждают, что инновации были и остаются сильной стороной Соединенных Штатов. Предприятия и организации ведут поиск инноваторов как в технической, так и в социальной области, с целью разработки новых товаров, лечения болезней, развития новых методов и т. д. Но как вообще становятся инноваторами? Как можем мы как индивидуумы получить необходимые для инновации знания, умения и навыки? Получают ли их прямо и/или косвенно при обучении? Если им обучают прямо, то существуют ли тогда стратегии и методы, которые ведут к развитию способности к инновациям более эффективным и результативным путем? Можем ли мы измерить качество обучения? Проектное и проблемно-ориентированное обучение, основываясь на конструктивистских теориях, состоит в стратегиях обучения и учения, которые могут быть как эффективными, так и результативными при поддержке обучающихся в их стремлении стать более успешными инноваторами.
Автор данной статьи поднимает ряд вопросов, пытается найти ответы на них, и представляет обзор истории и эмпирического исследования проектного обучения (Проектное обучение; ПО). Первоначально данное исследование концентрировалось на влиянии проектного обучения на 1) креативность, 2) самоэффективность, 3) энергию, 4) склонность к риску и 5) управлению. После того, как в недостатке исследований не было найдено связей с проектным обучением и его концепцией, основы влияния проектного обучения были направлены на общие академические достижения.
Ключевые слова: инновация, проектно-ориентированное обучение, проблемно-ориентированное обучение

Zusammenfassung (Douglas J. Asbjornsen: Die Entwicklung der Innovationsfähigkeit durch Projektbasiertes Lernen): Innovation wird weltweit geschätzt. Einige würden argumentieren, sie war und bleibt eine der Stärken der Vereinigten Staaten. Sowohl technische als auch soziale Innovatoren werden von Unternehmen und anderen Organisationen gesucht, um neue Produkte zu erfinden, Krankheiten zu heilen, neue Verfahren zu entwickeln, etc. Aber wie wird jemand zum Innovator? Wie können wir als Individuen die für eine Innovation erforderlichen Kenntnisse, Fähigkeiten und Einstellungen erwerben? Bekommt man diese direkt und/oder indirekt beigebracht? Wenn sie direkt gelehrt werden, gibt es dann Strategien und Methoden, die effizienter und effektiver zu innovativer Befähigung führen? Können wir das Lernen messen? Projektbezo-

genes und problemorientiertes Lernen, basierend auf konstruktivistischen Theorien, sind Lehr-/Lernstrate-
gien, die sowohl effektiv als auch effizient sein können bei der Unterstützung der Schüler, bessere Innova-
toren zu werden.
Dieser Artikel wirft eine Reihe von Fragen auf, versucht sie zu beantworten und gibt einen Überblick über
die Geschichte und die empirische Forschung zum projektbasierten Lernen (Problem-Based Learning; PBL).
Ursprünglich konzentrierte sich diese Studie auf die Auswirkungen projektbasierten Lernens auf 1) Kreati-
vität, 2) Selbstwirksamkeit, 3) Energie, 4) Risikoneigung und 5) Führung. Nachdem aus Mangel an For-
schungen keine Verbindungen zum Schwerpunkt PBL und zu diesen Konstrukten gefunden wurden, richtete
sich der Fokus auf die Auswirkungen des PBL auf die allgemeine akademische Leistung.
Schlüsselwörter: *Innovation, projektorientiertes Lernen, problemorientiertes Lernen*

Introduction

How do we grow innovators? What can we do to create the environment for both children and adults where innovation skills and attitudes are not only encouraged, but also developed and nurtured? These questions were sparked by my recent reading of the *Global Achievement Gap* (Wagner, 2008) and *Creating Innovators: The Making of Young People Who will Change the World* (Wagner, 2012). My desire to find answers was fueled even further by recent visits to nine of the twelve High Tech High Schools in San Diego, California and to Riverpoint Academy, Mead School District, near Spokane, Washington.

At both High Tech High and Riverpoint Academy, I personally observed the best teaching and learning I have seen in public secondary education. Both students and teachers were heavily engaged. Students reported to me that they loved their schools, were excited about learning, and many of them stated the format (Project-Based Learning) stretched them in their overall learning, confidence, and their communication/collaboration skills, especially public speaking. A number of them talked about how they were shy in the past, but how much confidence they have gained through their school experience.

As an educator, I am interested in all students gaining the knowledge, skills, and attitudes that will help them be successful in life and contribute to society. My hope is that they would take their knowledge and apply the higher level thinking skills of analysis, synthesis, and application to solve problems, invent knew products and processes, and contribute positively to our society and the world. This takes not only knowing facts, but also possessing multiple "soft skills" to create ideas, and turn those ideas into innovations. But what are those skills? What is our school system doing to promote or impede the development of them?

I believe the skills and characteristics of innovation can be identified, taught, learned and assessed. In other words, we can (and do) create innovators. An innovator is a person with a solid knowledge base to innovate from, possesses the requisite "soft skills," and has the self-efficacy to move an idea into an innovation. Although these innovation skills and characteristics must have been taught and learned through many methods in the past, are there most effective and efficient approaches to teaching and learning these? Project-Based and Problem-Based Learning (PBL) may be one of these strategies. In this paper, I will explore the elements of innovation, define Project-Based/Project-Based Learning, and review some of the empirical research on the efficacy of Project-Based Learning in the development of content knowledge, skills, and attitudes, with special emphasis on those related to innovation.

Hypothesis: Project-Based Learning has a positive, significant effect on the knowledge skills, and attitudes associated with innovation.

Methodology

This hypothesis to support (or not) requires the answers to a number of questions:

1) What is innovation? How does it differ from creativity?

2) What are the characteristics of innovators? What is fundamental in the knowledge, skills, and attitudes innovators possess?

3) What of these can be taught and learned in school?

4) If they can be taught and learned, can we measure them?

5) Can they be assessed for individual gains as well as the efficiency and effectiveness of teaching methodology and curriculum?

6) Do the assessment tools exist today to answer these questions?

7) If so, are they valid and reliable?

8) If all of the aforementioned are answered in the affirmative, we can ask the question:

9) Can PBL contribute to the acquisition of the knowledge, skills, and attitudes inherent in innovators? Is there empirical data to support this?

Foundational to answering this question is to define Project-Based and Problem-Based Learning and to set it in some historical context.

Project-Based and Problem-Based Learning

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According to John Larmer, Editor in Chief at the Buck Institute for Education (BIE), "The term 'project learning' derives from the work of John Dewey and dates back to William Kilpatrick, who first used the term in 1918" (Larmer, 2014, p. 1). In "The Project Method": Child-Centeredness in Progressive Education, Kilpatrick outlined the theory of "Wholehearted purposeful activity," asking teachers to "position each child at the center of the learning process by focusing activities around the interests of the pupil" (History Matters, p. 1). In his writing he states,

> "It is the purposeful act with the emphasis on the word purpose that I myself apply the term project." He goes on to state, "As the purposeful act is thus the typical unit of the worthy life in a democratic society, so also should it be made the typical unit of school procedure. We of America have for years increasingly desired that education be considered life itself and not as a mere preparation for later living." In his conclusion, he states, "Under proper guidance purpose means efficiency, not only in reaching the projected end of the activity immediately at hand, but even more in securing from the activity the learning which it potentially contains. Learning of all kinds and in its all desirable ramifications best proceeds in proportion to as wholeheartedness of purpose is present" (Kilpatrick, 1918, as cited in History Matters).

Dewey's comments on his constructivist theory are foundational to PBL and are as applicable today as they were when he wrote them in his many writings. Pragmatically, he asks,

> How many students, for example, were rendered callous to ideas, and how many lost the impetus to learn because of the way in which learning was experienced by them? How many acquired special skills by means of automatic drill so that their new judgment and capacity to

act intelligently in new situations was limited? How many came to associate the learning process with ennui and boredom? (Dewey, 1938, pp. 26-27)

To counter this boredom and lack of relevance, and to further lay the foundation for PBL, Dewey states,

> There is, I think, no point in the philosophy of progressive education which is sounder than the emphasis on the importance of the participation of the learner in the formation of the purposes which direct his activities in the learning process, just as there is no defect in traditional education greater than its failure to secure the active co-operation of the pupil in construction of the purposes involved in his studying. (Dewey, 1938, p. 67)

Barrows gives an overview of Problem-Based Learning, giving background on why it was adopted by the medical profession in the 1970s (Barrows, 1996). Although as stated, the theory is attributed to Dewey and Kilpatrick (and arguably, components of it by many educators/philosophers before), the medical profession was the early adopter, at least on the scale that has resulted in the earliest research on the efficacy of Problem-Based Learning. Barrows states, "The McMaster University Faculty of Health Sciences established a new medical school with an innovative educational approach to be used throughout its entire three year curriculum, an approach now known as problem-based learning. It graduated its first class in 1972" (Barrows, 1996, p. 3). He goes on to state, "By the early 1980s, medical schools with conventional curricula began to develop alternative, parallel problem-based curricula for a subset for their students. The leader in this trend was the Primary Care Curriculum at the University of New Mexico. Later on, other schools took on the more arduous task of converting their entire curriculum to problem-based learning" (Barrows, 1996, p. 1). Schools mentioned include the University of Hawaii, Harvard, and the University of Sherbrooke in Canada (Barrows, 1996). Ultimately, PBL gained momentum, and as Barrows states, "Now countless medical schools in the United States have developed or are developing problem-based curricula in courses, alternative curricula, or as an entire curriculum revision" (Barrows, 1996, p. 4)."

Barrows attributes the dissatisfaction with medical education as the catalyst and motivation to adopt PBL. At McMaster, "students were disenchanted and bored with their medical education because they were saturated by the vast amounts of information they had to absorb, much of which was perceived to have little relevance to medical practice" (Barrows, 1996, p. 4).

Definitions

In defining Project-Based and Project-Based Learning, Lamar states, "At BIE, we see project-based learning as a broad category which, as long as there is an extended "project" at the heart of it, could take several forms or be a combination of:

- Designing and/or creating a tangible product, performance, or event
- Solving a real-world problem (May be simulated or fully authentic)
- Investigating a topic or issue to develop an answer to an open-ended question (Larmer, 2014, p. 2).

He goes on to say, "So according to our "big tent" model of PBL, some of the newer "X-BLs"--problem-, challenge-and design based --are basically modern versions of the same concept. They feature, to varying degrees, all of BIE's 8 Essential Elements of PBL" (Larmer, 2014, p. 2).

For research purposes, I found this definition too loose and all encompassing-not being specific

enough. When does a project or problem meet the criteria to actually qualify as PBL? Much like Co-operative Learning, when does one move from working in groups to true Cooperative Learning? Of course, it is fair to say all project or group activities can be plotted on a continuum, but there needs to be a threshold when the activity "qualifies" so empirical research has some level of validity and reliability.

Barrows found that as more schools utilized PBL, it became harder to define. "All these approaches to problem-based learning represent such a wide variety of methods that now the term has far less precision than might be assumed" (Barrows, 1996, p. 5). He points out that, "a core model or basic definition with which others can be compared is needed" (Barrows, 1996, p. 5). He goes on to state, "the original method developed at McMaster works well as a model" (Barrows, 1996, p. 5).

The characteristics are:

- Learning is student centered
- Learning occurs in small groups
- Teachers are facilitators or guides
- Problems form the organizing focus and stimulus for learning
- Problems are a vehicle for the development of clinical problem-solving skills.
- New information is acquired through self-directed learning (Barrows, 1996, pp. 5-6)

In the same article, Barrows lists the educational objectives of a medical problem-based curriculum. They are:

- The acquisition of an integrated knowledge base
- The acquisition of a knowledge base structured around the cues presented by patient problems
- The acquisition of a knowledge base enmeshed with problem solving processes used in clinical medicine. The development of an effective and efficient clinical problem-solving process
- The development of effective self-directed learning skills. The development of team skills (Barrows, 1996, pp. 6-7)

The first solid working definition I came across for K-12 education was presented by John W. Thomas in his paper, A Review of Research on Project-Based Learning (Thomas, 2000). Thomas acknowledges the challenges of defining Project Based Learning and the subsequent impact it has on research. He states,

> This diversity of defining features coupled with the lack of a universally accepted model or theory of Project-Based Learning has resulted in a great variety of PBL research and development activities. This variety presents some problems for a research review. First, as Tretten and Zachariou (1997) report in their observation report on Project-Based Learning in multiple classrooms, the variety of practices under the banner of PBL makes it difficult to assess what is and what is not PBL, and whether what you are observing is a "real project." For example, should a design in which project materials are "packaged" or in which student roles are scripted in advance be considered examples of Project-Based learning? Are there particular features that must be present or absent in order for an instructional activity to be considered PBL? Second, differences between instances of PBL may outweigh their similarities, making it difficult to construct generalizations, across different PBL models, about such questions as the effectiveness of Project Based Learning. Third, there are similarities between models referred to as Project-Based Learning and models referred to other labels, for example, "intentional learning" (Scardamilia & Bereiter, 1991), design experiments," (Brown, 1992) and "Problem-

based Learning" (Gallagher, Stepien, & Rosenthal, 1992). Should these other models be considered part of the PBL literature, and if so, on what basis? (Thomas, 2000, p. 2)

I included this extended quote, as I believe Thomas identifies the basic issue and articulated so well the challenges and the questions that need to be asked. I also keep coming up with the same concerns in my initial review of research on the subject. In my search, I have asked some of these additional questions: Who owns PBL? I believe it has been developed and refined through an evolutionary process since the time of Dewey and Kilpatrick. They laid the foundation of Progressive Education, but to my knowledge, did not define what is and isn't PBL. If no one lays claim to inventing or owning it, who should define it? Fortunately, Thomas (2000) sees a pragmatic need and does present some reasonable criteria to base his review on. This criteria has been sited in multiple studies I reviewed since his was published. Thomas states,

"To capture the uniqueness of Project-Based Learning and to provoke a way of screening out non-examples from this review, the following set of criteria are offered. These criteria do not constitute a definition of PBL, but rather are designed to answer the question, "what must a project have in order to be considered an instance of PBL?" (Thomas, 2000, p. 3).

Although Thomas elaborates with greater detail on each, he lists five criteria that was used in his paper and was exceptionally helpful in my review. They are:

- PBL projects are central, not peripheral to the curriculum
- PBL projects are focused on questions or problems that "drive" students to encounter (and struggle with) the central concepts and principles of a discipline.
- Projects involve students in a constructive investigation
- Projects are student driven to some significant degree
- Projects are realistic, not school like (Thomas, 2000, pp. 3-4))

Based upon these criteria, Thomas does include in his review "research related articles on "project-based learning," "problem-based learning," "expeditionary learning," and "project based instruction" that conform to the criteria above" (Thomas, 2000, p. 4).

In an Overview of Problem-based Learning: Definitions and Distinctions, an article from the Interdisciplinary Journal of Problem-based Learning, lists and describes ten characteristics of Problem-based Learning (Savery, 2006, pp. 12-14). They are:

- Students must have the responsibility for their own learning
- The problem simulations used in problem-based learning must be ill-structured and allow for free inquiry
- Learning should be integrated from a wide range of disciplines or subjects
- Collaboration is essential
- What students learn during their self-directed learning must be applied to the problem with re-analysis and resolution
- A closing analysis of what has been learned from work with the problem and a discussion of what concepts and principles have been learned are essential
- Self and peer assessment should be carried out at the completion of each problem and at the end of every curricular unit
- The activities carried out in problem-based learning must be those valued in the real world
- Student examinations must measure student progress towards the goals of problem-based learning
- Problem-based learning must be the pedagogical base in the curriculum and not part of a didactic

curriculum

Although all ten above are important, I would like to highlight two in particular. Problems must be ill-structured or they are not really problems. Along with this, PBL (Project or Problem-based Learning) ideally is the base or put a different way, is the curriculum, not just a unit or an addition to it. If not, projects often are more activities and are not properly structured.

What is innovation? How does it differ from creativity?

Although often used interchangeably, there are some subtle differences between the two terms, which requires innovation to have additional skill sets beyond creativity. For research purposes, both are challenging to define. For example, Batey states, "It may be argued that the primary issue to hamper creativity research centers around the lack of a clear and widely accepted definition for creativity, which, in turn, has impeded efforts to measure the construct" (Batey, 2012, p. 55). He goes on to state, "Most researchers agree that creativity may be defined with regards to the terms new and useful" (Batey, 2012, p. 56)

Searching the Internet, especially on sites relating to innovation in business, there are some trends. By not coming from journals and not used for empirical research, these thoughts on creativity are limited. However, in absence of a widely accepted definition for creativity in the literature, some ways of looking at creativity and innovation are:

> "Creativity refers to the ability to come up with new ideas, the ability to think widely, to have a free mind and approach matters in a new way. Whereas innovation is the ability to confine the creative ideas and make them turn into reality so as to achieve successful performance" (Link, 2013, p. 1).

> "Creativity: The process of generating ideas-divergent thinking. Innovation: The sifting, refining and implementation of ideas-convergent thinking-putting ideas into action" (Link, 2013, p. 1).

> "Creativity is by far much different than innovation where creativity is the capability or act of conceiving something original while innovation is the implementation of something new. When people come up with new ideas, this is a display of creativity but there is no innovation until you take the risk of implementing it" (Link, 2013, p. 1).

> "The difference between creativity and innovation is simply that creativity refers to the ability to generate new ideas while innovation is the ability to turn new ideas into reality" (Link, 2013, p. 1).

Creativity is subjective, making it hard to measure, as our creative friends assert. Innovation on the other hand, is completely measurable. Innovation is about introducing change into relatively stable systems. It's also concerned with the work required to make an idea viable. By identifying an unrecognized and unmet need, an organization can use innovation to apply its creative resources to design an appropriate solution and reap a return on its investment (Marshall, 2013, p. 1).

If one uses the concepts above to loosely define creativity and innovation, creativity is a sub-set of innovation. In other words, in the extreme, one can be creative with new ideas, but never applied. To be creative, there is no requirement to put these creative thoughts to work or even be outwardly expressed through art, literature, etc. Thoughts and ideas can be highly creative, but never shared.

Innovation on the other hand, requires a number of skill sets, depending upon the complexity of the task of bringing the creative idea to life. In summary, it is a fair argument that one can be creative, but not innovative. However, one cannot be innovative, without being at least somewhat creative. Of course, this statement is dependent upon one's working definition of creativity.

What are the characteristics of innovators? What is fundamental in the knowledge, skills, and attitude innovators possess?

An all-inclusive list of the characteristics or attributes of innovators is illusive. Like the construct of creativity, one can recognize it when seen and/or experienced, but to list the all the attributes of an innovator, one risks leaving out essential elements. One reason for this is there are different types of innovators. In two broad categories there are STEM innovators and social innovators (Wagner, 2012). Are the requisite skills and characteristics the same? There is probably great overlap, but there could be differences. If so, what are they? Certainly, the STEM innovators must have a base knowledge of their discipline. Core knowledge in science and math is critical for this type of innovation. One cannot connect the dots in a unique way without knowing something about the dots. However, are there other key elements? Possibly.

In my review, I found two sources that may be helpful in identifying at least some of the characteristics of innovators. Supported by the United Kingdom's National Endowment for Science, Technology and the Arts (NESTA), Chell and Athayde at Kingston University developed the Youth Innovation Skills Measurement Tool. "The tool measures five generic skills that underpin innovative behaviour and form a set of attributes clearly linked to the innovation process" (Chell & Athayde, 2009, p. 3). They are, 1) Creativity (imagination, connecting ideas, tackling and solving problems, curiosity), 2) Self Efficacy (self belief, self assurance, self awareness, feelings of empowerment, social confidence), 3) Energy (drive, enthusiasm, motivation, hard work, persistence and commitment), 4) Risk-propensity (a combination of risk tolerance and the ability to take calculated risks), and 5) Leadership (vision and the ability to mobilize commitment) (Chell & Athayde, 2009). "The skills were identified through a literature review and through testing concepts with separate focus groups of young people and teachers from different disciplines in schools and colleges in Greater London and Hampshire" (Chell and Athayde, 2009, p. 3).

In revisiting Wagner's Creating Innovators (Wagner, 2012) he identifies "seven survival skills." They are, 1) Critical Thinking and problem solving, 2) Collaboration across networks and leading by influence, 3) Agility and adaptability, 4) Initiative and entrepreneurship, 5) Accessing and analyzing information, 6) Effective oral and written communication, 7) Curiosity and imagination. He goes on to state in his book, "However, the list doesn't touch on some of the qualities of innovators that I now understand as essential-such as perseverance, a willingness to experiment, take calculated risks, and tolerate failure, and the capacity for "design thinking," in addition to critical thinking" (Wagner, 2012, p. 12).

Wagner states, "IDEO's concept of "design thinking" is widely regarded as a way of viewing the world that is fundamental to any process of innovation" (Wagner, 2012, p. 13) He goes on to site Tim Brown's article from the Harvard Business Review, identifying five characteristics of design thinkers. They are, 1) Empathy, 2) Integrative thinking, 3) Optimism, 4) Experimentalism, and 5) Collaboration (Wagner, 2012, p. 13).

Although there are differences in each the aforementioned attributes of Chell and Wagner's work, there is a great deal of overlap and some are sub-components of broader categories. For example,

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"Leadership" can be an extremely broad construct and encompasses "collaboration across networks and leading by influence" as well as a number of others including "empathy" and can even include "effective oral and written communication." As the five attributes identified in the Youth Innovation Skills Measurement Tool can encompass all of the above to some degree, I will use these for a review of the research.

What of these can be taught and learned in school?

Although the construct of innovation (by definition of the term construct) cannot be directly measured, all of its attributes or elements individually can be taught, learned, and measured (at least, in theory). Some are easier than others. Some may be more dependent upon personality such as Risk-propensity. Others could be impacted by health issues such as Energy. Certainly, a student may have natural aptitudes for some or all of these attributes, just as some students are naturally gifted as artists, musicians, etc. However, if one can identify the characteristics of innovators to some level of fidelity, one can deliberately and intentionally teach the knowledge and skills associated with innovative behavior. One can also impact attitudes through direct teaching and modeling of values and priorities, although this can be complex due to multiple variables.

If they can be taught and learned, can we measure them? Can they be assessed for individual gains as well as the efficiency and effectiveness of teaching methodology and curriculum? Do the assessment tools exist today to answer these questions? If so, are they valid and reliable?

The answers to these questions are complicated. Yes, we can measure all of the aforementioned attributes individually, especially if they are truly elements. If the proper assessment tool is used and set up correctly, we can also evaluate the methodology and curriculum. Some attributes are easier to measure than others, as many can be relatively hard to define. For example, as stated previously, "Creativity" can be difficult to find an agreed upon definition. In The Measurement of Creativity: From Definitional Consensus to the Introduction of a New Heuristic Framework, the author states, "The cultural value placed upon creativity in the arts, sciences, technology, and political endeavor is immense … Yet, despite the undeniable importance of creativity, it is infrequently studied in comparison to other similar constructs like intelligence or personality" (Batey, 2012, p. 1). As mentioned earlier, a significant factor and a major reason for this, it is difficulty to define. It is fair to say, that the harder a construct is to define, the more difficult it is to identify and measure its elements.

A measurement that assesses the knowledge, skills and attitudes attributed to innovative behavior in a holistic way (taking into account all the listed attributes) may exist, but at the time of this writing, I have not discovered it. Initially, I was encouraged when I found the Youth Innovation Skills Measurement Tool. After contacting Dr. Elizabeth Chell, one of the developers (personal communication, July 22, 2014), I acquired a link to the tool. In reviewing and personally taking it, I found it to be a 38 item, on-line questionnaire, utilizing a seven point Likert scale. As the responses are self-reported, the tool has weaknesses that are inherent to any type of self-reporting instrument. At best, it can touch on attitudes and self-perception associated with innovative behavior, but does not actually measure the development of the knowledge and skills identified with innovation.

I found one doctoral dissertation utilized the Kirton Adaption-Innovation Inventory with middle school students to measure creativity (Selby, Treffinger, Isaksen, and Powers, 2011). This tool was designed for corporate use and may have minimal value in K-12 settings. I will continue to do research on this tool as it may have been used in additional K-12 studies. However, at the time of this writing, I have not found any.

Can Project Based Learning contribute to the acquisition of the knowledge, skills, and attitudes inherent in innovators? Is there empirical data to support this?

Review of Literature

I found the research investigating Project and Problem-Based Learning is varied and to my surprise, relatively weak in quantity and quality, at least in regards to K-12 education. I state this not to be critical, but recognizing the number of variables and challenges that come into play. As stated in one meta-analysis, "Enthusiasm for Problem-based learning (PBL) is widespread, yet there exists little rigorous experimental evidence of its effectiveness, especially in K-12 populations" (Wirkala & Kuhn, 2012, p. 1157). In my query, I found the vast majority of the research comes from the medical profession, limiting at least to some degree, the value to K-12 education. However, as with any quality research, some things can be gleaned from it.

In "When is PBL More Effective? A Meta-synthesis of Meta-analyses Comparing PBL to Conventional Classrooms," the researchers report in their Results and Discussion section, "For the Knowledge assessment category, measures of short-term knowledge acquisition and retention returned mixed results, but tended to favor traditional learning approaches" (Strobel & Barneveld, 2009, p. 53). However, they also reported, "Long term knowledge retention favored PBL" (Strobel & Barneveld, 2009, p. 54). Along with this, they go on to state, "Overall, students and staff indicated greater satisfaction with the PBL approach to learning" (Strobel & Barneveld, 2009, p. 54).

As expected, one can find research on both sides of the effectiveness of PBL in fields outside of medicine including K-12 education. In A Problem Based Learning Meta Analysis: Differences Across Problem Types, Implementation Types, Disciplines, and Assessment Levels, the researchers looked at "47 outcomes outside the fields of medical education and allied health" (Walker & Leary, 2009, p. 24). They report in their Conclusion section, "Early findings pointed to concept or content knowledge differences favoring lecture" (Walker& Leary, 2009, p. 24). In the same section, they state, "As initially posted by Barrows (1986), problem type does appear to play a role in the effects of PBL" (Walker & Leary, 2009, p. 25). They go on to state, "While much more needs to be known about which PBL methods were employed before confident assertions can be made, closed loop problem based learning appears to improve student learning outcomes (dw = 0.54)" (Walker & Leary, 2009, p. 25). The effect size they are reporting is from Jonassen's work (Jonassen, 2000).

As stated above, there is no lack of enthusiasm for PBL in the literature, especially by proponents connected with organizations promoting PBL. For example, Bell in Project-Based Learning for the 21st Century: Skills for the Future states,

> "Standardized testing is one measure of achievement. Each state has its own standardized measure of academic competency. Each standardized test only measures the specific content knowledge it is designed to test. In measuring basic academic subject proficiency, standardized testing shows that students engaged in PBL outscore their traditionally educated peers (Geier et al. 2008)" (Bell, 2010, pp. 39-40).

In reviewing the original research, I found Geier did not make this claim. Instead, they stated in the discussion section, "We do not claim nor do our data support a conclusion that inquiry science units alone will enhance achievement. Rather the results indicate that an effort incorporating and aligning the best practices in curriculum, professional development, and learning technology in the context of a systemic reform can achieve substantive results on politically important measures" (Geier, et al.

2008, p. 934).

Although Bell misrepresented the conclusion reported by the research team, the claim did lead me to some enlightening research showing positive results for urban youth in Detroit. Taken from the abstract,

The effort was one component of a systemic reform effort in the Detroit Public Schools, and was centered on highly specified and developed project-based inquiry science units supported by aligned professional development and learning technologies. Two cohorts of 7th and 8th graders that participated in the project units are compared with the remainder of the district population, using results from high stakes state standardized test in science. Both the initial and scaled up cohorts show increases in science content understanding and process skills over their peers, and significantly higher pass rates on the statewide test. (Geier, et al, 2008, p. 922)

This was an encouraging study in that it showed an intervention that produced significant gains for students, especially since the student body of the Detroit School District is comprised of 91% African American and 5% Latino students. The study went three years, ending with the 2000-2001 school year. Approximately 5,000 students were involved along with thirty-seven teachers in 18 schools. The Michigan Educational Assessment Program (MEAP), a statewide standardized assessment was used. The test is aligned with the state objectives for science achievement. A treatment sample of 760 students in Cohort 1 and 1,043 in Cohort II, was compared with a group of 8,900 and 8,662 respectively. The treatment was participation in at least one of the three project-based inquiry science units. Some students participated in two and some participated in all three (Geier, et al, 2008). The results were impressive.

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In Cohort I, students who completed at least one LeTus (The Center for Learning Technologies in Urban Schools) unit during 7th or 8th grade significantly outperformed their DPS (Detroit Public Schools) peers on their overall MEAP Science score. Moreover, the difference was not confined to one area of the test. Higher scores were achieved in all three science content areas (Earth, physical, and life science) and both science process skill groups (constructing and reflecting) measured by the science MEAP. (Geier, et al, 2008, p.930). The standardized effect size for Cohort I was .44 and Cohort II was .37 (Geier, et al, 2008).

According to Hattie, "For any particular intervention to be considered worthwhile, it needs to show an improvement in student learning of at least an average gain-that is an effect size of at least 0.40. The d = 0.40 is what I referred to in Visible Learning as the hinge-point (or h point) for what is and what is not effective" (Hattie, 2012, p. 3). Given the size and length of the study and the effort the researchers put forth to reduce bias, etc., these effect sizes are encouraging.

I parked on this research as it was large scale and appeared to be well done in both design and in the integrity of reporting the results. Not all of the research I reviewed was of this quality. In fact, the majority was not. I also was pleased in that it gave hope for a very challenging, urban school district serving a huge minority population. However, it would be misleading to claim that problem-based learning alone was the only variable contributing to these gains. The authors repeatedly stressed the alignment component of their efforts. In referring to their partnership of the University of Michigan and Detroit Public Schools, "We refer to an effort where standards, policy, curriculum, instruction, professional development, assessment, and learning technologies are coherent and integrated as highly aligned" (Geier, et al, 2008, p. 924).

Along with proponents of PBL making misleading statements and promising and encouraging research utilizing PBL units (along with other variables), the literature also has its detractors. For example, a fairly hostile paper towards inquiry-based teaching and learning was presented in the Educational Psychologist. In their paper, Why Minimal Guidance During Instruction Does Not Work: An Analysis of the Failure of Constructivist, Discovery, Problem-Based, Experiential, and Inquiry-Based Teaching (Kirschner, Sweller, & Clark, 2006), the authors state in their conclusion,

After a half century of advocacy associated with instruction using minimal guidance, it appears that there is no body of research supporting the technique. In so far as there is any evidence in controlled studies, it almost uniformly supports direct, strong instructional guidance rather than constructivist-based minimal guidance during the instruction of novice to intermediate learners. (Kirschner, Sweller, & Clark, 2006)

The authors were critical of constructivist learning, especially for novice learners and presented their arguments from a number of angles. In particular, they utilized learning research on long-term memory, including cognitive load theory.

In a follow up paper printed at a later date in the same journal, Scaffolding and Achievement in Problem-Based and Inquiry Learning: A Response to Kirschner, Sweller, and Clark (2006), the authors point out that "Kirschner et al. have mistakenly conflated PBL and IL with discovery learning" (Hmel-Silver, Duncan, & Chinn, 2007, p. 99). In their conclusion, the authors state,

> Even in the limited review of research on PBL and IL (Inquiry Learning), it is clear that the claim that PBL and IL "does not work" is not well supported, and, in fact, there is support for the alternative. But we would argue that "does it work?" is the wrong question. The more important questions to ask are under what circumstances do these guided inquiry approaches work, what are the kinds of outcomes for which they are effective, what kinds of valued practices do they promote, and what kinds of support and scaffolding are needed for different populations and learning goals. The questions that we should be asking are complex as is the evidence that might address them. It requires not only learning content but also learning "softer skills" (Bereiter & Scardamalia, 2006) such as epistemic practices, self-directed learning, and collaboration that are not measured on achievement tests but are important for being lifelong learners and citizens in a knowledge society. (Hmel-Silver, Duncan, & Chinn, 2007, p. 105)

As mentioned earlier, the quality of the research on PBL has come into question, at least in the validity and reliability of the instruments that have been used. (Belland, French, & Ertmer, 2009), did a review of 33 empirical studies on Problem-Based Learning, focusing on target outcomes of deep content learning, problem solving ability, and self directed learning. Results indicated that, "few studies included 1) theoretical frameworks for the assessed variables and constructs, 2) rationales for how chosen assessments matched the constructs measured, or 3) other information required for readers to assess the validity of author's interpretations" (Belland, French, & Ertmer, 2009, p. 59). I did not perceive the authors were overly critical of the research itself, but emphasized that researchers be clearer on their rationale for selection of instruments. The authors states, "Rather, the solution is to report better on the selection, use, and psychometric properties of the measures. Such information should lead to researchers realizing the shortcomings of measures and seeing the need to improve these measures for future research" (Belland, French, & Ertmer, 2009, p. 80). The authors acknowledged in their Limitations section that "the majority of research reviewed here was in the area of medical or allied education" (Belland, French, & Ertmer, 2009, p. 81). Again, even though they were interested in looking at K-12 research, as of 2009, they were limited in what they could find.

Conclusion

Through the course of this study, I find I am not able to support my hypothesis: Project-Based Learning has a positive, significant effect on the knowledge, skills, and attitudes associated with innovation. This conclusion is in no way stating that it does not. Nor is it stating that this is not an important area of future research to explore. It is stating that given the time constraints and limited resources for this project, I have not been able to adequately answer the foundational questions I proposed in the methodology section (even with unlimited resources, this would still be a challenging task). For empirical research to be both valid and reliable, one must have consensus on definitions and on the instruments that accurately measure the outcome being tested. The definitions for the constructs of innovation and creativity are illusive. Like many things, you know it when you see it. To measure them holistically is even more difficult. Depending on one's definition, potentially impossible. The only instrument I could find in my research that was applicable to K-12, only measured self-reported attitudes and self-perception. Although somewhat helpful, I found the instrument disappointing and of limited use as a measurement of innovative skills when I actually explored it. However, it was helpful in identifying some possible elements of innovation. As a result, the tool gave some framework to start from and may be a base for some future research.

After discovering the aforementioned challenges, I refocused my review of PBL research on a broader question: does it work? I abandoned my initial query to find PBL research that tied into the innovation elements I have previously described. I did this for two reasons. First, I realized I needed a broader base of knowledge on what the research says about PBL to move forward with possible connections. Second, pragmatically I found no research in my first review of the literature that even looked directly at the development of "soft skills" through PBL.

To the question, does Project-based Learning work? The answer to this question is yes, no, and most of all, it depends. The reason for the diversity of the answers is I was asking the wrong question. My future questions must be much more specific to get any meaningful answers. As so well articulated by Hmel-Silver, Duncan, & Chinn, the better questions to ask are "under what circumstances do these guided inquiry approaches work, what are the kinds of outcomes for which they are effective, what kinds of valued practices do they promote, and what kinds of support and scaffolding are needed for different populations and learning goals" (Hmel-Silver, Duncan, & Chinn, 2007, p. 105).

Focusing strictly on PBL, the vast amount of research I initially found was from the medical profession, especially in the training of physicians. I saw trends where direct instruction in acquiring knowledge was more effective, while components of application and enjoyment of the learning process favored PBL.

In the K-12 research, essentially all of it focused on academic achievement. Again, there are so many variables, including how one is defining PBL, the research can lean both ways. Much of the research that was in support of PBL came out of BIE, a strong proponent of PBL. Because of a strong bias to advocate for its position, one needs to be leery of any organization with a vested interest in funding or even reporting research, or at least be aware of the potential for conflict of interest issues. That is not to say that the BIE research lacks integrity, but one should at least be aware of the interest they have in promoting PBL.

Along with the lack of K-12 research and challenges with definitions (does the unit or curriculum meet the criteria to be identified as PBL?), the vast majority of school research utilizes relatively short units of PBL. Ideally, Project-based learning is not just part of the curriculum, it is the curriculum. It is taught by teachers with extensive training in the development of robust, well thought out projects

or problems, which are designed to build content knowledge and various "soft skills" such as problem solving and collaboration. With this said, PBL takes a great deal of knowledge and skill, along with a significant amount of time and dedication to implement effectively. In many ways, traditional approaches can be easier. Dewey laid this out in stating, "It is, accordingly, a much more difficult task to work out the kinds of materials, of methods, and of social relationships that are appropriate to the new education than in the case with traditional education." (Dewey, 1938, p. 29). As I stated in High Tech High (Asbjornsen, 2014), "This model is extremely hard work for teachers and support staff. There must be structure underneath the "looseness." There clearly are high expectations that require a huge amount of planning and focus to effectively implement, including the value of and skill sets around collaboration. The traditional preparation of teachers would need to be modified for this to be successful on a larger scale." I would further state that Detroit Public Schools' systemic alignment that was earlier highlighted is key. PBL, without the underlying support structure and alignment may be doomed for failure. Again, it is very hard work and requires significant knowledge and skills to make it effective.

In looking at future research, another problem arises. That is, to truly evaluate PBL as the curriculum (not as a unit), one is often forced to deal with skewed populations that immediately introduce bias into the study. Although they may exist, as my review of the literature was far from exhaustive on this subject, almost all K-12 schools using a "pure" form of Project Based Learning as described by Thomas (2000) are unique in some way or another. Even in schools like High Tech High in San Diego that use a lottery system for admission and have shown phenomenal results with low income and minority students. According to their website, 98% of High Tech High graduates have gone on to college (High Tech High, 2014). However, it is fair to say the school system has a special population. These students are self-selecting by applying. They may not be testing or interviewing to get in, but they almost all know the teaching model used and expectations before they apply and submit their name for the lottery. All have goals of not just going to college, but the majority desiring to be accepted into the University of California system. Consequently, the student body at High Tech High is not composed of the average San Diego student. One in five have already won the lottery. Most feel very fortunate to be "in" and are highly motivated to stay there. With this, it is hard to find a control group using traditional methods that truly would be comparable, showing one or the other to have a significant effect.

As with all research, especially in the social sciences, additional research is always needed as more questions are developed and different angles beg to be explored. In PBL, I believe the research should be expanded. In his Meta-analysis, Thomas states,

With a few exceptions, much of the research reported above incorporates only one or two indices of learning to measure PBL effectiveness, typically academic achievement and conceptual understanding. Elsewhere, some of the newer constructivist models of learning have proposed that evaluations of student learning be conducted using multiple indices, supplementing measures of understanding (application, explanation, concept mapping) with those of collaboration, metacognitive ability, communication, and problem solving (Thomas, 2000, p. 37).

I totally concur. Even though his report is dated, I found the aforementioned still true. Although, certainly my review of the research was not comprehensive, I found very little reported in these areas. But even if the research on PBL improves and expands and many of the concerns and challenges in this area are addressed and remedied, what if it is found there is no significant positive effect on academic achievement? What if traditional methods prove over time to be slightly more effective and

efficient than PBL in the development of content knowledge? The question still exists, what impact does PBL have on the enjoyment, love, and passion of learning? What about the "soft skills" associated with innovation? The examination of this is still relevant. In fact, this is where I think the real potential exists in developing the skills and attitudes associated with creativity, self-efficacy, energy, risk propensity, and leadership. Again, although hard to define and measure, future research should be conducted to explore these relationships.

In conclusion, this study required the refocus of efforts in the middle of the research. The discovery that the quest to relate innovation skills to PBL is immense and is well beyond the scope of this paper was illuminating. In addition to this, although the review of research in PBL involved the reading of a number of articles and journals, relatively few are highlighted here. There are only enough to give a sampling of some of the perspectives, conclusions, and challenges that exist in examining PBL as an effective strategy to improve academic performance, let alone its impact on "soft skills" that may contribute to innovation. The research collected and reviewed lays a foundation for my own future in PBL and innovation.

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Jobst & Trippestad: Structures of Identification in Curriculum
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Solvejg Jobst & Tom Are Trippestad (Norway)

Structures of Identification in Curriculum – European Examples

Summary: *The educational debate in Europe is marked by the assumption that international education can help to cope with the increasing interconnectedness of people, activities, places and events. At the same time, the protection and restoration of each nation's economic and cultural base against globalization and multiculturalism also have an impact on educational policies and educational practice. The characters of those competing discourses are strongly framed by structures of identification that imply various kinds of in- and out-group relations with different emotional, cognitive, and evaluative connotations. Against this background, the paper focuses on agencies that are being set up by educational policies and teachers in reshaping contemporary complex society. It investigates different European cases: a) European identification in the individual curriculum of German, Czech, and Polish teachers and b) identification as a political issue of nations outside the EU through a Norwegian example.*
Keywords: *curriculum, identification, national identity, ingroup – outgroup, teachers, educational policy*

Резюме *(Сольвейг Йобст & Том Аре Триппестад: Структуры идентификации в учебном плане – европейские примеры): Европейский образовательный дискурс в значительной степени определен гипотезой, состоящей в том, что международное и межкультурное образование создает центральные предпосылки в обращении с растущей взаимозависимостью лиц, видов деятельности, мест и событий. Одновременно укрепляется функция защиты национальной экономики и культуры от глобализации и мультикультурализма, центральную роль в которой играют образовательная политика и практика. Противоречия приводятся в систему структурами идентификации, которые, в свою очередь, подразумевают различные формы привлечения собственных и побочных групп с различными эмоциональными, когнитивными и оценочными коннотациями. В контексте этих дебатов обсуждается вклад общественных структур, производимых образовательной политикой и обучающимися/учителями. Данный вклад основан на европейских примерах: а) на европейской идентификации в индивидуальном учебном плане немецких, чешских и польских учителей и б) на роли продуктов идентификации в образовательном политическом пространстве, с привлечением Норвегии как нации за пределами ЕС.*
Ключевые слова: *учебный план, идентификация, национальная идентичность, собственная и побочная группа, учителя, образовательная политика*

Zusammenfassung *(Solvejg Jobst & Tom Are Trippestad: Identifikationsstrukturen im Curriculum - Europäische Beispiele): Der europäische Bildungsdiskurs ist weithin von der Annahme geprägt, dass insbesondere die internationale und interkulturelle Bildung zentrale Voraussetzungen im Umgang mit den wachsenden wechselseitigen Abhängigkeiten von Personen, Aktivitäten, Orten und Ereignissen schaffen. Gleichzeitig verstärkt sich der Ruf, nationale Ökonomien und Kulturen gegenüber Globalisierung und Multikulturalismus zu verteidigen, wobei Bildungspolitik und Bildungspraxis eine zentrale Rolle spielen. Diese Kontroversen sind von Identifikationsstrukturen strukturiert, die wiederum unterschiedliche Formen von Eigen- und Fremdgruppenbezügen mit unterschiedlichen emotionalen, kognitiven und evaluativen Konnotationen implizieren. Im Kontext dieser Debatte diskutiert der Beitrag Gesellschaftskonstruktionen, die von Bildungspolitik und Lehrern/Lehrerinnen (re)produziert werden. Er bezieht sich auf europäische Beispiele: a) auf europäische Identifikation im individuellen Lehrplan deutscher, tschechischer und polnischer Lehrer(innen) sowie b) auf die Rolle von Identifikationsangeboten im bildungspolitischen Feld, wobei Norwegen als eine Nationen außerhalb der EU herangezogen wird.*
Schlüsselwörter: *Curriculum, Identifikation, nationale Identität, Eigen- und Fremdgruppe, Lehrer(innen), Bildungspolitik*

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Introduction

The national school – although there is a variety in each national system – tends to homogenize culture and to reproduce the social structure of society. Educational politicians, curriculum planners, teachers, and other school agencies are taking part in constructing a symbolic order that is quite ambivalent in its social and cultural consequences. On one hand, it provides all members of society with common knowledge, values, and norms that can help as the basis for mutual understanding, communication, belonging, and social integration. On the other hand, the same norms, values, and knowledge represent the symbolic order underlying the interests and understandings of special powerful groups within society. In this sense, national education appears as an instrument of closure and exclusion and as the place of struggling for cultural and social recognition. Against these complexities and ambivalences a closer examination of identity construction within school curriculum will underline the role of school in constructing social order, as well as its opportunities and limits of individual and social development.

Nowadays, the trendsetting force of identity construction is particularly significant – given increasing international and intercontinental immigration, the creeping colonization of national education by the world capitalist economy, and the weakening of national educational policy. Within this context, contradictory developments emerge. First, the national identity and its formation in school are no longer taken for granted as the call for an intercultural and international education becomes stronger. Second, however, the fundamental social change leads to a formation of resistance identities, where nationalism is only one expression of it (Castells, 1997, p. 9). Those identities are related to the always ostracizing question: Who belongs to us, and who does not belong to us? It is this complex role of national and supranational identity construction we would like to examine more closely in the following discussion. We will focus on inclusive and/or exclusive structures of identity construction within the individual curriculum of teachers and the formal curriculum of policy. What agencies are being set up by educational policies and teachers, reshaping contemporary society in light of internationalization and multiculturalism? Answering this question we investigate different European cases. We show examples of European identification in the individual curriculum of German, Czech, and Polish teachers and we discuss identification as a political issue of nations outside the EU through a Norwegian example. We reflect these examples in the light of social identity theories that see identity as a social construction and related to different structures of identification. As a conclusion, we want to underline the common and contextual problems, ambiguities and opportunities to create a diverse and inclusive contemporary society.

Theoretical framework: Structures of Identification

Construction of Cultural Identity as Process of Identification

National identity – as a special kind of social identity – is constructed in and through institutions, but is also shaped by people on the bases of social and cultural materials in their daily lives. It is nothing we are born with, but a production which will never be finished (Hall, 1994, p. 26). The dynamic character of identity is underlined by the term identification, which is seen as social categorization, ascription and belonging (Graumann, 1997; Jobst, 2004, pp.125). First, identification of something and somebody refers to the fact that we categorize our environment and ourselves by discriminating between what belongs and what does not belong to us. By doing so, complexity and uncertainty is reduced. The downside of this function is that it can serve as a basis for building stereotypes. For example, Tajfel and Turner (1986) argue, that the "mere perception of belonging to two distinct

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groups – that is social categorization per se – is sufficient to trigger intergroup discrimination favour-ing the in-group" (p. 13). Second, identification as ascription points to the fact that other individuals are positioned in comparison to others within their life course. Identifications that imply belongings, responsibilities, and expectations are most significant (Graumann, 1997, p. 312). Spatial identifica-tions, such as national identification, are most suitable to serve as ascription of social status, as means of ideologies, power, and hegemony. Third, however, categorical and attributing identifications only become an identity (identification with something) when people find them meaningful.

Internationalization and multiculturalization, the growing interconnectedness of social action and events, make people navigate through a great variety of social and cultural identifications. They cope with concentric, competing, and overlapping loyalties to different objects of identification (e.g. Da-vies, 1993, p. 295) and build up multiple, transcultural, hybrid identities or resistance identities (Cas-tells, 1997, p. 9). Against this growing complexity, it is fundamentally decisive to differentiate be-tween structures of identifications (Jobst, 2004, p. 138; Jobst & Skrobanek, 2001). First, we can as-sume a conflicting structure of identification - an identification that structures the perception of the social world through a fixed, closed border between in-group and out-group – between "we" and "them" (e.g. nationalism). In clear contrast, an inclusive structure of identification is conceivable, based on the fact that people feel affiliated with several socially defined spatial categories or groups. Third, we may assume a dominant structure of identification that implies a strong orientation on one spatial category, but does not encourage a negative stereotyping of others (e.g. national patriotism).

The importance of others as a part of one's own identifications has already been emphasized by clas-sical social (identity) theories, which see the "we" as always being constructed in contrast to the "them" (e.g. Marx, 1988, p. 67; Mead, 1973). However, seeing that national identification can have different structures and thus various kinds of in- and out-group relations with different emotional, cognitive, and evaluative connotations, this old wisdom should be subject to more differentiated em-pirical investigation. Thus, in this paper, the general question "How is national identity being effected - displaced or strengthened – today in the context of internationalization?" is specified by examining the structures of identifications within school curriculum.

Identification structure and school curricula: Empirical insights

In the following we discuss the development of identification through two forms of curriculum. First, we discuss the national identification in the official national curriculum of Norway. Second, we focus on the individual curriculum of the teachers in Germany (Saxony), Poland, and Czech Republic. In educational theory, the official curriculum is seen as a concrete instrument for the implementation of the educational contents and goals as they are manifested in education policy documents or from various interest groups within society. As one of the "populärste Lenkungsinstrument von Schule" ("most popular steering instrument of school"), the official curriculum fulfills a legitimacy and a reg-ularity or control function (Vollstädt & Tillmann, 1999, p. 19). The official curriculum legitimatizes the educational content, objectives, and methods to the public and functions as a guide for teachers. At the same time, curriculum stands for a political text as a "selective tradition" to be shared. "That is from that vast universe of possible knowledge, only some knowledge gets to be official knowledge, get to be declared legitimate as opposed to simply being popular culture" (Apple, 1999, p. 11).

However, teachers have their own interpretation of curriculum and, in the exercise of their profes-sion, make vital contributions to the constituting of society. In interactions between the internal pro-fessional field and the wider societal change, they produce worlds of meaning specific to their pro-

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fession (Jobst, 2010, p. 113). At the same time, teachers embody a social group whose jobs also reproduce fundamental social structures and cultural identifications. According to Bourdieu (1996; Wacquant, 2004), the social structure is found in the teacher's habitus. In this sense, the individual curriculum of teachers is seen as a result of the dialectical interaction of teacher's habitus with the given situation (Jobst, 2010, p. 114).

The National Identifications in the Core Curriculum: The case of Norway

The core curriculum of the Norwegian school system was constructed in 1993 and still shapes the main visions, principles and overarching goals for the local school curricula of the Norwegian school system from kindergarten to adult learning today. The global yuppie era and the economic crisis hitting Norway in the late eighties were an important background for the new curriculum. A powerful economic narrative was set up making dramatic diagnoses of the condition of the identity of the population of Norway as an economic state.

Conflict structures of identification within the economic narrative of national curriculum. The core curriculum of Norway was developed with explicit analysis deducted from models based on Hobbes and neoclassic economic theory, Marx, Durkheim, and Weber. The educational minister at the time, Gudmund Hernes, was a professor of sociology and specialized in economic sociology and political power theories. A Hobbesian construction of the public was set as a premise for the curriculum. The individual was viewed as selfish and driven by wanting to gain resources. Resources are viewed as too scarce to share. Individuals would be in a constant pull towards a battle over resources. This conflicting economic narrative paints individuals as selfish and in a constant, near state of war with each other; they would need an outside sovereign to make peace and contracts possible, allocating the right amount of resources for the right job to the right person or group. A stronger social identification barrier between the public and its leaders was developed through this new public management ideology. Participant democratic styles of governance were weakened. Distrust in the individual and the public as positive democratic driving forces grew. Stronger political leadership and school leadership were promoted (Trippestad, 2011, p. 638)

From this Hobbesian conflict structure, a narrative was created, telling of nations competing over scarce resources in an economic race over world market domination. Nations would win by training their human capital through education. The threat of the international competition nurtured a national, economic identity of competitiveness - an economic "us" nationally in competition with "them" internationally. The lack of an outside sovereign, making peace and treaties possible, made cooperation between nations quite necessary to address the complex, transnational and intertwined crisis of economic globalization. Paradoxical goals of identification became key curricular aims – goals of being competitive and effective, while also fostering economic solidarity by sharing gained wealth globally became key curricular aims.

Another major economic analysis was done with explicit negations to Marx. Contrary to Marx, who had predicted that the forming of a world market would create a working class with common identity and solidarity ready to grasp power and share resources more justly, the global differentiated and specialized market led to specialized workers only showing solidarity to their kind:

When function becomes more important for power than numbers – a development converse to what Marx expected emerges. Class solidarity becomes of less instrumental value than occupational solidarity. Rather than Ricardian labour markets leveling skills and unifying the great mass of workers on the same low, untrained basis, we find the opposite development, where occupational specialization leads to organizational fragmentation and to conflicts when groups use their power to improve

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their relative position. Occupational loyalty ('group egoism' is the negatively loaded term) is further stimulated by the types of services that occupational unions seem to be better able to provide for their members, such as loans for housing or other fringe benefits through special agreements. (Hernes, 1991, p. 246)

The modern interdependency made this a threatening or conflicting situation. The government analysis predicted those small specialized groups with occupational loyalty and no organic solidarity could paralyze the nation through strike or destructive actions. In the core curriculum, the problems of the specialized identities and homo economicus were explicitly addressed through an enlightened ideology and identity politics. Curriculum gave the pupils a rich work concept and a broad theoretical and cultural approach as a counter strategy.

In the chapter, *The Working Human Being*, work is introduced as something much more than gaining resources. It is seen as developmental:

> Work is not merely a means of earning a livelihood. It is intrinsic to the human personality to test, express and extend skills through work. Education shall provide pupils and apprentices with awareness of the variety and scope of the world of work and bestow the knowledge and skills necessary for active participation in it. (KUF, 1993, p.16)

By installing protestant ethic as an identity, work should be seen as a reward on its own and not only as a mean of getting resources. The surplus of society would increase, making a bigger and more even distribution of resources possible. The understanding of an ideal "we" as an enlightened member of a contract-society were explicitly expressed in the curriculum

> Our welfare society itself is built upon a moral contract: on the one hand by everyone contributing to a system that supports and serves oneself when in need; and on the other by empowering others to develop their skills and strengthen them when they are in need. (KUF, 1993, p. 9)

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In the chapter, *The Social Human Being*, modern pupils are presented as being alienated from work and not understanding how society works. Youth have little opportunity or practice in making decisions with practical consequence. Vicarious experiences have increased, at the expense of direct experiences. Schools would need to teach students a system of duties and responsibilities, giving social training and experiences with attention to the practical consequence of their actions:

> For this reason, it is important to exploit the school as a community of work for the development of social skills. It must be structured in such a way that the learners' activities have consequences for others, and so that they can learn from the impact of their decisions. (…)This implies that learners - from the first day of school, and increasingly with age - must have duties and responsibilities, not only for the sake of their own benefit and growth, but also as an obligation to classmates and other members of the school community. (…) The aim of this type of training is to develop empathy and sensitivity towards others, provide practice in assessing social situations and promote responsibility for others' well-being. (KUF, 1993, pp. 30-31)

Conflict structures of identification within the cultural narrative of national curriculum. According to educational authorities, the centripetal power of differentiation and specialization was given further force by a global mass media expansion, multiculturalism and a knowledge explosion. A strategy governing the personalities and superstructure through a national curriculum was set:

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> Since the topography of society – its basis – split the nation, we in the council of the king need to unite. The grip of the statesman must be this; what is dissolved by the natural infrastructure, we need to correct by affecting the structure of the personality. The basis is difficult; we must govern by shaping the superstructure. (…) One belief gives one people. It is the mind that needs to be lifted and uniformed if the nation is to be kept together. (…) We shall take on the task of building a nation and therefore need a common, firmer basis – the ground of a belief. (…) If we are to secure the right faith, the faith must be one. Therefore we need curriculum. (Hernes, 1992b, p. 36)

The need of protecting the nation's culture and its identity against globalization was set as an important goal. The core curriculum and subject curricula set up a canon shaping the common reference and association ground for the goal of creating a harmonious, supportive and democratic society. In this sense, a nostalgic and stereotypical construction of national identification was set.

These constructions were based on the assumption of dystopias that all could emerge in the wake of global culture, mass media explosion, and immigration. The nation could be split in a new war over ideas, or a new "religion war" as it was metaphorically stated. Migration without integration could split the country and breed new conflicts. Superficial and international mass media images would nourish vicarious experience and irrationalism at the cost of real knowledge and values. The cultural heritage of the nation – its history, myths, stories, songs, and paintings – needed protection so that the nation as a whole could contribute, with originality and its special offers of identification, to the world community. To master the threat of the knowledge explosion, classical scientific models and academic skills were needed to construct a "we" able to master the flow of information.

The possibility of geopolitical control was diminishing with the knowledge and mass media explosion, immigration, and specialization, potentially leading to a weakened and fragmented nation. The manufacture of consent, inspired by Walter Lippmann, was made explicit as a political strategy and goal to counter these potential conflicts though a common national curriculum. The new core curriculum used Norway's dominant majority culture and religion as the key building bricks in this new national identification process. Central government set the fundamental associations and references allowing members of the community to organize information, communicate effectively and understandably with each other creating a harmonious society. The premise of the construction was to safeguard a cultural "we" group against a global "they" group. In traditions, the connection of local and national identification laid the important values creating distinctiveness, depth, stability, breadth, vigor, and unity in identities against the transitions and massive changes of globalization.

> […] The increasing specialization and complexity of the global community requires a deepened familiarity with the main currents and traditional tones of our Norwegian culture. The expansion of knowledge, moreover, demands heightened awareness of the values which must guide our choices.

When transitions are massive and changes rapid, it becomes even more pressing to emphasize historical orientation, national distinctiveness and local variation to safeguard our identity - and to sustain a global environment with breadth and vigor. A good general education must contribute to national identity and solidarity by impressing the common stamp from local communities in language, tradition, and learning. This will also make it easier for pupils who move to find their footing anew as migration will mean relocation within a familiar commonality. The bonds between generations will be closer when they share experiences and insights, stories, songs, and legends.

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Newcomers are more easily incorporated into our society when implicit features of our culture are made clear and exposed to view. Knowledge about past events and achievements unite people over time. The knowledge of history enhances our ability to set goals and choose. (KUF, 1993, p. 29)

The core curriculum and the subject plans were given long and detailed lists over the references and associations that were to set the common set of national identifications. Later, in the new reform Kunnskapsløftet (2004) the detailed subjects planned were removed and more local curriculums were expected; still they were to be deducted from the core curriculum of 1993, which is still the premise of schools today.

Through the analysis, it was determined that both the economic and cultural identifications in the core curriculum of the 1990s were driven by very strong conflict structures. The nation's economic and cultural states were both threatened by inner and outer enemies. Inner economic threats came in the form of homo-economics and occupational specialization, fostering individual or group egoism rather than organic solidarity with the nation. Outer threats came from international economic competition, migration, a knowledge explosion, and a mass media culture spreading images and culture with little value, breaking down the nation's cultural common ground and possibility of community. The result was a dominant structure of national identification within the curriculum – an identification structure that was based on the majority culture's premises which provided little support for schools dealing with the new, diverse pupil population of a global age (Trippestad, 2011, 2014).

Teaching for European Identification? The Curriculum of Czech, German and Polish Teachers

The growing cultural diversity that accompanies increasing international immigration, political internationalization, and growing social interconnectedness of people and events is not only experienced as a danger to traditional and national values, norms, and standards. It is also taken as an opportunity to question the national identification and to overcome its limits by designing and coping with permanent change of modern societies. Promising answers to the global change are made by international and intercultural concepts of education. Offering an open identification structure to the students, it is assumed to contribute to international and intercultural understanding, global (organic) solidarity, and peace. The legal framework of this perspective can be traced back to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948 (e.g. Art. 26). Since then national and international political agents have published a large number of documents, striving for a peaceful, respectful, and equal relation between people, nations, and cultures in education.

The humanistic and universal goals became most popular in the process of European integration, where the formation of a supranational identity helps to build trust between Europeans to overcome the democratic and cultural deficit of the European integration process. Thus, EU and its member states are undertaking steps to implement the European dimension in school curriculum (e.g. the Single European Act of 1986, Mickel 2002). The international (European) perspective on education has received fresh impetus since the big change of 1989; a crucial part of educational policy has stemmed from the Central East European transformation states. For instance, Czech Republic and Poland integrated European identification as a focus of the creation of new national school curricula. The Czech Education Ministry published in the beginning of 1990s reports of experts, with the title: "The future of education and school in a renewed democratic society and in the integrating Europe." With reference to Poland, Hörner (2002) underlines the "Europa-Kompatibilität" of Polish school as the guiding narrative of school reform discourse. In (East) Germany the situation has been slightly

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different. With the German unification and the "Quasi-Beitritt" ("quasi-joining") of the GDR to the EC, (Teske, 1993, p. 13) the EU's previous educational decisions and the resolution "Europe in class-room" by The Standing Conference of the Ministers of Education and Cultural Affairs (1978, 1990) gained credibility in the five new federal states in East Germany.

All in all, the radical transformation in Central Eastern Europe demonstrates that social change and uncertainty do not necessarily lead to a renaissance of national identifications. However, the question is: Does the strengthening of the European dimension in school curriculum lead to a real alternative to the conflicting and fixed national structure of identification? To shed light on this problem, we shall now present the "European curriculum" of Czech, Polish, and German teachers. What do they perceive as the curriculum for European identification and which structure of identification is implied? The answer to the questions results from empirical data which was gathered during the project "Teaching for Europe". During the 2003-04 school year, problem-centred interviews with 92 teachers from Katowice (Poland), Liberec (Czech Republic), and Leipzig (Germany-Saxony) were carried out. For each country, ten teachers at the primary school level and twenty teachers at the first secondary school level were interviewed, all of whom were history, civics, or social studies teachers. The discussions examined the issue of 22 theoretically grounded and socially relevant guiding questions which gave information about the content knowledge particular to one's profession (Shulman, 1991) and expectations that teachers hold with respect to the cultivation of an European consciousness as well as their European affiliations. (Jobst, 2010)

In the following discussion, we concentrate on the results that point to the relation between national and European identification.

The central role of national references within individual "Europe-curriculum" of teachers

The response of the teachers, to which extent their teaching contains contents about Europe, was answered quite differently by the teachers in each of the three study regions. It is shown that the Polish teachers from Katowice include Europe into their lessons at a comparatively extensive level. In contrast, the German teachers are the group with the fewest European references in their teaching. Looking at the grade level in which the children are introduced to Europe, it is notable that even in the Polish primary school, children learn about Europe extensively and learn about the interactions between the Polish and European history and culture. In this sense, topics like "Our Europe", "The emergence of Europe", or "European roots in Polish culture" are discussed. Against this background of the "European curriculum", lessons by Leipzig teachers can be described as "minimalistic" because they are limited to isolated topics including "the borders of Saxony" or celebrations in other countries. According to statements of the Leipzig teachers, teaching about the EU takes place only in 10th grade. The Czech teacher point to an intermediate position: compared with the Polish teacher, they include Europe less extensively in their lessons, but in contrast with the German teacher, they underline the development of an European membership at more primary level.

What are aspects that can explain those significant differences? A key question is whether or not the teacher's identification with Europe will also correspond with a strong engagement in teaching supranational identifications. To test this assumption, a quantitative analyses, measuring the effects of local, regional, national, European, and global identification of the teachers, as well as the influence of the study region on the dependent variable "intensity of teaching European identification" was used. As can be seen in Table 1 - in the final model 2 - substantial effects were revealed only in the case of national identification and study region.

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Table 1: Effect of "identification" and "study region" on the "intensity of teaching Europe"

independent variable	dependent variable "intensity of teaching Europe"		
	r (bivariate correlation)	Regression model 1	Regression model 2
		standardized regression coeffizient Beta	
local identification	-,06	-,20*	-,06
regional identification *(Saxony/Bohemia/Silesia)*	,19*	-,03	,07
	,60***	,57***	,19*
national identification *(Germany/Czech Republic/Poland)*	,40***	,24*	-,14
European identification	,06	-,05	,05
global identification			
Study region (dummy with reference: Katowice/Poland)	-,55***	-	-,86***
Leipzig (Germany)	-,22*	-	-,72***
Liberec (Czech Republic)			
Control variable			
Age	-,07		-,06
R^2		,41***	,68***

Note: * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$

One result stands out: It is not the teacher's identification with Europe, but rather their national identification and their wider teaching context that have a strong impact on the integration of European contents into teaching. In the present study, the Polish context fosters a comparatively strong consideration of Europe in the teacher's curriculum. Looking into the Polish official subject curriculum, you will in fact find a significant contrast to the German and a contrast to the Czech intended subject curriculum. The Polish core curriculum (podstawa programowa) as well as the "author's curriculum" written by teachers and extra-curricular actions (e.g. Europaclub) focus very much on European identification (Jobst, 2014, p. 293). However, it is not the European identification of the teachers but their national identification that lays the foundation for teaching supranational identification. This interesting finding is confirmed by considering the actual content and aims of teachers' teaching for Europe.

Dominant structure of national identification as basis for a meaningful Europe

From the reports of both the Polish and the Czech teachers it is clear that the identification of the European topic is closely linked to the national interests. In this sense the teacher's nation can be considered as central reference point when it comes to European identification. A teacher from Katowice explained:

The aim of the European education is to help the young people to become a true European. During these hours, we show how we – the Polish people - have enriched Europe and how

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Europe has enriched us. During these hours, we show our connections to Europe, from the beginning of time. [203, 14-18]

Considering, however, the Leipzig teacher pays no attention to the nation when it comes to Europe.

With respect to the question to which extent the formation of European identity or consciousness could be of any worth, most of the teachers indicate universal expectations. Focusing on European identification, school should contribute to the development of universal values like tolerance, understanding, acceptance of other cultures and nations, as well as to the reduction of xenophobia. However, a closer look into the different regions shows: Whereas German and Czech teacher see European education closely connected to a universalistic moral, the Polish teachers are characterized by a strong national in-group relation (Cramers'V = .48; p = .000). 47% of these teachers think that the European awareness should help pupils to consolidate their national identity. One teacher commented as follows:

A larger belief that the Pole also counts in this united Europe. They should understand the contribution to European culture and history. For whatever reason, we always feel worse than others. Sometimes foreigners judge us better than we judge ourselves. I wish that the youth believes in itself and feels that they are equal partners for EU citizens. They should believe that the Poland has much to offer to the EU. [222, 69-79]

It should also be noted that in most cases (70%) the strengthening of the national Polish identification was not accompanied by the development of universalistic values. (Jobst, 2010, p. 185)

To summarize, an extensive articulation of European issues in teaching is closely connected to national identifications. Teachers that are most likely to address European identifications to their students connect their "European curriculum" to national interests and focus on national belongings. In addition, the more teachers identify themselves with their nation the more they include European contents in their teaching. To conclude, without national identification there is no European identification. On the basis of this study, a dominant national identification structure is the basis for European identification. This could be a way to make the abstract category Europe more meaningful and subjectively understandable. On the other hand, and under certain conditions, the dominant identification structure may end up in a conflicting, nationalistic identification structure. Evidence for this can also be found in this study, since further analyses show that "Europe in classroom" functions as a social exclusive category. Half of the teacher underline – without asking them – that a European identification curriculum can also be exclusive, since the European identification of the pupil changes with the social-economic background. They point to the poor economic situation of some families which may not allow them to travel to other countries or to the fact that individuals may not care for Europe or are frightened of Europe (increase of unemployment rate, poverty). In this sense, an European education will reinforce the distance between school and social-economically disadvantaged kids.

Discussion

It was the aim of this paper to discuss the role of national identification set up in school curriculum of different European states. All the analyses distinctly point to the fact that national identifications are far away from being displaced. Rather they are strengthened in the course of economic globalization, increasing immigration and even as a part of a supranational European curriculum.

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The conflicting economic narrative and dominant cultural narrative in Norwegian curriculum can be characterized as a modern version of utopian engineering, describing by Popper in The Open Society and Its Enemies (Trippestad, 2009). However, the recourse to national identification and the popular slogan "Back to Europe", which shaped the educational policy of the Central East European transformation states during the 90s, can be seen in this light. Popper describes two political panic reactions to these more open, relativistic, and uncertain societies. The first reaction he calls the arrested state. It is a political reaction formed on the premise that you can control the present flux with values and solutions from the past. Typical traits of such reactions are conflicting narratives of tribalism, patriotism, and active use of religious and mystic rhetoric in governance. The world is seen as in decay from an ideal or original golden age. Restoration of this golden age is at the core of politics and becomes a dominant structure. The second reaction is the belief that policies can control the future through visions, planning, use of science, and instrumental bureaucracy.

Of course, the actions within the political field are not without controversy. From political theory, we know that political governance is characterized by problem solving bias and power bias (Mayntz, 2009, p. 48). Within the context of our paper, this is underlined by the fact that the national identification, set up by educational policies, will only become an identity when teachers and pupils connect meaning to it. Further, it can be assumed that teachers, implementing their curriculum, make their own vital contribution to the development of society and its underlying structures of identification. However, the results of the teacher study also suggest that an European curriculum, as a concrete example of international education, cannot be considered as a way for fundamental changes of national school and national identity formation. Quite the opposite, the data indicate a "hidden curriculum" of European identity formation. First, the identification of European issues serves to strengthen the national identity – to preserve a fixed traditional culture. Second, European identification in school seems to foster social reproduction and by preserving the old ambivalent role of the national school. In this sense, the focus on supranational identification follows the old national ambivalent patterns of social and cultural reproduction. One can even dare to argue that the practice of European education in the national school stabilizes the unequal distribution of cultural capital since social justice is seen as an automatic integrated part of international education, but not discussed yet as one of its intended and hidden element.

Taking those contradictions of European education and the double identity goal of the Norwegian official curriculum – which identifies modern individuals as being competitive, effective, and at the same time acting in solidarity, sharing gained wealth globally – educational agencies set up paradoxical identifiers while dealing with social change and uncertainty.

Last, but not least, reshaping contemporary society in the context of transitions and massive changes in economic globalization, internationalization, and multiculturalism requires an open structure of identification – an identification structure that questions the majority culture's premises.

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Johnson-Mardones: Understandig Curriculum as Phenomenon, Field and Design
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Understanding Curriculum as Phenomenon, Field, and Design: A Multidimensional conceptualization[i]

Summary: This paper searches for an understanding of curriculum as a phenomenon, a field, and a design process. Curriculum is a complex phenomenon. Curriculum is also an "interdisciplinary academic field devoted to understanding curriculum" (Pinar, 2011, ix). In addition, curriculum also refers to the process of design through which the content of schooling is verified. The context of my endeavour is teacher education. In fact, thinking about curriculum becomes even more complex when thinking about how to teach it to future teachers. It seems to me that at this level we cannot avoid to assume a pluralistic view of the field thinking what is its historical legacy, including the major gap between curriculum theory and curriculum development. Therefore, the field of curriculum studies has changed by incorporating different dimensions to the concept of curriculum, making it a layered or multidimensional concept. I argue that a multidimensional concept of curriculum can be a powerful theoretical tool for understanding curriculum, to organized and create knowledge about it, and to inform the process of curriculum design.
Keywords: multidimensional curriculum, curriculum studies, curriculum design, curriculum research.

Резюме (Даниель Ф. Джонсон-Мардонес: Понимание учебного плана как феномена, сферы деятельности и дизайна: многомерная концептуализация): Данная статья рассматривает понимание учебного плана как феномена, сферы деятельности и процесса дизайна. Образовательная программа представляет собой комплексный феномен, а также "междисциплинарную область науки, посвященную пониманию учебного плана" (Пинар 2011, икс). Кроме того, учебный план относится к процессу конструкции, через который верифицируется содержание образования. В рамках моего исследования рассматривается педагогическое образование. Оказывается, что размышления об образовательной программе становятся более затруднительными, когда речь идет о том, как передать ее будущим учителям. При плюралистическом рассмотрении данного вопроса на данном уровне мне кажется неизбежным вопрос о его историческом наследии, включая большие пробелы между теорией учебного плана и его развитием. В связи с этим в области исследований учебного плана произошло включение различных многоступенчатых концепций учебного плана. Я думаю, что многомерная концепция учебного плана может стать мощным инструментом теоретического понимания, организации, усвоения и передачи знаний об учебном плане и процессе его создания.
Ключевые слова: многомерные учебные планы, исследования учебного плана, дизайн учебного плана, исследование учебного плана

Zusammenfassung (Daniel F. Johnson-Mardones: Das Verständnis des Lehrplans als Phänomen, Arbeitsbereich und Design: Eine multidimensionale Konzeptualisierung): Dieser Artikel hinterfragt das Verständnis des Curriculums als Phänomen, Arbeitsbereich und Design-Prozess. Das Curriculum ist ein komplexes Phänomen sowie auch ein "interdisziplinärer Wissenschaftsbereich, dem Curriculum-Verständnis gewidmet" (Pinar 2011, ix). Darüber hinaus bezieht sich Curriculum auf den Prozess der Konstruktion, durch den der Bildungsinhalt verifiziert wird. Der Rahmen

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meiner Untersuchung ist die Lehrerbildung. Es erweist sich, dass das Nachdenken über das Curriculum noch komplexer wird, wenn es darum geht, wie es künftigen Lehrern zu vermitteln ist. Wenn wir eine pluralistische Betrachtung dieses Bereichs anstreben, scheint es mir auf dieser Ebene unvermeidbar, nach seinem historischen Erbe, einschließlich der großen Lücke zwischen Lehrplan-Theorie und Lehrplan-Entwicklung zu fragen. Deshalb erfolgte im Bereich der Curriculum-Studien die Einbeziehung unterschiedlicher, mehrstufiger Lehrplankonzepte. Ich meine, dass ein multidimensionales Curriculum-Konzept ein leistungsfähiges Werkzeug sein kann für das theoretische Verständnis, für die Organisierung und die Aneignung und Vermittlung von Wissen über das Curriculum und den Prozess seiner Gestaltung.
Schlüsselwörter: mehrdimensionale Lehrpläne, Curriculum-Studien, Curriculum-Design

Introduction

The main question in the field of curriculum seems to be "What is curriculum?" The polysemy of the concept has been traditionally pointed out by listing the multiple definitions that the authors in the field have offered over time. These definitions have been organized, for instance, by distinguishing between those that can be labelled as prescriptive and those that can be termed descriptive. In the field of curriculum, prescription abounds while descriptions scarce, Stenhouse affirmed in England, beginning the 1970's. The same criticism has been taking place in the United States from the late 1970's for those concerned by a field dominated by the so-called Tyler rationale. Since then, Jackson would name a hidden curriculum taking place in schools, Schwab would call for the practical as the language of curriculum, and the next decade would bring a vibrant scholarship seeking to reconceptualize the field. All that brought up a proliferation of new definitions. Those definitions were put into to classifications and typologies, which proliferated just as the definitions did. The field became a very complicated conversation.

In the United States, the crisis of the Sputnik and the educational reform in the 1960's, among other factors, co-helped to provoke a main gap in the field: the gap between curriculum development and curriculum theory. The latter was no longer concerned with the development of curriculum prescription, but with understanding curriculum as lived educational experience. Kridel (2010) has argued that curriculum studies "designates a shift of theory and practice as scholars sought understanding of curricula as a phenomena of interest and societal import in contrast with sole concentration on service to leaders of practice in schools" (p. 230). As a result, the field of curriculum studies has been fractured, broadly speaking, among those working in curriculum design and those doing curriculum theory. Therefore, this complicated field has been incapable of, and reluctant to, offering a unified view of the field. This is not a problem by itself but definitely becomes an issue when we situate our reflection upon teacher education. In fact, thinking about curriculum becomes even more complex when thinking about how to teach it to future teachers. It seems to me that at this level we cannot avoid to assume a pluralistic view of the field thinking what is its historical legacy, including the major gap between curriculum theory and curriculum development. In this regard, having teacher education in mind, I unavoidably and indirectly address some "unpacking curriculum controversies" (Cochran-Smith & Demers, 2008, p. 261) and reflect about what remains in the field.
With that in mind, I address in this paper the challenge of developing a concept of curriculum that might help to understand curriculum as a phenomenon, curriculum as a process of design, and curriculum as a field. My hunch is that this can be made by looking at the history of the field and its multiple conceptualization of the curriculum phenomenon and organizing them in as if every type were a dimension of a complex phenomenon. This, I believe, would not only be of some help in the field of teacher education but also may help to build our capacity of taking across within the field of education including policy makers. The pedagogical concern both in teacher education and schooling

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as a public sphere informs this search for a multidimensional concept of curriculum that allows to understand curriculum as a phenomenon, as design and as field.

Curriculum as an Academic Field

Beginning the second decade of the 21st Century, curriculum is established as a divergent field moving in different directions (Pinar, 2011). This is the weakness and strength of the field "that (supposedly) is there to help us think rigorously about what and whose knowledge is of most worth" (Apple, 2010, p. 100). These centripetal tendencies are certainly a consequence of the field's history during the last decades of the Twentieth Century. This history is marked by the reconceptualization of curriculum studies in the United States and the incorporation of phenomenology, existentialism, psychoanalysis, critical theory, biography, gender, race, and class analysis, postmodernism, poststructuralism, and so on, in the project of understanding curriculum. The three decades of the last Century we times of expansion for the field of curriculum. Those times of expansion permitted curriculum studies to surpass the theoretical feature of the field and to some extend to advance in overcoming its, in Kliebard's (1977) words, disturbing "lack of historical perspective" (p. 55). This historical understanding needs still to be explored, both in the US and other contexts. As Pinar (2011) has argued, becoming historical "restores the field's historic concerns as historic," (p. 111) connecting us with our legacy. Therefore, looking inward and backward in the field would make possible "finding some common cause and common understanding across our vast landscape of difference" (Hlebowitsh, 2009, p. 15).

Working from a historical perspective, Shubert (2010) has suggested that there is a "tension [in curriculum studies] between the expansion of curriculum ideas and the need to summarize them for dissemination," say in teacher education programs, graduate programs in curriculum studies, professional development for in-service teachers, educational administrators and supervisors, policy makers, and so on. Furthermore, Schubert (2010) claims that these "expansive and synoptic dimensions of the field complement one another" (p.18). If so, this synoptic reconstruction in curriculum studies should be undertaken by understanding the main conceptual contribution to the field as shedding light onto a dimension of the complex curriculum phenomenon. What is possible to come out of that process is an understanding of a field that has changed by incorporating different dimensions to the concept of curriculum, making it a layered or multidimensional concept. These different dimensions are emphasized by different curriculum discourses that can be conceptualized as research space opened by scholars concerned with understanding curriculum. The organized view of the field, resulting from that endeavour, provides possibilities of dialogue with other fields within the field of education such as educational policies, teacher education, and subject-matter oriented fields. This view connects curriculum theory and curriculum design, as well as facilitates the research in the field to be enriched by the field's conceptual development, and vice versa.

Curriculum as a Phenomenon

Curriculum is a complex phenomenon. This complexity makes the curriculum a complex as well as controversial endeavour (Pacheco, 2012). However, this complexity has not always been addressed as such. Under the dominance of curriculum development, curriculum was defined as written or official curriculum. The word "written" emphasized the curriculum's feature of being a document: a document that regulates the content of schooling, shapes the school experience, and controls teachers' work. This written document was conceived as a selective tradition that one generation passes through to the next. Curriculum is a document of identity, as the Brazilian curriculum scholar Tomaz Tadeu Da Silva (1999) reminds us. This narrow conceptualization of curriculum, as a written official

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prescription and only a course of study, was called into question during the 1960's. *Life in Classrooms* (Jackson, 1968) was probably the first text that explicitly affirmed that what students learned at school was something more than just the official or written curriculum. Through schedules, routines, and school rituals students learned what Jackson called a hidden curriculum. Ever since, different types of curriculum have been named: hidden curriculum (Jackson, 1968; Apple,1970); ideal curriculum, formal curriculum, perceived curriculum, operational curriculum, experiential curriculum (Goodlad, 1979); explicit, implicit, and null curricula (Eisner, 1979); recommended, written, supported, taught, tested, hidden, and learned curricula (Glatthorn et al, 2006). Again, different criteria for classifying curriculum types pointed to different dimensions of this complex phenomenon. They are no more than an expression of the complexity of curriculum which "has intended, taught, embodied, hidden, tested, and null dimensions" (Shubert, 2008, p. 410). Ever since, different types of curriculum have been named, making curriculum a much more "complicated conversation" (Pinar, 1995).

Curriculum as design

Having conceptualized curriculum as a complex phenomenon and pointed the expansive and synoptic dimensions of the field of curriculum, now it is the time to connect this reflection to the problem of curriculum design. Curriculum development has typically emphasised the written dimension of curriculum as prescription. The development of a curriculum is more or less a matter of implementation taking place when the written curriculum has been formulated. Under Tyler rationale, this process is a technical task that teachers should address by developing what has already been decided and will be tested. Bloom's taxonomy was the perfect tool to accomplish that goal. This tool provided an uncritical procedure in which teachers could develop curriculum by choosing a series of verbs associated with different skill levels, formulating more and more specific objectives, which would allow measuring those educational goals. In this approach, teachers were not curriculum makers (Connelly & Clandinin, 1991) but technical developers of curriculum decisions already made by the designers of a teacher-roof curriculum. In that sense, Grimmett and Halvorson (2010) have claimed that what was missing in the process of reconceptualization was "to re-conceptualize the process by which curriculum is created," (p. 241) failing to frame "the creation of non-technicist curriculum" (p. 242). As a result, curriculum design has remained under a technical or instrumental approach. The practice of developing curriculum is part of schooling, and curriculum reform remains a main component of every educational reform. Therefore, Pinar (2013) would add, "the inability of the field to intervene in so-called school reform undermines any sense of professional and individual agency" (p. 3). As we see, the challenge of curriculum design is a concern across camps in the landscapes curriculum studies.

Acknowledging the complexity of curriculum as a phenomenon, curriculum design is conceived as a complicated decision making process that has technical, practical, and political implications. It is technical because it seems improbable that we can think of a school system without curriculum regulations, guides, and other documents that shape teaching. It is practical because practitioners make decisions about desired, or not, effects of these curriculum prescriptions, but also because there are aspects of the practical that escape and resist technical rationales. It is political because curriculum constrains the world view or views to which students will be exposed as part of their school experience.

Therefore, curriculum design needs to incorporate the field's legacy while moving from the idea of curriculum development to a conception of curriculum design. Curriculum design should become also multidimensional. In designing curriculum at national, state, district, school, or classroom level,

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we should include every dimension of the curriculum phenomenon such as the written curriculum, the taught curriculum, the hidden curriculum, the learned curriculum, and so on. All these dimensions should be included as a variable or set of variables in the deliberative process of decision-making. In design, as a decision-making process, curriculum reaches school and classroom levels. In that process, a collective act of "educational imagination" (Eisner, 1979) takes place. Through this "educational imagination", educators address the endeavour of enriching students' school experience.

A Precarious Multidimensional Concept of Curriculum

This multinational concept is precarious because is based on the curriculum history in the US; it also precarious as a reminder of that every conceptualization opens a space of meaning, while closing others. Being aware of this situation is essential in order to acknowledge the uncertainty, complexity, and unpredictability of curriculum practices and contexts. Consciousness of this precariousness is essential for the expansive and the synoptic dimensions of curriculum studies to complement one another. Under that understanding, I propose a multidimensional concept of curriculum which includes intended, non-intended, and experienced or lived curriculum.

The intended dimensions comprise those dimensions that are explicitly deployed by the older generation as part of what they want to convey to the younger generation. The intended dimensions comprise the official prescription, but also come about in the process of verification of any prescription. Therefore, four aspects of curriculum are considered to be intended curriculum. This intended dimensions are the written, the supported, the taught, and the tested. The written dimension implies the formulation and content of the written document that prescribes what should be taught at schools. The written dimension should include the national curriculum, but also those written documents at state, district, and school levels. The supported dimension composes all those aspects that make possible the actualization of any curriculum prescription. It is curriculum as embodied in materials "in which the content is selected, organized, and transformed for social, cultural, educational, curricular, and pedagogical purposes" (Deng, 2011, p. 538). It is the result of the process by which scholarly materials are translated into curriculum materials. Glatthorn et al. (2006) mention textbooks as an important component of supported curriculum. The taught dimension is the curriculum as is understood and put into practice by teachers. This is the curriculum as it is actually delivered by teachers, reinvented. As it has been said, "at some point, the design of the curriculum leaps off the paper and takes on a life in the school curriculum" (Hlebowitsh, 2009, p. 22). Finally, the tested dimension has to do with the forms of evaluations that students are asked to take by their teachers, the school, the district, the state, the central government, and even by international organizations in order to assess how well the prescribed curriculum has been learned by students. However, these evaluations also teach what is considered important in the classroom, school, society, and the world. Summarizing, the written, supported, taught, and tested dimensions of curricula are parts of the educational intention.

On the other hand, there are also non-intended, or at least non-explicit, aspects of curriculum. Those dimensions situates beyond the explicit educational intention. There, we find the hidden and null dimension of curriculum. The hidden dimension is what school teaches without teaching it. The null dimension is what is left outside of the official curriculum, what is not taught. In this sense, Glatthorn et al (2006) write:

Certain important aspects of the hidden curriculum are so intrinsic to the nature of schools as a cultural institution that they might be seen as constants. The depiction of those constants presented below has been influenced by a close reading of several authors: curricular Reconceptualists such as

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Apple (1979), Pinar (1978), and Giroux (1979); sociologists such as Dreeben (1968); and educational researchers such as Jackson (1968) and Goodlad (1984). One of the constants of the hidden curriculum is the ideology of the larger society, which permeates every aspect of schooling. Thus, schools in the United States inevitably reflect the ideology of democratic capitalism. (p. 23)

Finally, the experienced or lived curriculum dimension is a combination of the intended and the non-intended curriculum dimensions, but also exceeds that. It is the curriculum from the point of view of the student. Not the imagined student of policy documents, academics projects, or parents desires but the actual student in all his-her humanness. "The experienced curriculum expands attention to thoughts, meanings, and feelings of students as they encounter it" (Schubert, 2008, p. 409). In a more restrictive perspective what can be considered the experienced or lived curriculum is what Glatthorn et al (2006) names the learned curriculum. The learned curriculum is what students have actually learned in school: a combination of the intended and hidden curriculum. By discussing the experienced or lived curriculum, they make the point of thinking about the curriculum from the point of view of the student. Then curriculum becomes a complicated conversation about one's educational experience, as Pinar (2011) has argued.

The Potential of a Multidimensional Concept in Curriculum

Curriculum studies are an intellectual tradition within the field of education. Its institutional location is within schools of educations; it is a common course in teacher education programs. There exists a responsibility to convey the history and traditions, as well as the main concepts, of curriculum to newcomers to education. That is the pedagogical possibility that a multidimensional concept of curriculum presents. The potential of offering an organized view of the field, based on its intellectual contributions, it's a pedagogical endeavour that those who advocate for the educational field cannot ignore. This multidimensional concept it is part of the synoptic dimension of the field of curriculum studies that synthetized curriculum thought for dissemination (Schubert, 2008). This dissemination has teacher education and teachers' professional development two main sites –sites in which curricularists usually conduct their work. Efforts in that direction have certainly been made.

In addition, since each of these dimensions also rely on the role of different individuals within an educational system, the same work can be done from many points of view, providing insights to bridge the gap between the academic work and the practice of curriculum. Therefore, the consideration of these individuals around specific issues or programs make it possible to include the following individuals and groups in the analysis: the Government (written curriculum); Owners, administrators and publishing companies (supported curriculum); Teachers (taught curriculum); Teachers, government, and assessment agencies (tested curriculum); and Students (lived curriculum). The complexity of the curriculum phenomenon, thus, is also acknowledged in terms of the various participants in the field.

It is promising to think about this multidimensional concept as both curriculum and phenomenon, as a field and as a design. This brings about connections between the theoretical development of the field and specific research areas that inform how each dimension of the curriculum phenomenon is actualized in each specific context. Therefore, in addition to offering a multidimensional conceptualization of the curriculum phenomenon – a conceptualization consistent with the complex nature of curriculum – a theoretical foundation for continued research emerges, which may provide the description of each curriculum dimension. Even more, this research should include the relations among those dimensions in particular contexts: the written, supported, taught, tested, hidden, null, and ex-

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perience curriculum. This research could also permit the considerations of diachronic and synchronic, as well as their interconnections, giving an even more comprehensive view of curriculum. This intellectual endeavour is not a call to abandon theoretical work in curriculum; theory, after all, "is the result of our desire to create a world [or field] we can understand" (Eisner, 1985, p. 29).

Final remark

The field of curriculum studies has grown by incorporating different dimensions to the concept of curriculum, making it a layered or multidimensional concept. A multidimensional concept of curriculum can be a theoretical tool to understanding curriculum, to create knowledge about it, and to inform curriculum design. This multidimensional perspective could, then, inform a research program to understand curriculum locally, nationally, and globally, providing a baseline of knowledge about curriculum that everyone in the field should be familiar with and, more importantly, a minimum of curriculum knowledge to be passed to the next generation. Whether or not this minimum has been reached is something that every intellectual community should answer nationally and internationally.

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Reinhard Golz (Germany)

The Foundation of Peace Education by Jan Amos Comenius (1592-1670) and its Topicality

Summary: *The foundation of a peace education was an integral part of the pansophic work of J.A. Comenius (1592-1670), a consequence of his own life experiences as a refugee, displaced persons and asylum seeker during the Thirty Years' War (1618-1648). As an educator, theologian, philosopher and linguist, Comenius significantly contributed to the reconciliation of peoples, cultures and religions. He can thus be seen as the founder of an intercultural, international and inter-religious peace education, whose growing importance in our times is obvious. Cultural and religious differences multiply in the wake of growing social problems. There is new relevance in acquiring the Comenian concept of intercultural and interreligious dialogue and peace education in the context of current general-xenophobic, racist and especially Islamophobic trends in parts of the German and European populations. Peace education must expose anti-humanist, xenophobic positions and educate on the benefits of cosmopolitan societies.*
Keywords: *Jan Amos Comenius, Peace Education, intercultural and interreligious dialogue, xenophobia, refugees*

Резюме *(Рейнхард Гольц: Основание воспитания в духе мира Яном Амосом Коменским [1592-1670] и его актуальность в наши дни): Основание воспитания в духе мира было неотъемлемой частью пансофического труда Я. А. Коменского (1592-1670), следствием его собственного жизненного опыта как беженца, вынужденного переселенца и просителя убежища во время Тридцатилетней войны (1618-1648). Как педагог, теолог, философ и лингвист, Коменский внес значительный вклад в примирение народов, культур и религий. Таким образом, его можно рассматривать как основателя межкультурного, международного и межрелигиозного воспитания в духе мира, растущее значение которого в наше время нельзя не признать. Культурные и религиозные различия увеличиваются в ходе роста социальных проблем. Концепция межкультурного и межрелигиозного диалога Коменского и воспитания в духе мира вновь является востребованной в рамках существования в наши дни ксенофобных, расистских и особенно враждебных по отношению к исламу тенденций среди населения Германии и Европы. Воспитание в духе мира выявляет антигуманистические, враждебные позиции и обнаруживает преимущества космополитических обществ.*
Ключевые слова: *Ян Амос Коменский; воспитание в духе мира, межкультурный, межрелигиозный диалог; ксенофобия; беженцы*

Zusammenfassung *(Reinhard Golz: Die Begründung der Friedenserziehung durch Jan Amos Comenius [1592-1670] und ihre Aktualität): Die Begründung einer Friedenserziehung war integraler Bestandteil des pansophischen Werkes von J.A. Comenius (1592-1670), eine Konsequenz seiner eigenen Lebenserfahrungen als Flüchtling, Vertriebener und Asylsuchender während des Dreißigjährigen Krieges (1618-1648). Als Pädagoge, Theologe, Philosoph und Linguist, leistete Comenius einen wesentlichen Beitrag zur Versöhnung der Völker, Kulturen und Religionen. Er kann damit als Begründer einer interkulturellen, internationalen und interreligiösen Friedenserziehung gesehen werden, deren wachsende Bedeutung in unserer Zeit klar zu erkennen ist. Kulturelle und religiöse Unterschiede vervielfachen sich im Zuge wachsender sozialer Probleme. Comenius' Konzept des interkulturellen und interreligiösen Dialogs und der Friedenserziehung erlangt eine neue Relevanz im Rahmen der derzeitigen allgemeinen-fremdenfeindlichen, rassistischen und speziell islamfeindlichen Tendenzen in Teilen der deutschen und europäischen Bevölkerung. Friedenserziehung muss anti-humanistische, fremdenfeindliche Positionen offenlegen und über die Vorteile kosmopolitischer Gesellschaften informieren.*
Schlüsselwörter: *Jan Amos Comenius; Friedenserziehung, interkultureller, interreligiöser Dialog; Fremdenfeindlichkeit; Flüchtlinge*

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Aspects of the present dealing with cultural and religious difference

Our time is characterized by processes of globalization, internationalization, migration and social transformations. Coupled with this are progressive socio-economic and political developments on the one hand, and serious social undesirable developments, challenges and problems on the other. The latter includes ongoing conflicts and wars in which peoples and nations, cultures and religions, suffer; eg in Afghanistan, Iraq, Yemen, Libya, Nigeria, Syria, or in Ukraine. A result of these conflicts is migration and refugee movements away from social, economic and cultural pressures, political, ethnic and religious persecution. More and more people are looking for help and protection in other countries where they hope for asylum, cultural and religious tolerance, and improved living prospects. In the societies of the host countries, in turn, they are faced with sections of the population who have joined populist right-wing movements, often for diffuse and irrational reasons. This leads to intercultural and inter-religious intolerance and ignorance, xenophobic demonstrations and aggressive actions in particular against refugees.

All sectors of society in almost all democratic host countries in Europe, but especially in Germany and France, are currently facing major challenges in dealing with xenophobic, right-wing populist movements. In France the "Front National" is known and in Germany there are known right-wing populist parties, such as the "National Democratic Party of Germany," and since 2013 a new right-wing conservative that is also Europe- and Euro-critical party called "Alternative for Germany". Moreover, since 2014 there is a right-wing populist, nationalist and xenophobic movement in Germany under the name of "Patriotic Europeans against the Islamization of the West" (PEGIDA), with branches in other countries.

The positions of the propagandists of these parties and movements are diffuse, populist, anti-democratic, nationalist and clearly xenophobic. They stir up sentiments mainly against an alleged Islamization of German and European societies, show a frightening lack of information (or ignorance) about the real cultural and ethnic composition of the population and especially about the actual size of the Muslim population which has not been recognized fully by politicians. Frustration over social problems, the alleged threat to national (German) identity through cultural and extremist religious alienation, etc. is being exploited for blind hatred of anything foreign as well as refugees, asylum seekers and other marginalized people in society.

At the same time we see a broad alliance of social organizations, churches, religious communities, entrepreneurs, students, politicians, people from all walks of life. The supporters of this movement, among them eg „NO-PEGIDA", oppose the racist, Islamophobic, xenophobic, populist-nationalist ideology; they represent a cosmopolitan multicultural society in which diversity of people is realized not as a burden but as an asset. For them the reception of refugees and asylum seekers is a humanitarian duty; immigration can be an enrichment for an aging society and the commercial future in Germany.

The numerical participation in the xenophob demonstrations and movements has tended to decrease in recent months, and it seems to be but a split of some of these movements in a part which could be more moderate, more open to dialogue and another part which has taken a more aggressive direction with a blind hatred of everything foreign. It is beyond the scope of this article to list all current available publications on the subject here. One will find lots of related information eg in: Geiges, Marg & Walter, 2015; Klose & Patzelt, 2015; Kluge, 2015; Reuband, 2015; see also constantly updated Internet information under "Patriotische Europäer gegen die Islamisierung des Abendlandes" (Patriotische Europäer ..., 2015). Meanwhile, there are also numerous English-language sites on the Internet (search for: "Patriotic Europeans Against the Islamization of the West" or "Patriotic Europeans

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against the Islamization of the Occident".

The societies in Germany and other countries are characterized by cultural, ethnic, religious and lin-guistic differences, and they have specific experience in dealing with minorities. Humanistic, cosmo-politan attitudes of the majority are faced with growing xenophobic attitudes of certain sections of the population. Frightening trends of increasing intolerance not only to refugees, but also generally to cultural and religious differences are paradoxically particularly noted in areas with a compara-tively small number of immigrants or people from other cultures.

How can the peaceful, democratic, cosmopolitan atmosphere be promoted in these societies? How can a Peace Education be developed, justified and designed as a complex of different fields of work with far reaching tasks that affect the whole society, not only the school, but people of all ages? Peace Education includes humanistic-democratic handling of intercultural and inter-religious conflicts; anti-militarism, human rights education, intercultural education, anti-racism, globalearning, gender equality, environmental education and other related values. In short – it is about contemporary peaceful dealing with cultural and religious differences, inconsistencies and conflicts (see eg Wulf, 1989; Kössler & Schwitanski, 2014). One thing seems to be clear: pragmatic short-lived political ap-peals are not far reaching enough. What needs to be developed is a peaceful solution to the differ-ences between actual and alleged intercultural and inter-religious conflicts and to shape and consol-idate a democratic and cosmopolitan society. Peace education should not just focus only on schools, but see itself as a social challenge. That means to uncover also the current social causes of xenophobia and nationalism and not to ignore the relevant causes. Xenophobic attitudes and actions are not pri-marily about social orientation problems of socially neglected youth. Those trends are even more to be located in the middle and older generations. Apart from people of socially disadvantaged back-grounds there are more and more unsettled members of the middle classes involved in xenophobic demonstrations.

The point is to understand better in depth the causes in their historical dimension. The history of the idea of peace and peace education and the work of their historic founders must be consulted to what extent their lessons and experiences may be worthy of discussion and helpful for our efforts to build a peaceful world. There have always been efforts to empower people through education to the peace-ful resolution of conflicts and violence. All cultures and religions have more or less contributed in their own way in doing so. Many historically significant personalities have dealt with this question since ancient times.

In this article, however, it is necessary to focus on a historical figure whose life and work in the the-matic context is particularly relevant: Jan Amos Comenius (1592-1670).

The countless publications updating historic insights and experiences of the peace educator Come-nius are too numerous to mention here, a German-language bibliography lists over 2,400 published titles up to the year 1999 (Michel & Beer, 2000). Since then the number of works on Comenius in German, Czech, English and other languages has continued to rise. The intensive research and publi-cation activities of the German Comenius Society (http://www.deutsche-comenius-gesell-schaft.de/coj.html), the editors and authors of the "Comenius Yearbook" (https://www.google.de/#q=comenius+Jahrbuch) and also some German universities which have compiled substantial literature lists on Comenius (see eg Müllner, 2013).

In terms of the biography of Comenius it is essential that his life in the Europe of the 30-year war (1618-1648) and its aftermath was a continuous restless work in the service of people and their im-

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provement through education, work in the service of cultural, ethnic and religious tolerance and humanity. His own life was marked by poverty, great tragedy and unimaginable misery, but also for his participation in major social transformations. It was the decisive point of reference for the work of the educator, philosopher, theologian and linguist Jan Amos Comenius, to make a fundamental, systematic contribution to the idea of peace and place it in a basic educational context. Comenius developed peace education as a fundamental principle in all teaching, learning and information processes - from early childhood to death (Röhrs, 2005). Insofar it meets some general criteria for an educational innovation (Ellis, 2005, p. 13 f.).

One of Comenius' creeds was, according to his own lifelong experience:

> "We are all citizens of one world (...). To hate a man because he was born in another country, because he speaks a different language, or because he takes a different view on this subject or that, is a great folly. (...) Let us put aside all selfishness in considerations of language, nationality, or religion. " (Comenius, Panegersia; quoted eg in Golz, Korthaase & Schäfer, 1996, p. 126).

Many countries in Europe were refuges for him from the religious clashes and the chaos of war. However, some of his visits were initiated by royal families and high-ranking civil personalities. They sought his advice as a reformer of the school and the educational thinking. Despite his dramatic and often discouraging life, which was marked by repression, wars and cultural, ethnic and religious intolerance, he left behind a life's work that is astonishingly relevant. Comenius was and is internationally recognized as the "Teacher of Nations", the first great theorist of a systematic and comprehensive education (eg Panek, 1991; Hofmann, 1975; Röhrs, 2005; Schaller, 1992; Scheuerl, 1979; Korthaase, 2005). Among his pedagogical-didactic major works, only the following are highlighted here: "De rerum humanarum emendatione consultatio catholica” (differently translated into English, eg as “A general consultation concerning the improvement of human affairs”, in German as “Allgemeine Beratung zur Verbesserung der menschlichen Dinge”) [Komenský (= Comenius), 1970), with its parts "Pampaedia" (ibid., pp. 231 ff. and "Panglottia", pp. 295 ff.)]; the "Great Didactic" (Comenius, 1961; Keatinge, 2012), and "Orbis Sensualium Pictus" (Comenius, 1658; Alt, 1987; Nezel, 1996).

Comenius never gave up his main goal - to improve the human condition through peace education. In an essay for the UNESCO Bureau of Education, Jean Piaget (1896-1980) put it:

> "Nothing is more moving, in following Comenius' career, than the fact that this eternal exile, eternally a member of a minority group never tired of drawing up plans for international collaboration: general schemes for universal peace. " (Piaget, 1993, 10) And elsewhere Piaget expressed his belief that Comenius' works "do not need to be corrected or, in reality, contradicted in order to bring them up to date, but merely to be translated and elaborated " (ibid. p. 13).

In cooperation with UNESCO, Comeniologists from all over the world urge translations of works of Comenius, at least into the most important global languages to critically and constructively utilize them for the development of peace education (Golz, 2000).

A common question is whether any of the historical developments of science, for example the educational Comeniology, can be a benefit for contemporary or current problem-solving strategies. Here we should refer to the German pedagogue Friedrich A. Diesterweg (1790-1866) and the American philosopher George Santayana (1863-1952). Diesterweg was convinced that anyone who does not know the history of his subject will never understand the connection of the whole, the moving force behind the work of the moment (Diesterweg, 1956, 205). And Santayana's warning reads: "Those

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who can not remember the past are condemned to repeat it." (Santayana, 1905, 284). That is: addressing current problems begins "with reflection on the contributions of those who have laid the groundwork for present theory and practice" and thus, to think beyond the moment, both historically, currently and into the future (Ellis, Golz & Mayrhofer, 2014, 10).

The thoughts and demands of Comenius are just as stimulating as they were bold and far reaching into the future even in his time: education for all (boys and girls, urban and rural children, regardless of social status and material wealth); a good school climate, instead of fear-generating drill; relating school learning to life, the world of children; clarity, etc. (J. Thonhauser - in: Golz 2000).

Future orientation is especially true for his idea of a lasting peace. Today it seems that - despite enlightenment and education – too many people learned nothing or not enough of the history of violent conflicts. The question is whether people still have to go through all the negative experiences of their ancestors to reach their own knowledge and insights. Can time-independent values be found under such conditions? Time has already shown that the legacy of Comenius, particularly at times of serious upheavals and related pedagogical orientation, problems become a new challenge and stimulation (Daum & Golz 1996, 215). But the mere contemplation of the best human values and virtues has not brought about much change up to the present time. One needs to be wary of being too enthusiastic about the historical implications of the usefulness of the findings of historical education in the context of educational Comeniology. However, the following statement is likely to be uncontroversial: If people from history (eg the history of education in general and peace education in particular) have learned nothing, that does not mean that they could not have learned something, and it does not mean that one today can not learn anything from history. But if you can learn from history, then you must do it for ethical, moral and rational reasons, then, it is a categorical imperative.

The aim is to better our understanding and evaluation of current theory discourses and controversies in their historical and theoretical genesis (Harney & Krüger, 1997, 9). This applies in a special way for the development of peacefulness within societies and for individuals. People and nations need to remember history, to avoid the repetition of mistakes and failures in order to "escape the compulsion to repeat the evil" and also in order to empathize with people with different cultural and religious identities (Nipkow, 2005, 739). Ultimately, this also leads to the realization and overcoming of one's own, often unconscious ethnocentrism, an essential component of intercultural and inter-religious communication skills (Nieke, 2000; Krüger-Potratz, 2005; Lohmann & Weiße, 1994; Maletzke, 1996). Already Comenius had admonished his contemporaries that we should not hope that we will reach to veritable unity, universality and reformation, as long as we are dominated by the conviction of our own perfection (see: Comenius und der Weltfriede).

Aspects of the idea of peace between universalism, relativism and global ethic

What is needed is a peace education discussion of national and international educational traditions and values as well as their preservation and development, a discussion that is conducted on the basis of a tolerant, enlightened and moderate cultural relativism, which is aware of the dangers of absolutism (Golz, 1999). This applies in particular to the discussion on values in times of serious social transformations. The difficulty of questions regarding the "correct" values across national and cultural borders, and many generations is to be recognized. Values are not abstract and finally not fixed in their hierarchy for all time. From an enlightened relativistic point of view it is - according to the Protestant theologian F. Schorlemmer - about values that characterize and bind the peoples and cultures and enables intercultural and inter-religious understanding (Schorlemmer 1995, pp. 15-21).

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Comenius' enlightened universalist way aims to achieve the worldwide unity of all people ("We are all citizens of one world ..."). The life and works of Comenius were deeply religious. Yet his idea of peace is just affecting and also inspiring to non-religious people. Today's world, at least the European, is characterized by an increasing secularization of life. In terms of religion, there are major differences between eastern Germany (about 20% of the population are religious) and western Germany (about 72%). In eastern Germany there was always more attention to Comenius than in western Germany. Religious people in the Czech Republic are less than 20%, and yet Comenius is a Czech national hero and his memory is omnipresent in that country. Comenius' work for world peace not only appeals to Christians but also followers of other religions and people without any religious convictions, for example, secular humanists of all types and humanist atheists etc. (Edwards, 2008; Kahl, 2011; Flynn, 2015).

A similar claim has also been put forward by the Catholic theologian Hans Küng and his project of a "World Ethos" (Küng, 1993; Küng & Kuschel, 1998). On the initiative of Küng a "World Parliament of Religions", and a "Declaration of Global Ethic" was established in 1993 in Chicago (USA). This was and still is an attempt to summarize the core values of all world religions and to draw attention to peacemaking, consensual commandments, which are available in different formulations and commandments in all major world religions and also in non-religious schools of thought. One of the mottos of the project "Global Ethic" is the so called "Golden Rule" of peaceful coexistence which can be found in different formulations in almost all world religions and, if you will, eventually in the (rather non-religious) Kantian "categorical imperative". The "Global Ethic" should be the basic consensus for all people over values, norms and attitudes: peace, justice, charity, pluralism, solidarity, responsibility for ones contemporaries, the environment and future generations. Religions can contribute to world peace only through this basic consensus. Global ethics is based on the coexistence and directed against particularistic economic interests and power politics in the context of globalization.

Critics of the "Global Ethic" see this as an attempt towards a mixing and the questionable co-ordination of religions; peaceful co-existence of religions could better promote world peace as an objectively-theological project. "A minimum consensus can not come 'from above', but must always be reworked 'from below'. Only a minimal open and revisable consensus can prevent the formation of a 'closed' society. A consensus according to the "Global Ethic Project" stands in danger of not promoting diversity and acceptance of difference, but to hinder it (Heinrichs, 1999 Vogels, 2008). In both cases (universalist and relativistic) only enlightened, moderate positions which take into account the dangers of being too absolute should be seriously considered. Comenius, Küng, Schorlemmer and others represent respective moderate, enlightened positions, suitable for discussions and dialogues.

Excursus: The idea of a universal language

In this context, Comenius' thoughts on a universal language as a humanist, peacemaking, global project are worth mentioning. Comenius saw a significant cause of wars between nations, cultures and religions in the "punishment" of disturbing linguistic diversity (Comenius, 1970). The founders of a new (universal) language should have precise knowledge of the major languages of the world. Something unique should be found and preserved in any language for the design of the universal language. A universal transfer between peoples through the confusion of tongues should not be hindered any longer (ibid.). Some Comeniologues see both the idea of peace and the idea of a universal language as the most important reference points for the life's work of J.A. Comenius. They hold that, the development and spread of a universal language (approximately along the lines of Esperanto) is still a meaningful task for the present and in the future (Formizzi, 2005; Beer, 2005; see also Geissler, 1959). Comenius did not want any of the leading national languages prevalent and thus make the world

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language; no vernacular is suitable for universal language, not even the language of scholars - Latin. The harshest critics of a world language, which arises from a single nation, pointed out that such language would linguistically, culturally, politically and economically dominate the world in an ultimately imperialistic manner. One such critic was the scientist and philosopher and Nobel laureate Wilhelm Ostwald (1853-1932), whose position is repeatedly quoted by representatives of artificial languages (Ido, Esperanto and others). He believed that the people whose language would be levied for world language would have by that fact alone a large advantage over all other peoples and imperialistically dominate their technical, economic, cultural, medial etc. spheres of life. Ostwald was a consistent opponent of a world language, which arises from a particular people and ultimately dominates the world (Ostwald, 1910, 443; Blanke, 1996, 21-22).

At first glance this position seems to be quite humanistic and in some ways understandable; it is not difficult to have some associations to current developments. However, it certainly needs no further justification, that these universalist-linguistic ideas of Comenius and the attempts of his followers to create and realize a universal (artificial) language which displaces one or more world languages will remain just a utopian ideal.

Peace education as current societal challenge

The pedagogy of Comenius as a whole and especially his peace education was aimed to teach all people everything in a comprehensive manner ("omnes omnia omnino"). Everyone can learn or get taught, and not only at school. Education should benefit "all" people: young and old, rich and poor, noble and commoner, men and women, all ages, all classes, societies, cultures and peoples. To teach or learn "everything" refers to everything that makes human nature really perfect. "All-embracing" means the pertinence and thoroughness of teaching and learning. These aspects of his training concept, including his idea of peace building, were not limited to the school. His "Pampaedia" is also regarded as the foundation of lifelong learning and the discipline of adult education (Schaller, 1992; Schäfer, 1996). Peace education concerns the whole life, which is an educational institution in itself, starting with the "school of prenatal becoming", through the "school of early childhood", the "school of boyhood", the "school of maturity", the "school of young manhood", the "school of manhood", the "school of old age", to the "school of death" [Komenský (= Comenius) 1970 (Pampaedia); Schaller, 1958; Röhrs, 1971, 15].

Comenius wants people to strive anew to understand objectives, means and forms of one's own and others' actions, to separate the essential from the unessential, to recognize a digression of own and others' thoughts, words and deeds, and to correct them. At all times, and especially in our time, there was and still is his credo of eternal relevance: to make war and violence unnecessary, to develop a pedagogy oriented towards non-violence and dialogue, a peace education, to deeply understand intercultural, inter-religious and heretical aspects and problems and thus contribute to a human life in this world. The related tasks refer to educators, theologians, historians, philosophers, language and cultural scientists, natural scientists, political scientists, writers, music teachers, theater scholars etc. They can all benefit from the work of Comenius and his valuable suggestions for their disciplines (see, for example, the positions of Araújo Kuhlmann, Scarbath, Scheuerl among others - in: Golz, 2000).

Peace education appears at first sight and certainly not without reason as one of the main tasks of schools. But for schools alone, this job is too big; it is a complex societal challenge. Among the subsequent classics of pedagogy, who have spoken on this issue, reference is made here only to Maria Montessori. Although Montessori was scarcely quoting Comenius, a surprising number of similarities between the two may yet be found. The first concerns some didactic aspects. Montessori is to encourage

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the child's initiative and self-activity, compensate for learning difficulties, develop monitoring and coordination services through sensory training and maximum vividness. It is essential to remark here, Montessori's request of a child which became programmatic for her educational concept: "Help me to do it myself!" Comenius had already written on the title page of his book "Great Didactic":

"Let the main object of our Didactic, be as follows: to seek and to find a method of instruction, by which teachers may teach less, but learners may learn more; by which schools may be the scene of less noise, aversion, and useless labor, but of more leisure, enjoyment, and solid progress; and through which the Christian community may have less darkness, perplexity, and dissention, but on the other hand more light, orderliness, peace, and rest." (Comenius, 1961; therefore see the reprint in: Keatinge, 1907/2012.).

And in terms of sensory perception it is important to name his "Orbis Pictus Sensualium", the first illustrated textbook for children. There we can read not only see his universal creed "Omnia sponte fluant, absit violentia rebus" (Let all things spontaneously flow; let there be no violence to things.). In his preface he also describes the "Golden Rule of Didactics":

"Everything is presented to all the sensations as much as possible: the visual phenomena to the sight, the sounds to ear, the smells to nose, the tastes to tongue, the tangible phenomena to the touch. If something can be perceived by more senses, let it be that way. Nothing is in the mind that hasn't been sensed before." (Comenius, 1658).

In this regard the similarities with several contemporary and later classics of philosophy and pedagogy (eg Hobbes, Spinoza, Locke, Berkeley, Rousseau, Montessori, etc.) are obvious. Besides these didactic and methodological positions, there is another similarity in terms of a peace education as a part of a societal peace movement including all people of all ages. Montessori emphasizes the important role of the school to enable children to critical, independent thinking and action, children who do not automatically and unconditionally follow neither authoritarian teachers nor war propaganda (Montessori, 1946). For both, Comenius and Montessori, the means to achieve an effective societal peace movement are twofold: first, immediate efforts to resolve conflicts without recourse to violence - in other words, to prevent war - and second, long-term efforts to establish a lasting peace among men "(Montessori, 1949, 27).

For some time, there has been debate about whether peace education should be implemented as a separate subject in schools. Given the new threats posed by international terrorism these recommendations are at last being taken seriously. Harris & Morrison (2003), write that a unit of educators should be created with the task to develop not only locally, territorially and nationally, but also internationally effective curricula for peace education. This form of education should take into account the experience and lessons from history. On this point there are partly controversial discussions as well as different successful developments in individual countries (Salomon & Nevo, 2002). The question is, for example, if all teachers can be 'forced' to hold peace education issues in their teaching. Peace education is a voluntary, self-determined and personal matter; the conviction of its accuracy and effectiveness is important when it comes to both teachers and students. Relevant issues can be integrated into any good lessons and in self-organized and self-directed learning processes. Peace education includes nonviolence, empathy, trust, participation, self-fulfillment, respect, autonomy, freedom from prejudice, human rights, etc. However, a solid school subject has always the problem that it has to be taught and learned and can quickly become just a "learning for school". The school must contribute to factual knowledge about causes of conflict patterns, wars, violence, etc., but peace

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education is a challenge for society as a whole (Stober, 2014, 5,6). Thus peace education is, as Rodrigues put it,

> "a broad field, which empowers people from all ages and backgrounds, with the knowledge, skills, formation of attitudes in accordance with the values and principles necessary to promote and create a Culture of Peace. Peace Education takes responsibility for transferring the ideal of peace to the conscience and to the actions of people in order to achieve harmonious co-existence based on tolerance, justice, freedom, full respect for difference and to make better conditions for the development of future generations." (Rodriguez, 2014)

The German Trade Union Federation called upon to make peace education throughout the core aim of education: "In day care centers, schools, colleges, vocational training and the development of the value of a peaceful coexistence of all people must be clearly conveyed" (DGB, 2014). In this connection individual, national, international and global societal levels are addressed. Given the aforementioned current social development issues in the context of the processes of globalization, internationalization and migration, the challenge is specifically in the development of communication skills for a human and competent handling of cultural and religious difference. The teaching of empathy and expertise (knowledge) is of particular importance for the elimination of inter-cultural tensions and xenophobia. The training of teaching staff has not only to consider the challenge from a pragmatic-current perspective, but to pay more attention to its historical dimension. And given the initially discussed current developments it is also clear that there are also new (gerontagogic) intercultural challenges, to enable older generations to a contemporary use of cultural and religious differences (Marschke, 2005). No matter how the purely numerical participation in demonstrations and actions of PEGIDA and similar movements develop, xenophobic, racist and right-wing ideologies remain in the minds of too many people. Both the true social, socio-psychological, economic, media and other reasons for ideological aberrations need to be explained comprehensively as well as the benefits and alternatives of a human cosmopolitan society.

At the end of his life Comenius wrote texts that can be seen as part of his spiritual testament. In it, he turns again forcefully against any violent and military persecution of other faiths; not against "erring" (heretics), but against aberrations; against ignorance, cruelty, greed, lust for power, colonialism, hatred of denominations - as causes of war. After the unification of the world there should be "no more difference between the Greeks and the Scythians, between the free and the slaves, between the Europeans and the Americans" (Comenius, 1996, p. 27).

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Oihane Korres Alonso & Iciar Elexpuru Albizuri (Spain)

Values Perceived by Teens in Their Preferred Television Series Character Through the Hall-Tonna Document Analysis

Summary: This study was carried out on a sample group of 50 adolescents in their last year of Compulsory Education and aimed to determine the perceived values by subjects in their favorite television characters through the Hall-Tonna document analysis. The basic hypothesis for the study was that television conveys values and constitutes one of the forces for socialization at play during adolescence. The data was collected by means of a personal essay about their favorite television series character. Results show that the values most commonly perceived by adolescents are related to belonging, play/recreation and competence/confidence. Social-oriented values were also found. It is concluded that the measurement instrument used may constitute an adequate tool for decoding the values perceived by adolescents in their favorite television characters. Based on these results, some methodological proposals are presented to promote student values development from actual to desired values profiles and to use television as an educational resource.
Keywords: values, television, youth, Hall-Tonna

Резюме (Оихане Коррес Алонсо & Ициар Элекспуру Албицури: Ценности, усвоенные молодыми людьми, в их любимых телесериалах с точки зрения документального анализа Галле-Тонна): Данное исследование было проведено на основе эксперимента с участием группы из 50-ти молодых людей в последний год обучения в школе, и ставило целью определить усвоенные молодыми людьми ценности в их любимом телесериалах на основе проведения документального анализа Галле-Тонна. Основополагающая гипотеза исследования состояла в том, что телевидение транслирует ценности и является одним из важных аспектов социализации в период взросления. Данные были собраны с помощью написания личных эссе о своих любимых телесериалах. Результаты показывают, что главными ценностями, усвоенными молодыми людьми, являются: принадлежность к группе, игра / отдых, компетентность / доверие. Также были обнаружены социально ориентированные ценности. Таким образом, установлено, что использованный инструмент измерения подходит для декодирования ценностей, усвоенных молодыми людьми в их любимых телесериалах. Основываясь на этих результатах, были предложены различные методологические идеи по содействию в развитии ценностей молодежи, от навязанных обществом до желаемых ценностных профилей, и по использованию телевидения в качестве педагогического ресурса.
Ключевые слова: ценности, телевизор, молодежь, Галле-Тонна

Zusammenfassung (Oihane Korres Alonso & Iciar Elexpuru Albizuri: Von Jugendlichen wahrgenommene Werte in den von ihnen bevorzugten Fernsehserien durch die Hall-Tonna-Dokumentenanalyse): Diese Studie wurde an der Stichprobe einer Gruppe von 50 Jugendlichen in ihrem letzten Jahr der Schulpflicht durchgeführt und zielte darauf ab, die wahrgenommenen Werte in ihren Lieblings-TV-Serien durch die Halle-Tonna-Dokumentenanalyse zu bestimmen. Die grundlegende Hypothese der Studie war, dass das Fernsehen Werte vermittelt und eine der Sozialisationskräfte während der Adoleszenz ist. Die Daten wurden mit Hilfe eines persönlichen Essays über ihre Lieblings-TV-Serien gesammelt. Die Ergebnisse zeigen, dass die folgenden Werte am häufigsten von Jugendlichen wahrgenommen werden: Dazugehören, Spiel / Erholung sowie Kompetenz / Vertrauen. Sozialorientierte Werte wurden auch gefunden. Es wird festgestellt, dass das genutzte Messinstrument geeignet ist für die Decodierung der durch Jugendliche in ihren Lieblingsserien wahrgenommen Werte. Basierend auf diesen Ergebnissen werden einige methodologische Vorschläge präsentiert, um die Entwicklung von Werten Jugendlicher von gegebenen zu gewünschten Werteprofilen zu

befördern und das Fernsehen als pädagogische Ressource nutzbar zu machen.
Schlüsselwörter: *Werte, Fernseher, Jugend, Halle-Tonna*

Introduction

Television is part of teenagers' daily life, integrating and interacting with other classical socialization agents such as family, friends and school. This medium, as an element of modern culture, participates in the socialization process as an important factor that mediates between the subject and its environment. Television is a source of entertainment, pleasure and information, but it is also the engine driving political, economic and cultural activity, and it is, therefore, an important tool in the transmission of social values and attitudes. Although the values transmitted by television have been widely studied, the works on the values perceived from television are scarce. The aim of this study is to provide an in-depth, qualitative study of how teenagers interpret television values. Once values are identified, we will be able to foster a dialogue and create guidelines that allow us to take educative action for their development.

Adolescents, television and values

Adolescence is a life stage in which individuals develop and define their self-concept and values throughout a maturation process affected by several factors, including television. The latest generations of young people have grown interacting naturally with mass media on a daily basis. Through these regular encounters with the image world, teenagers vicariously learn patterns and behaviors capable of modelling their desires, beliefs, attitudes and actions (Bandura, 1996).

Fiction, and television series in particular, rank first as teenagers' favorite television genres (Livingstone, 1998; Medrano, Palacios, & Aierbe, 2007; Bermejo & Nuñez, 2008; López Vidales & Gómez Rubio , 2012). Television series present a great diversity of models and characters that are often familiar to teenagers and that can be contrasted and compared by viewers (Livingstone, 1998). In these characters, teens find models of imitation and identification that can contribute to the construction of their own values and attitudes (Fisherkeller, 1997; Livingstone, 1998; Del Río, Álvarez, & Del Río, 2004; Montero, 2006; Pindado, 2006; Medrano, Cortés, & Palacios, 2007; 2009).

Indeed, various authors have highlighted that said identification with characters is a relevant aspect to analyze when striving to understand the potential effects of media in youth audiences (Igartua & Paéz, 1998; Cohen, 2001; Hoffner & Buchanan, 2005). Teens identify with those characters, have empathy with them and consider them aspirational roles (Cohen, 2001; Moyer-Gusé, 2008). Thus, we focused on teenagers' preferred television series characters, as they constitute important symbolic figures with an impact on the adolescents' personal construction process.

The basic hypothesis for the study is that television conveys values and can thus provide opportunities to teach values through its narratives. However, little research has been carried out on television and its impact on values formation. Previous literature has focused on the analysis of values transmitted by the media. The common understanding, as highlighted by some studies, is that television portrays materialistic values more strongly than it does social-oriented values (Raffa, 1983; Strassburguer & Wilson, 2002; García Reina, 2004; Del Moral & Villalustre, 2006; Dates, Fear, & Stedman, 2008).

However, television can also be a model for positive values and other-centered conducts, as emphasized by Medrano (2005). Indeed, a review of the existing literature shows that both individualistic

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and collectivistic values coexist in society and are transmitted in television (Medrano & Cortés, 2007). This idea has been highlighted by other works in different contexts (Muir, 1993; Pasquier, 1996; Sánchez Pardo, Megías Quirós, & Rodríguez San Julián, 2004; Grandío, 2008; Aierbe & Medrano, 2008; López Vidales, González Conde, & Martín Pérez, 2011). As some authors have pointed out, the presence of both types of values in television narratives can generate an ambivalence that is particularly harmful for children and youth (Del Río, Álvarez, & Del Río, 2004; Mares, 2005; Medrano, 2008).

Although the values transmitted by television have been widely studied, the works on the values perceived from television are scarce. Our work is based on the idea that viewers play an active role in the interpretation of television messages, as they incorporate them into the different environments with which they interact, especially their family and school (Medrano & Cortés, 2007). Watching television is a complex process involving multiple factors, both personal and contextual. Therefore, media messages are not univocal or closed; on the contrary, they are open, and can thus be worked with in order to rebuild their meaning (Medrano, 2008). In consequence, we believe it could be interesting to research how teenagers decode and provide meaning to media content through their own experience and vision (Orozco, 1996) and not through the models and values portrayed by television itself. Therefore, we will strive to determine the values as perceived by the adolescents themselves, and not as conveyed by the media.

The few studies that analyze the values that teenagers perceive from television have been mainly carried out from a quantitative perspective. Medrano (2008), in a study with a sample of teens from the Basque Country (Spain) and using a questionnaire based on Schwartz's Value Model, found that teenagers perceive both individualistic and social-oriented values, such as *hedonism* and *benevolence*, *power* being the least perceived value.

Similarly, a recent cross-cultural study conducted by Medrano, Aierbe and Martínez de Morentín (2011) with Spanish, Irish and Latin American youth confirms that young people perceive both self-focused values (independence, ability to create and explore) and other-focused values (helpfulness, honesty and respect towards others). Conversely, the values that teenagers perceive the least are power and conformity. Different studies carried out by Medrano with other authors have obtained similar results (Medrano, Cortés, & Palacios, 2007; 2009). Nevertheless, given the inherent complexity of values measurement, the authors themselves indicate that additional in-depth studies should be carried out via more qualitative methodologies in order to compare and contrast their findings.

Previous research has proved that there is a relationship between teenagers' personal values and the values they perceive in their favorite television shows and characters (Muir, 1993; Fisherkeller, 1997; Evans & Hall, 2002; Medrano, Cortés, & Palacios, 2007; 2009; Medrano, 2008). Therefore, researching how teenagers respond to media characters can help understand the attitudes and values they hold.

After performing an extensive review of studies about the values of today's adolescents, Sánchez, Megías and Rodríguez (2004) conclude that self-centered values and social-oriented values coexist and complement each other in many adolescents. In fact, even if the pragmatic values importance of having money and free time) present higher levels of adherence among youth, altruistic-normative values (interest in solving collective problems, getting a good cultural education, maintaining good family relationships and having respect for external authority) have similar adhesion levels. The authors also note that while there is a progressive loss of influence of religion, a growing disinterest in politics and a weakening of associations, individual and family values are becoming increasingly important. In this sense, there are other studies that underline that family is the most important value for adolescents, followed by friendship and love (Elexpuru & Medrano, 2002; Medrano, 2005). These

results have been confirmed in different studies, which also note that politics and religion are the least important elements for teens (Megías & Elzo, 2006; González-Anleo & González Blasco, 2010). However, the study carried out by INJUVE (2012), the Spanish Youth Institute, concludes that in the last few years there has been an increasing emphasis on values that refer to the involvement in collective aspects and which transcend the purely individual level. According to Elzo, Megias, Ballesteros, Rodríguez, and Sanmartin (2014), youth nowadays seem to become more conservative and increasingly involved in collective affairs, as a result of the current socio-economic crisis.

Taking into account the background provided by previous literature, the aim of this study is to provide an in-depth, qualitative study on how teenagers interpret television values. In this regard, this study proposes an innovative approach to the perception of television values. Not only has it been relatively unexplored so far, but it has also been mainly researched from a quantitative perspective. Once values are identified and clarified, we will be able to foster a dialogue on them and create guidelines that allow us to take educative action for their development.

The Hall-Tonna values framework

The reference framework for the analysis is the Hall-Tonna (HT) values theory (Hall, Harari, Ledig, & Tondow, 1986; Hall, 1994), which helps understand the relationship between values and personal development. HT defines values as "ideals that give significance to our lives that are reflected through the priorities that we choose and that we act on consistently and repeatedly" (Hall, 1994, p. 21). Values are manifested in human behavior, but they are also reflected in language. Hall and Tonna identified a list of 125 values with universally standardized definitions, providing a common language that appears to be stable across the different populations studied (Hall, 1994). From these 125 values, 29 are goal values and 96 are mean values. The goal values act as driving forces behind each person's conduct, while the means are used to attain these goals. In order for subjects to be able to develop in a comprehensive way, there must be a balance between goal and mean values.

The 125 values are graphically distributed across the Values Map of the model, which reflects various dimensions of knowing, being and doing. This map is divided in four phases of human development: Surviving, Belonging, Self-Initiating and Interdependence. The 125 values maintain a relationship with one another across the four phases, each being more complex than the one before. This hierarchy of values explains how values priorities change when people mature, and how the development occurs, for example, from dependence to autonomy, from individualism to collaboration, or from personal security to solidarity during their potential life journey (Elexpuru, Villardón, & Yániz, 2013). Each phase represents a particular world view:

- Phase 1. Surviving: In this phase *the world is a mystery over which individuals feel they have no control*. Reality is perceived as threatening and hostile, and, therefore, decisions are made on the basis of physical safety, self-control and personal satisfaction. People who are in this phase feel that their lives are controlled from outside. Thus, the responsibility for their actions is ascribed to external circumstances.

- Phase 2. Belonging: In the second phase *the world is a problem with which the person must cope*. In this phase the individual also feels that their life is controlled from the outside by the external authorities. The world is ordered, politically and socially. People in this phase search for belonging and seek to succeed and survive by winning the approval of others and conforming and adapting to the norms of the dominant society or group, beginning with family. The relationship with the rest of the world is established through social groups where one participates, such as family, work, etc. Thus, there is a shift from individual survival towards a social perspective.

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- Phase 3. Self-Initiating: In this phase *the world is a creative project in which the person wants to participate*. People in this phase search for autonomy and have the initiative to act creatively and independently. In this moment, individuals begin to increase self-confidence rather than seeking the approval of others or the acceptance of the rules and norms that are dominant in the environment. Control and authority are experimented as internal.

- Phase 4. Interdependence: In the last phase *the world is a mystery for which the person cares on a global scale.* People in this phase acquire a global consciousness and act with the awareness that they're part of a "we", in order to work together for the improvement of the quality of life of individuals and communities in a universal scale.

Each of these phases comprises two stages: the first set of values represents the individual level and the second one is related to the social sphere. Growth requires integrating the personal and social values in each of the phases. Values are built one on top of the other, and thus, in order to progress to higher and more complex levels, the requisite anteceding values must have already been integrated. For instance, in order to develop cooperation, values such as mutual respect must have been internalized first. That is to say, values are not different, but rather evolve and become increasingly complex (Elexpuru & Medrano, 2002). From this perspective, there are no good values and bad values, but only peculiar combinations of values that reflect the way in which each person understands the world (Bunes & Elexpuru, 1994). However, not all values combinations help people and organizations develop; on the contrary, there are some combinations of values that help advance to more mature phase, whereas others combinations hinder progression or can even make people revert to previous phases or stages of development.

Hall and Tonna (1986) developed several instruments to identify values in individuals (Individual Inventory), groups (Group Inventory) and written documents (Document Analysis). The HT instruments provide profiles of the identified values. The profiles offer information about the selected values and their priority, representing them in a map of values development that makes it possible to interpret the meaning and internal logic of all identified values. Each profile contains a series of reports that provide different ways of approaching the information contained in the map, allowing the group or individual to reflect on their situation and development.

The profiles have special values cluster reports that show the foundational values, which provide the basic support for daily living and tend to be fully integrated in our behavior; focus values, which represent the highest priorities in daily life; and vision values, which are our aspirational values, that is, what motivates us to move forward. These various reports provide a systematic work proposal that constitutes an opportunity for exploration and growth, making it possible to reflect on the values from different viewpoints.

Methodology

The aim of this study is to identify and conduct an in-depth study of the values that teenagers perceive from their favorite television series characters. The research design is qualitative, based on the Hall-Tonna document analysis methodology.

Participants

This study has been carried out on a sample group of 50 adolescents with aged ranging from 14 - 15

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years. The participants are students on their last year of compulsory secondary education in the academic year 2013-2014, distributed in 12 different secondary schools located in Biscay (Spain). The participants of this study have been chosen randomly from a total sample which is part of a larger research project.

Measuring instrument

In order to explore the values perceived by teens we have designed an essay template where students are asked to cite their favorite television series character and then to explain the reasons that justify their choice. This activity has been considered adequate for the study because it requires active involvement from students and allows them to reflect on their feelings and thoughts freely and by themselves.

The essays produced by the teenagers have been transcribed and then analyzed through the HT document analysis instrument. The basis of this analysis is that values are conveyed in documents through the words used on them. Document analysis is done with computer software tool called HTDOC, which includes a 5000-word thesaurus in several languages. As the software tool scans the text, it identifies specific words and terms associated with any of the 125 values; moreover, it also identifies the order of priority of said values, either in the document as a whole or within any given section of it. The process carried out with the HTDOC requires the supervision and review of the researcher and the validation of a team of expert judges, both before the analysis (with the addition of new terms and the removal of unnecessary terms from the internal dictionary of the program), and after (confirming or rejecting the matches identified by the software tool). Furthermore, texts must be re-read in order to identify any implicit values or contexts that should be considered when carrying out the analysis.

Thus, this methodology allows identifying the implicit and explicit values of a text, according to their presence and repetition throughout it. The computer processing generates a profile based on the quantitative treatment of the associations made throughout the document. This profile shows in a systematic way the most representative values of the analyzed document, which must be interpreted in the light of the HT theoretical criteria (Bunes, et al., 1993).

It must be noted that the HTDOC has mostly been used to investigate institutional and policy documents (Bunes, et al., 1993; Goicoechea, 2010; Bunes, 2012). Therefore, following the steps of the study carried out by Elexpuru and Medrano (2002), the present study provides new insight on the potential of the HT model for working with adolescents.

Procedure

In order to obtain the information, the schools were contacted and they confirmed their participation in the study. Then, the instrument was applied in each school in the presence of the researchers and a teacher, which required approximately 40 minutes. Once the essays were collected, we studied them through the HTDOC, following the procedure in the figure below (Figure 1):

Analysis with HTDOC software by the researchers	First review and contrast with expert judges	Second review with judges to refine the analysis	Final analysis
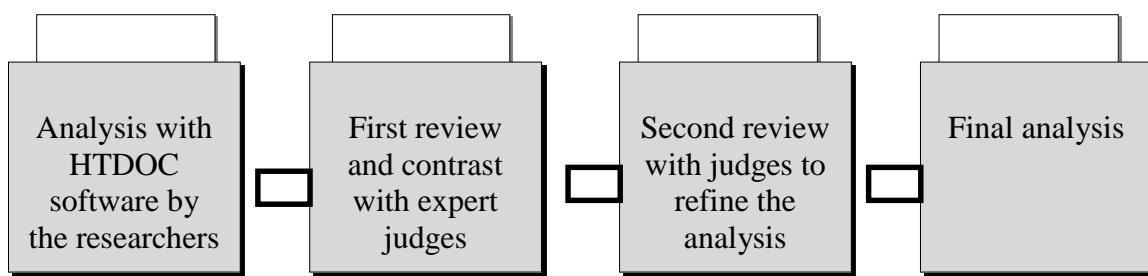
Figure1. Procedure carried out in the research. **Note**. Source: Author.

Initially, personal essays were analyzed through the HTDOC software tool. This software tool analyzes the texts and highlights the terms it identifies as values, according to the specific dictionaries it incorporates. These dictionaries are especially built for different contexts such as education or business.

Subsequently, we reviewed the analysis provided by the program, keeping or rejecting the word-values assignments, identifying associations of value that had been omitted, and considering whether there were any values, either in phrases or in their context, that should be taken into account together with the literal ones.

In the present research we have undertaken the task of adapting the HT dictionary to the language of modern teens. For this, we requested the collaboration of a group of four expert judges. We asked them to confirm or reject our assignments, and provided a space for comments where they could add other values or make any suggestions they might consider appropriate. Then, heeding the proposals made by the judges, we performed a second review of the texts. During this process we found a number of discrepancies between judges. Consequently, we requested their collaboration for the second time, in order to refine the analysis. Then we incorporated these last suggestions provided by the judges and, finally, we improved and concluded the analysis.

As a result of the analysis carried out through this methodology, we obtained a profile of the values teens perceive in their favorite television characters. In order to interpret this information, we used the *Priority Values List*, which provides an overview of the priority values reflected in the essays, and the *Values Map*, where values are visually represented along a line of consciousness development, according to three categories: foundation values, focus values and vision or future values.

Results

Results enable us to identify the values perceived by teenagers in their favorite television series characters in terms of the axiological model of Hall-Tonna.

The chosen characters are mainly male, either young or mature, and belonging to either Spanish series, for example, *La que se avecina* and *Aída*, or international series, especially American ones such as *The Big Bang Theory*, *The Simpsons* or *Castle*.

The table below (Table 1) shows, highlighted, the twelve priority values identified throughout the texts. Goal values are shown first, and mean values are listed next. Goal values reflect the aims perceived in the chosen characters, whereas mean values group the instruments to achieve the goals.

Table1: Priority values

GOAL VALUES	PHASE	STAGE	FREQUENCY
Family/Belonging	2	3	73
Play/Recreation	2	4	53
Competence/Confidence	2	4	35
Work/Wealth/Value	2	4	25
MEAN VALUES	PHASE	STAGE	FREQUENCY
Friendship/Belonging	2	3	58
Support/Peer	2	3	57
Self-Competition	2	4	42
Loyalty/Fidelity	2	4	35
Self-Assertion	3	5	34
Expressiveness/Joy	3	5	33
Being Liked	2	3	32
Prestige/Image	2	3	32

Priority values are related to three main areas:

▪ Belonging: Teenagers appreciate characters that have a sense of support (*Family/Belonging*, *Friendship/ Belonging*, *Support/Peer*) and affirmation from the people closest to them (*Being Liked*, *Prestige/Image).* In the same line, they value the faithfulness of the character, which in this context refers specially to loyalty in friendship (*Loyalty/Fidelity*).

▪ Play/Recreation: Adolescents like characters that are fun and make them laugh, providing spaces for entertainment and evasion (*Play/Recreation*).

▪ Competence/Confidence: Teens also value characters that have self-confidence (*Competence/Confidence*) and work for a living (*Work/Wealth/Value*). They go one step further and appreciate characters who have self-initiative and who seek personal expression (*Self-Assertion*, *Expressiveness/Joy*) and those who strive to achieve their own goals (*Self-Competition*).

The Priority Values profile provides information about the values that appear more frequently. The Values Map profile (Annex1) confirms the situation described before and supplies new data that provides further insight from the perspective of human development. In this Map the values selected on each area are highlighted in bold and the higher priority ones are shaded in gray. Their frequency is displayed next to each value. This information highlights the greatest concentration of values, as well as possible gaps.

The aforementioned profiles can be complemented with the Values Development profile that the HT model offers. From this perspective, values can be considered as belonging to three different areas:

▪ Foundation values: This area reflects the values that provide the support necessary to advance one's development. In this sense, the map shows that foundation values are located in stages 1 and 2 (Phase 1). Foundation values perceived by teens are mainly related to safety and personal protection (*Self Interest/Control*, *Safety/Survival* and *Food/Warm/Shelter*) and to the satisfaction of basic needs, especially those related to sensuality and sexuality (*Physical Delight*, *Affection/Physical* and *Sensory/Pleasure*).

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Table 2: Foundation Values

GOAL VALUES	PHASE	STAGE	FREQUENCY
Self Interest/Control	1	1	8
Physical Delight	1	2	6
MEAN VALUES	PHASE	STAGE	FREQUENCY
Affection/Physical	1	2	14
Sensory/Pleasure	1	2	14
Food/Warm/Shelter	1	1	13
Safety/Survival	1	1	11

There is a balance between the priority goal and the mean values in both stages of phase 1. In addition, we want to highlight that adolescents hardly perceive the goal value *Security* as well as some of the mean values that support its achievement (*Economy/Benefits*, *Property/Control* or *Territory/ Security*).

- Focus values: This area concentrates the largest number of values and the most significant ones. These values reflect current motivations. In this sense, the map shows that there is a very significant presence of values in stages 3 and 4 of Phase 2.

Table 3: Focus Values

GOAL VALUES	PHASE	STAGE	FREQUENCY
Family/Belonging	2	3	73
Play/Recreation	2	4	53
Competence/Confidence	2	4	35
MEAN VALUES	PHASE	STAGE	FREQUENCY
Friendship/Belonging	2	3	58
Support/Peer	2	3	57
Self-Competition	2	4	42
Loyalty/Fidelity	2	4	35

Teenagers value that the character shows family support and belonging (*Family/ Belonging*). This aspect is reinforced by the most perceived mean values, such as being part of a group of friends (*Friendship/ Belonging*) and having their support (*Support/Peer*). The perception of other values from stage 3 confirms the importance given to belonging and acceptance (*Being Liked*, *Prestige/Image, Care/Nurture, Endurance/ Patience* or *Courtesy/Hospitality).* It is noteworthy that, in their favorite characters, teenagers perceive to a lesser degree those values corresponding to respect towards authority figures and established standards, conformity and tradition (*Control/Order/Discipline*, *Rights/Respect*, *Obedience/Duty* or *Tradition*).

A relevant aspect when choosing a character as favorite is entertainment and fun (*Play/Recreation*). Teenagers seek in these characters moments of leisure and evasion. Adolescents are also attracted to characters that have the self-confidence to face different situations (*Competence/Confidence*). In this spirit, the mean values of stage 4 are oriented to the personal and professional overcome (*Self-*

Competition) and to the loyalty to close people, especially to friends (*Loyalty/Fidelity*).

Although with a lower frequency (Annex 1), the presence of other values in this stage shows that adolescents appreciate the character having a job and performing it productively (*Work/Labor*). In this same vein, they also point to the character having social recognition and sufficient financial means (*Achievement/Success*, *Economy /Benefits* and *Prestige/ Power*). In line with the previous stage, adolescents do not perceive values representing traditional management structures and conformity (*Duty/Obligation*, *Hierarchy/ Order*, *Law/Rule* or *Rule/Accountability*).

- Vision values: The area of future values represents the motivational force in our lives. The Values Map shows that this area is mainly represented by stages 5 and 6. The absence of values in stages 7 and 8 can be understood due to the current vital stage of the participants.

Table 4: Vision Values

GOAL VALUES	PHASE	STAGE	FREQUENCY
Being Self	3	6	20
MEAN VALUES	PHASE	STAGE	FREQUENCY
Self-Assertion	3	5	34
Expressiveness/Joy	3	5	33
Independence	3	5	29
Decision/Initiation	3	5	24
Authority/Honesty	3	5	23
Generosity/Compassion	3	5	27

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These values of the future area can show what teenagers aspire to. In this sense, teenagers appreciate in their favorite characters aspects related to self-initiative and personal development. This is re-flected in the mean values of stage 5, which emphasize the importance given to acting and thinking independently and to being honest with your own ideas and feelings (*Expressiveness/Joy*, *Independ-ence*, *Decision/Initiation* and *Authority/ Honesty*). At this stage, it is also relevant the interest shown for characters who display solidarity (*Generosity/Compassion*). This fact indicates that teens not only perceive values focusing on self, but also values targeted to assist and serve others positively. This idea is further supported by the frequency of other values in stage 5. Adolescents value characters who make a positive contribution to the society through work (*Service/Vocation*) and who communi-cate with others with trust and honesty (*Sharing/Listening/ Trust*).

In this line, the goal value *Being Self,* located in stage 6, underlines the fact that adolescents value characters who act cooperatively in a social environment. This is also reflected in other values pre-sent in this stage (*Collaboration* and *Justice/Social Order*). Regarding other values present at stage 6, teenagers appreciate characters who seek knowledge through research and who enjoy learning and being informed (*Knowledge/Insight*, *Research* and *Education/ Knowledge*). As mentioned before, val-ues in this area reflect aspirations for the future. Therefore, in the framework of their current vital stage, teenagers are able to perceive in the characters values that inspire them and which they would like to have in the future.

Discussion and conclusions

This study is an innovative approach to the values perceived by teenagers in their preferred television characters from a qualitative perspective, based on the HT model. In fact, previous research is scarce and has been mainly done from a quantitative position. Moreover, the HT model is based on human development and allows the identification of both strengths and weaknesses, providing a basis for educational intervention in their progress.

The values perceived by teenagers mainly belong to stage 3 (Family), stage 4 (Institution) and stage 5 (Vocation). Thus, individual values seem to be perceived to a greater extent than institutional ones. However, it must be noted that the presence of values from stage 4 (*Institution*) indicates a motivation towards belonging, social interaction and being accepted by others.

In general, results show that teenagers perceive both values oriented to personal sphere (family, self-initiative...) and values concerned with the social or institutional area (generosity, justice...). The studies carried out by Medrano and other authors reach the same conclusions (Medrano, Cortés, & Palacios, 2007; 2009; Medrano, 2008; Medrano, Aierbe, & Martínez de Morentín, 2010). These results are coherent with previous research which indicates that television portrays both individualistic and collectivistic values (Muir, 1993; Pasquier, 1996; Sánchez Pardo, Megías Quirós, & Rodríguez San Julián, 2004; Grandío, 2008; López Vidales, González Conde, & Martín Pérez, 2011). In the same way, they are present in today's society and coexist in teenagers' personal values hierarchy (Sánchez Pardo, Megías Quirós, & Rodríguez San Julián, 2004; Medrano, Cortés, & Palacios, 2009). It must be noted that some authors underline that the ambivalence of value transmission trough television contents is particularly risky for children and adolescents (Del Río, Álvarez, & Del Río, 2004; Mares, 2005; Medrano, 2008). This fact highlights the importance of media literacy to promote a critical reading of the values portrayed in the media.

The HT model helps identify the values that teenagers more strongly in their favorite television character. It is now crucial to contrast the identified values with adolescents themselves to clarify the values perceived in these symbolic figures, in order to foster debate around them and promote work in values from the perspective of human development.

- In their favorite television characters, teenagers perceive values related to belonging, starting with family and friends, and to developing the skills to succeed in the group. During adolescence, where the acceptance of the group and the sense of belonging take a particular relevance, it makes sense for them to perceive these values. Indeed, previous studies highlight the importance that family and friendship take in adolescence (Elexpuru & Medrano, 2002; Sánchez Pardo, Megías Quirós, & Rodríguez San Julián, 2004; Megías & Elzo, 2006; INJUVE, 2008; 2012; González-Anleo & González Blasco, 2010).

- Another value that teenagers perceive highly in their preferred character has to do with amusement and fun, which is not surprising when working with adolescents. Indeed, some studies point out that teenagers mainly seek entertainment when watching television, as a way to have fun and escape from reality (Medrano, Palacios, & Aierbe, 2007; Medrano, Aierbe, & Palacios, 2010). Moreover, modern society is characterized by the importance given to amusement and, in this line, studies on values of young Spaniards agree with these results, highlighting that having free time and leisure spaces are priorities for them (Elzo, 2006; INJUVE, 2008).

- Adolescents value the inner authority of their chosen characters. The values underlying this fact are represented in stage 5, which constitutes the vision area. As Sánchez, Megías and Rodríguez

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(2004) point out the development of personal autonomy becomes central during adolescence. Therefore, it seems that teenagers seek in their characters the values they are pursuing or which could become their future references.

In addition, the HT model goes beyond previous studies and offers an opportunity to develop values with lower frequency in order to get an integrated track of values. Thus, the values identified in their favorite characters can be the basis for work fostering human development:

▪ The scarce presence of *Security,* in contrast with the high perception of values related with belonging and acceptance, may reflect that teenagers perceive that the character finds a safe space in family. In the same line, teenagers seek security in the family context (Elexpuru & Medrano, 2002; Megías & Elzo, 2006). This aspect should be explored in more depth in further studies, as it can represent a limitation for the development of the self-autonomy that teenagers seem to be looking for. Related to the above, the absence of *Self-Worth* is noteworthy. This absence can be due to the definition of the value or the specific context of the present research. We are exploring the values perceived in their favorite characters, not the personal values of teens. However, this absence is striking and needs to be approached in future studies in order to obtain a clear conclusion about it and its implications.

▪ Aspects related with conformity and respect to norms and traditions are hardly perceived. The results obtained by Medrano and other collaborators confirm this tendency (Medrano, Cortés, & Palacios, 2007; 2009; Medrano, 2008; Medrano, Aierbe, & Martínez de Morentín, 2011). Moreover, some authors indicate that materialistic values underlying security and traditional norms are being replaced by post-materialist values, which value belonging, intelligence and artistic expression (Inglehart, 1997; Schwartz, 2005). Studies made in Spain also show that, for teenagers, politics and tradition are the least important aspects (Sánchez Pardo, Megías Quirós, & Rodríguez San Julián, 2004; Megías & Elzo, 2006; González-Anleo & González Blasco, 2010). Nevertheless, it must be noted that values related to work and social acceptance are present in the map, so this fact must be interpreted with caution, providing an educational opportunity to go beyond entertainment and to promote active participation and social commitment.

▪ The perception of values related to education and knowledge constitute an opportunity to encourage the students' interest in education and learning. Teens value characters motivated by the thirst for knowledge (*Knowledge/Insight*, *Research* and *Education/ Knowledge*), although the low interest shown in relation to *Education/Certification* must be explored in more depth in future researches. In fact, this is a relevant aspect in the formative period in which participants are involved. Elexpuru, Villardón and Yániz (2013) suggest that this can be explained by some cultural beliefs that tend to equate certification and the idea of getting as many degrees as possible, which makes it necessary to recover the true value of certifications as accreditations of having achieved a sufficient level of the skills needed to develop an adequate professional performance.

▪ It has also been observed that participants perceive in a minor degree social-oriented values from their preferred characters. This provides an opportunity to guide teenagers so they can focus the self-initiative they appreciate in the chosen characters and that they seem to be looking for, towards activities oriented to social welfare.

We conclude that the HT document analysis allows to identify and interpret in a global map the values perceived by adolescents in their favorite television characters. Our findings show that teens perceive values from television and that, therefore, it can provide an opportunity to educate in values.

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It is assumed that television can be a good tool for developing moral and collective values, as long as there is adequate mediation that enables students to read media content from a creative position. And the first necessary step to design guidelines that can promote values education through television, is to specify and recognize the values perceived by students in that medium.

We consider that it is desirable for future research to continue exploring the values perceived by teens from television characters and to contrast them with adolescents themselves. This process provides a more specific and true vision of the values they perceive from that medium. Once the identified values have been verified with the teenagers, it can be interesting to compare them with their own personal values, in order to see whether they identify with the values they perceive from television characters.

If teenagers identify with television characters and recognize their own values in them as previous studies indicate (Muir, 1993; Fisherkeller, 1997; Evans & Hall, 2002; Medrano, Cortés, & Palacios, 2007; 2009; Medrano, 2008), knowing which values teens perceive in their favorite characters may favor the approach to the values of adolescents themselves.

Further lines of enquiry would possibly include the presence and absence of values from a human development perspective, as provided by the HT model. Clarifying values fosters a conversation that can help direct educational work towards the desired path. This knowledge can be the basis for educational proposals that, based on different techniques such as debates, focus groups and video forums, put a positive and active spin on the values perceived from television.

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Annex: *Values Map*

PHASE I SURVIVING		PHASE II BELONGING		PHASE III SELF-INITIATING		PHASE IV INTERDEPENDENCE	
1: SAFETY	2: SECURITY	3: FAMILY	4: INSTITUTION	5: VOCATION	6. NEW ORDER	7. WISDOM	8. WORLD ORDER
Self-interest/ Control 8 **Self-Preservation 2** Wonder/Awe/Fat e	**Physical Delight 6** **Security 4**	**Family / Belonging 73** **Fantasy/ Play 19** Self-Worth	**Belief / Philosophy 4** **Competence/ Confidence 35** **Play/ Recreation 53** **Work / Labor 25**	Equality/ Liberation Integration/ Wholeness Self-Actualization **Service/ Vocation 7**	**Art/ Beauty 1** **Being Self 20** Construct./ New Order Contemplation **Faith/ Risk/ Vision 4** **Human Dignity 1** **Knowledge/ Insight 14** **Presence 1**	Intimacy / Solitude **Truth/ Wisdom 4**	Ecority Global Harmony Word
Food/ Warmth / Shelter 13 Function/Physical **Safety/ Survival 11**	**Affection/ Physical 14** **Economics/ Profit 2** **Wonder/ Curiosity 1** **Sensory/ Pleasure 14** **Property / Control 1** **Territory / Security 1**	**Being Liked 32** **Care/ Nurture 27** **Control/ Order/ Discipline 2** **Courtesy/ Hospitality 21** **Dexterity/ Co-ordination 2** **Endurance/ Patience 31** **Equilibrium 6** **Friendship/ Belonging 58** **Obedience/Duty 2** **Prestige/ Image 32** **Rights/Respect 2** **Social Affirmation 14** **Support/Peer 57** **Tradition 1**	**Achievement/ Success 29** **Administration/ Control 1** Communication/ Information **Competition 42** Design/Pattern/Order Duty/ Obligation **Economics/Success 9** **Education/ Certification 8** Efficiency/Planning Hierarchy/Order **Honor 1** Law/Rule **Loyalty/Fidelity 35** Management Membership/ Institution **Ownership 5** Patriotism/Esteem Productivity **Reason 14** **Responsibility 3** Rule/Accountability **Technology/Science 6** Unity/ Uniformity **Workmanship/Art/ Craft 1**	**Adaptability/ Flexibility 6** **Authority/Honesty 23** **Congruence 4** **Decision/ Initiation 24** **Empathy 2** **Equity/Rights 4** **Expressiveness/Joy 33** **Generosity/ Compassion 17** Health/Healing **Independence 29** Law / Guide **Limitation/ Acceptance 8** Mutual Obedience Quality/Evaluation Relaxation **Search/Meaning/ Hope 3** **Self-Assertion 34** **Sharing/Listening/Trust 15**	Accountability/ Ethics **Collaboration 8** Community/ Support Complementarity Corporation/ Stewardship **Creativity 3** Detachment/Solitude Discernment **Education/ Knowledge 5** Growth/Expansion Intimacy **Justice/ Social Order 3** Leisure Limitation/ Celebration Mission/ Objectives Mutual Accountability Pioneerism/ Innovation Research Ritual/ Communication Simplicity/ Play Unity/ Diversity	Community Personalist Interdependence Minessence Prophet/Vision Synergy Transcendence / Solitude	Convivial Technology Global Justice Human Rights Macroeconomics
BASE		CENTRAL		FUTURE/VISION			

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Tatyana Tsyrlina-Spady & Michael Lovorn (USA)

A Curriculum of Ideology: Use and Abuse of Modern History Education in Russia and the United States

Summary: *This paper examines the extents to which students in high school history classes in Russia and the United States are subjected to curricula, texts, images, and symbols that promote patriotic and nationalistic ideology. The authors performed a comparative content analysis of various commonly used Russian and American 20th century history textbooks. This analysis included an exploration of textual attention to ideological agendas, including the heroification of certain political and military figures, and led researchers to a series of implications regarding the impact of this manipulation of content on students' general understandings of history, their country's place in history, as well as an overall effect on their personality and character development. Most notably, analysis of recent textbooks in both countries revealed clear agendas intended to foster and promote national identity and patriotism.*
Keywords: *history, nationalism, heroification, teaching, Russia, United States*

Резюме *(Татьяна Цырлина-Спеди, Михаил Ловорн: Идеологическая образовательная программа: Использование и злоупотребление новейшего исторического образования в России и Соединенных Штатах): Данная статья исследует, в какой степени обучающиеся старших классов в России и Соединенных Штатах на уроках истории подвержены влиянию учебных планов, текстов, изображений и символов, содействующих восприятию патриотической и националистической идеологии. Авторы провели сравнительный анализ содержания различных используемых в школьной практике российских и американских учебников истории 20-го века. Данный анализ включает исследование текстуальных отношений с идеологическими аспектами, включая героизацию определенных политиков и военных, и приводит исследователей к открытию ряда аспектов относительно влияния содержательной стороны на общее понимание истории обучающимися, на определение места их страны в истории и на их личность и развитие характера. Прежде всего, анализ новейших школьных учебников в обеих странах обнаружил четкие тенденции в содействии и востребованности национальной идентичности и национального патриотизма.*
Ключевые слова: *история, национализм, героизация, урок, Россия, Соединенные Штаты*

Zusammenfassung *(Tatyana Tsyrlina-Spady & Michael Lovorn: Ein Curriculum der Ideologie: Nutzung und Missbrauch der neueren historischen Bildung in Russland und den Vereinigten Staaten): Dieser Artikel untersucht, in welchem Ausmaß Schüler höherer Klassen in Russland und in den USA im Geschichtsunterricht von Lehrplänen, Texten, Bildern und Symbolen beeinflusst werden, die patriotische und nationalistische Ideologien fördern. Die Autoren unternahmen eine vergleichende Inhaltsanalyse von verschiedenen üblicherweise verwendeten russischen und amerikanischen Geschichtsbüchern des 20. Jahrhunderts. Diese Analyse umfasste eine Erforschung der textualen Beziehungen zu ideologischen Agenden, einschließlich der Heroifizierung bestimmter Politiker und Militärs. Sie führte die Forscher zu einer Reihe von Aspekten hinsichtlich der Auswirkungen der inhaltlichen Manipulation auf das allgemeine Geschichtsverständnis der Schüler, auf den Platz ihres Landes in der Geschichte sowie auf ihre Persönlichkeit und charakterliche Entwicklung. Vor allem zeigte die Analyse der neueren Schulbücher in beiden Ländern klare Agenden der Förderung und Forderung der nationalen Identität und des nationalen Patriotismus.*
Schlüsselwörter: *Geschichte, Nationalismus, Heroifizierung, Unterricht, Russland, Vereinigte Staaten*

Introduction

Long gone are the days when history education encompassed little more than the memorization of names and dates. Most history teachers and scholars now agree that effective study of the past requires practice in focused inquiry, specialized literacy, and historical thinking. Successful history teaching endeavors are no longer marked simply by how well students perform on standardized tests, but by the degree to which they demonstrate deeper understandings of perspective, cause and effect relationships, continuity, and engaged citizenship. It has been argued that textbooks alone are usually inadequate sources for the conveyance of these overarching themes, for example the debates of different modern historians Dolutsky (2004), Sveshnikov (2004), Ferretti (2004) about the role of history textbooks in history education. However, they are still staples of the classroom, commonly referenced as sources of historical accuracy and final authority by students and teachers alike.

Among the many limitations of history textbooks is the rather one-dimensional way they often introduce historical figures, events, or concepts. Virtues and moral exemplars, for instance, are often presented via anecdotal accounts or biographical sketches of famous political figures or military leaders portrayed as "heroes." This is especially true of national history. Study of the past cannot be divorced from examinations of virtues, nor should it be. However, when the values and moral exemplars being conveyed to students are presented with the primary purpose of augmenting the political or patriotic agendas of the state, history education becomes more about the pursuit of a common ideology and national identity than about the development of critical or historical thinking skills. A recent example from the statement of the Russian first Education Deputy Minister Natalia Tretyak who characterizes a new web portal "People's Memory" (http://pamyat-naroda.ru) as an important "source of additional information for patriotic classes devoted to the Great Victory" (http://минобрнауки.рф/новости/5535, 2015). Clearly, such characteristics as "patriotic" and "great" leave no space for an objective or, more so, a critical analysis. Earlier in the same year, the Deputy Minister Tretyak also announced, "Today the core of the state policy in the field of education is constituted by the necessity of shaping a personality who knows and respects history and traditions of his/her homeland" (http://минобрнауки.рф/новости/4921, January, 2015).

The purpose of this study was to examine the extents to which students in high school history classes in Russia and the United States are subjected to curricula, texts, images, and symbols that promote patriotic and nationalistic ideology.

The State of National History Education in Russia and the United States

Current Russian history textbooks and curriculum are designed to develop students' senses of belonging and feelings of pride as emerging citizens of a strong and robust state. This is done in accordance with the current curriculum standards (2009-2012) and reiterated by The 2014 *Concept of a New Instructional-Methodological Set for Teaching History* defines one of the main objectives of history coursework as "shaping students in the spirit of patriotism and respect towards their homeland – a multinational Russian state" (Russian Historical Society, 2014, p. 7). This mandate was recently exemplified by a host of national patriotic events planned and carried out to commemorate Victory Day on May 9. Recently described as "a man who believes in symbols" (Browder, 2015, p. 167), President Putin has taken great interest in delivering this message of patriotic fervor to the nation. Russian flags, WWII posters, large portraits of noble veterans, and elaborate parades showing great military might were used to create a nationwide atmosphere of pride, power, and national defense. During the Red Square Parade, Putin continued along these ideological lines by reminding the nation that "an enlightened Europe did not notice a deadly threat presented by the Nazi ideology," and boasting

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of Russia's greatness while pointing out that "many European states were enslaved and occupied." (http://kremlin.ru/events/president/transcripts/49438, 2015)

In the United States, much like in Russia, history education has been a political game for decades. The U.S. history classroom is still considered by some to be a prime arena for conveyance of various patriotic ideologies and nation building, and, as in Russia, history textbooks and curriculum have come under fire by politically motivated groups. Unlike, Russia, however, this pressure seems to be coming from the far right. American Conservatives have redoubled their efforts to commandeer the U.S. History curriculum and to present the nation's recent past, particularly that of the 20th century, through an ethnocentric lens of cultural, sociopolitical, military, and economic superiority (Conlon, 2015). Right wing politicians in states including Oklahoma and Georgia have gone so far as to introduce bills to cut or even eliminate funding for public school history education due to, in their opinions, "liberal bias" and a perception that it "emphasizes negative aspects of our nation's history while omitting or minimizing positive aspects" (Rampell, 2015).

As is evident in both countries, political extremists sense the great power in communal identity and hyper-nationalism, and these groups are using similar tactics in their efforts to wrest their national history from the grasps of their political adversaries. As a result of this tug of war, teachers in both countries have been placed in a difficult position.

Data from our October 2014 survey of 113 history teachers across Russia (Lovorn & Tsyrlina-Spady, in press), and recent informal interviews of advanced history teachers in the United States, implied that many educators perceive part of their job as presenting their national history through lens of patriotism. This trend invites a series of questions about the kinds of heroes, values, ideas, and ideals teachers and textbooks are currently delivering to students, and in turn, prompted this investigation, beginning with the following research questions:

1. What sorts of character traits and attitudes are highlighted in the portrayal of late 20th century and early 21st century national heroes and cultural figures as presented in Russian and American history textbooks?

2. What groups from the same period, if any, are underrepresented or missing from the narrative and why?

Status Quo

The 2014 Concept of a New Instructional-Methodological Set for Teaching History [The Concept] composed at the direct order of President Putin and later on approved by him has logically led to the contest among history textbooks' authors, the results of which were reported by the Russian Historical Society in April 2015. This event virtually put an end to any democratic attempts to preserve pluralism in the description of national modern and contemporary history. School history textbooks, as opined by Potapova, became true "instruments of ideologies" (2015, p. 47). The announced winners were three different teams of academics and practitioners; authors of three sets of textbooks published by the following publishing houses: Prosvetscheniie ("Enlightenment" as #1 among them), Drofa, and Russkoie Slovo ("Russian Word"). For analytical purposes, The Concept simplified our task as it specifically indicated "heroes" to be mentioned and described in the textbooks.

We analyzed a list of individuals identified by The Concept as figures of historical and/or political significance at or after the collapse of the Soviet Union as chronicled in Section IX of Russian Federation in 1991-2012 (p. 63). Not at all surprising, of the 34 "most important Russians" analyzed, nearly

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half were political or military leaders, countering former President Boris Yeltsin with current Presi-dent Vladimir Putin. It also included a few curious figures, such as Boris Berezovsky and Mikhail Khodorkovsky; the former of whom was found dead in his London home in March 2013, and the latter of whom was incarcerated for many years.

Our brief analysis of these "leaders/heroes" provides us with a number of noteworthy observations. First, despite several good candidates, the list does not include women. Former governor of St. Pe-tersburg and a current chairwoman of the Federation's Council, Valentina Matvienko, or current Chairwoman of the Central Bank of Russia and a former federal Minister of Economic Development Elvira Nabiullina, would have been natural selections. Popular singer and composer, Alla Pugacheva, should also have been included. As it is, however, female history students must endure a noticeably unisexual version of Russian history, ironically, in classes that are often taught by female teachers.

Second, we noted that the "List of Personalities," as it is officially called, includes both heroes and anti-heroes; however, the criteria of choice are not quite clear. For example, the list contains the names of the late Generals Dudaev and Maskhadov, both of whom represented oppositional forces in Chechnya and would later be killed as terrorists, alongside legendary doctor Leonid Roshal, who was leading negotiations with the Chechen rebels and managed to liberate a number of children during the sieges of Beslan school and Dubrovka Theater. (Interestingly, we found Dr. Roshal to be one of the only true moral exemplars on this list.) The list also surprisingly includes former President Boris Yeltsin, as well as Ruslan Hasbulatov, a former chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Fed-eration and a very odious historic figure.

Third, the list is curious not only for what men are included, but also for who is absent. Of the "most famous Russians," not one is a known homosexual. The list is also devoid of ethnic minorities, persons with identified disabilities, or noted human rights' activists. Whistleblower Sergei Magnitsky, for in-stance, who was jailed for linking the government to allegations of fiscal theft and fraud, and who later died in custody, merits no mention. These clear omissions seem to advance the argument that the list is composed of men who embody an affluent and powerful Russia.

A similar phenomenon is observable in the United States, albeit currently to a lesser degree. Over the past 20 years, politically motivated groups have taken keen interests in high school American history curricula across the country, even leading to some firestorm debates in several states, as mentioned earlier. Much of the latest fervor began with the inception of the National History Standards Project [NHSP] in the early 1990s. As has been well documented, the NHSP originated as a neo-conservative reform movement to challenge the multiculturalism movement that was underway in American schools. Conservative politicians, notably social studies education expert Lynne Cheney and Con-gressman Newt Gingrich, and other public figures including far-right mouthpiece Rush Limbaugh fueled a nearly two-year controversy about what U.S. history education should and should not en-compass, denouncing the work and findings of project directors (Symcox, 2002).

Twenty years later, while many of those particular debates have died down, ownership of the history curriculum is still a topic for discussion and legislation in virtually every state in the Union. The cur-rent polarization of American political entities is such that extreme groups have donned themselves the purveyors of historical content and value. Proponents of a nationalist adaptation of U.S. history have worked to lionize political figures including former Presidents Ronald Reagan and George H. W. Bush, and other bastions of conservatism. Even Jerry Falwell, founder of the so-called "Moral Majority" political machine, has been promoted as a person of great contribution to American history. These and other conservative political figures have collectively been presented as defenders of the free

world, usually without fair criticism (or oftentimes even a blemish) of their terms in office or contributions to public political discourse.

Simultaneously, these same groups who fought so diligently to undermine historical multiculturalism seem to have now evoked another culture war of sorts by embarking upon a concerted campaign to minimize or eliminate the teaching of multiple perspectives. It seems clear conservatives want to advance a common, patriotic and nationalistic mind frame and identity among young Americans. This ideological framework, it also appears, is to be spurred by further reductions or the total elimination of negative critical examinations of (mostly conservative) political figures and their policies, particularly those in the second half of the 20th century and the first decade of the 21st century. Disturbingly, some even advocate introducing biblical and "young earth" creationist theories into high school history curriculum (Pierson, Wood, & Thurmond, 2012). We feel this hyper-political climate calls for an investigation of these influences, and our analysis focused on a critical examination of textbooks.

An Emphasis on Textbooks

Our study centered on an analysis of relevant textbooks. We reviewed three of the most widely used Russian history texts for Grade 9, each published under the same title and recommended by the Russian Ministry of Education and Science: Istoriia Rossii. XX – Nachalo XXI Veka (History of Russia. 20th – beginning of the 21st Century). Each of these textbooks was written by different authors: (1) Danilov, Kosulina, and Brandt (2014), (2) Kiselev and Popov (2013), and (3) Zagladin, Petrov, Minakov, and Kozlenko (2014), and was produced by one of only three textbook publishing companies to be officially endorsed by the government.

We also reviewed two popular high school U.S. history texts: (1) The American Republic since 1877 (2007) authored and edited by Joyce Appleby and published by Glencoe and (2) The American Pageant, 15th Edition (2012) authored and edited by David Kennedy and Lizabeth Cohen and published by Centage Learning. We selected these U.S. History textbooks quite deliberately because they are among the most popularly adopted resources over the past decade.

Textbook publishing in the United States is a multi-billion dollar industry. Each year and across all disciplines, countless textbooks flood U.S. markets with one primary goal: sales. Unlike Russia, there is no single, centrally managed textbook adoption process in the United States. Procedures, instead, are set at the state level, where generally, textbooks are initially reviewed. State representatives then shorten the list to five to ten options. Commonly, these lists are then forwarded to independent districts for consideration, and thus, final selections are oftentimes made at this local level. Textbook adoption cycles generally run seven or eight years, so once a district has made a final selection, that text is used for at least this duration of time.

Decades of localized textbook selection have led to a competitive saturation of the market across all disciplines. School districts have many textbook choices, particularly when it comes to history, and as a result, eager publishing companies are all too willing to present them with history that sells. Interestingly though, such a wide variety of titles does not come with an equal variety of perspectives. Virtually all best-selling U.S. history textbooks take a chronological grand narrative approach written in language that is consistently uplifting, conservative, and nationalistic in tone and design. In our observation, none of the best sellers fosters any meaningful discussion of difficult topics, particularly those associated with failed or controversial American foreign policy.

To further inform this study, we reviewed several excerpts and omissions from the selected Russian and American history textbooks. In examining these textbooks, we focused particularly on historical

accounts from about 1980 to present. One example of our analysis of American "heroes" centered on narrative about and images of former U.S. President Ronald Reagan. Our review was not intended to be an exhaustive examination of the two texts, but rather to make summary observations of its style, content, tone, and undertone in a context of nationalist ideology. For both Russian and American textbooks, we considered 1980-present to be, perhaps, the most dynamic era we could study in this regard. It should be noted that throughout the section that follows, for simplicity, each Russian text-book is referred to only by the lead authors' name(s).

Analyses of Russian Texts

Following the design of The Concept, we proceeded to examine each Russian text with the particular objective of analyzing their coverage of several of those "most important" figures in recent (1991-present) history. At this point, we should say that in general, our cross-text analysis revealed that Zagladin is mostly oriented towards political history, and presents the lengthiest account of policy-changing events during the 1990s and the early 2000s. The textbook includes more images of former Boris Yeltsin and symbols connected with his presidency, such as a photo of tanks in front of the White House during the August coup in Moscow. Zagladin is also the only textbook that mentions the leaders of the "Democratic Choice" Party, Galina Starovoitova (1946-1998) and Sergey Yushenkov (1950-2003) with the dates of birth and death, but it fails to mention that both were the victims of a vicious, unsolved murder, and erroneously places the date of Starovoitova's death in 1999. Finally, Zagladin is also the only text that presents photos of influential and controversial oppositional leaders, including Gennady Zyuganov, Vladimir Zhirinovsky, and Grigory Yavlinsky; however, these photos are accompanied by very few details of their legacies or contributions to Russian history.

By contrast, each of the three textbooks clearly seems to make a central focal point out of a strong image of Vladimir Putin for the duration of this time period. Interestingly, while photographs of former President Boris Yeltsin and Prime Minister Dmitry Medvedev are included in the textbook, they are not accompanied by any biographical details. President Putin, on the other hand, is represented throughout the text with an impressive photo that is accompanied by a thorough biography of his life and contributions to the Russian Federation, including the following exemplary excerpt from Danilov:

In summer 1999, Putin was appointed Chairman of the Russian Federation Government. Drastic measures to restore a constitutional order in Chechen, fights with terrorists, visits to hotspots, consistent and firm position in defending the country's unity made him the most popular national politician in no time... While preparing for early elections the authority of the Interim President grew even more due to his election program. As his primary goal Putin announced a rebirth and revival of Russia, meaning to improve people's living conditions... Without splitting the society into "ours" and "theirs", supporters and opponents of reforms, he implemented a number of measures that allowed uniting the society (Danilov, 2014, pp. 370-371).

In further examining Kiselev and Popov, we observed an extensive list of political and cultural heroes, complete with many images and informative biographies. Alongside ubiquitous portraits and biographies of Yeltsin, Putin, and Medvedev, Kiselev and Popov have portraits of and some (albeit brief) information on artists, actors, musicians and poets including Brodsky, Okudzhava, Vysotsky, Shukshin, Plisetskaya, among others.

An introductory concept of cultural heroism during this time was among the commonalities we observed when examining the Russian textbooks. Each text made an effort to describe experiences and phenomena that appeared to define or at least point to Russian identity. Additionally, each text also touched on topics of faith and spiritual identity of the nation. Danilov even goes so far as to mark the

restoration of Moscow's Cathedral of Christ the Savior as "a symbol of the spiritual rebirth of Russia" (Danilov, 2014, p. 357), concluding that "the major result of the 1990s is the creation of all necessary conditions for restoration of spirituality in Russia, enriching those eternal values which have been developed by generations of Russians" (p. 357).

As for Russian cultural "heroes," Zagladin prefers using names and/or images of the people them-selves or their creations, but all of them are part of the official cultural establishment. Included in the Zagladin text are the President of the Russian Academy of Arts Tsereteli, renowned nationalist artists Glazunov and Klykov, and Art Director of the Mariinsky Theater Gergiev. Interestingly, the Zaglandin text also prompts students to reflect upon this "gallery of cultural heroes" and to attempt to answer the following question: "Who out of the most outstanding national writers and poets do you know?" (2014, p. 322).

Analyses of American Texts

As mentioned, we identified two U.S. history textbooks for our analysis in this study primarily be-cause each is widely adopted in districts across the United States. More specifically, The American Pageant (Kennedy & Cohen, 2012) was selected because it is the 15th Edition in a series considered to be among the best selling history textbooks of the 21st century anywhere. The American Republic since 1877 (Appleby, 2007) was selected because of its continued popularity in conservative districts across the United States. Both textbooks are also conveniently available in full text online.

The American Pageant bills itself as "one of the most popular, effective, and entertaining texts in American history," and by many accounts, overall this is an accurate statement. Our research con-firmed this textbook is among the more frequently adopted resources across the United States. Pub-lisher Centage Learning goes on to describe the compilation thusly:

The colorful anecdotes, first-person quotations, and trademark wit bring American history to life. The 15th edition includes markedly deeper explorations of the cultural innovations, artistic move-ments, and intellectual doctrines that have engaged and inspired Americans and shaped the course of American history. (http://www.cengage.com/search/showresults.do?N=14+4294922390)

In fact, our analysis revealed that The American Pageant is largely traditional in scope and design in its attention to presenting national heroes. The narrative text follows a predictable chronological orientation of the Reagan and Bush Administrations, for instance, and policies with some attention to social events of the time. Despite the publisher's comprehensive summary, we found little, if any, attention to cultural innovations or artistic movements. Additionally, there were virtually no refer-ences to perspectives of the masses or anyone who opposed their presidential policies or agendas.

The American Republic since 1877 emerged during our analysis as the textbook that espoused a de-finitive conservative ideology. The chapter on the 1980s and 90s (chapter 28) is entitled: "Resur-gence of Conservatism," and opens with an impressive and thorough biography of President Reagan. The biography includes various anecdotal references to his formative years, acting career, and early days in politics. One such passage quotes Reagan describing what he learned as a lifeguard when he was a teenager; a clear attempt to establish his track record of moral fortitude (Appleby, 2007, p. 865).

In drawing comparisons between these two texts, we immediately noticed that only select aspects of Reagan's Presidency are recounted in the historical narrative; both texts seemed to use language that either explained away or justified questionable political policies or military actions. The Iran-Contra

Affair, for instance, was a scandal marked by secretive political meddling, illegal international arms exchanges, and televised public hearings that included dramatic testimony, perjury, and talk of a presidential conspiracy. It was also arguably Reagan's greatest political conundrum. By our observation, we determined the Iran-Contra Affair is dealt with in text quite lightly, and any connection to the heroified Reagan is minimized or omitted completely. Historically speaking, first-hand political observers and common citizens alike can easily recall how Congressional hearings ended with the convictions of several of Reagan's military and political advisors. Despite the fact that this multinational scandal made headlines around the world and captivated the American people for months, the whole affair seems to be overly and selectively summarized in the two textbooks we evaluated.

The American Pageant, in a subsection entitled, "Troubles Abroad," gives the affair the following print attention:

> A leftist revolution had deposed the long-time dictator of Nicaragua in 1979. President Carter had tried to ignore the hotly anti-American rhetoric of the revolutionaries, known as "Sandinistas," and to establish good diplomatic relations with them. But cold warrior Reagan took their rhetoric at face value and hurled back at them some hot language of his own. He accused the Sandinistas of turning their country into a forward base for Soviet and Cuban military penetration of all of Central America. Brandishing photographs taken from high-flying spy planes, administration spokespeople claimed that Nicaraguan leftists were shipping weapons to revolutionary forces in tiny El Salvador, torn by violence since a coup in 1979. Reagan sent military "advisers" to prop up the pro-American government of El Salvador. He also provided covert aid, including the CIA-engineered mining of harbors, to the "contra" rebels opposing the anti-American government of Nicaragua. Reagan flexed his military muscles elsewhere in the turbulent Caribbean. (Kennedy & Cohen, 2012, p. 984)

This textual account is followed by a subsection entitled "The Iran-Contra Imbroglio." We found this use of the descriptor "imbroglio," which, loosely refers to a "complicated situation," to be a curious way to open a discussion on one of the biggest political scandals of the 1980s.

The American Republic since 1877, while similarly selective, does give the reader the idea that there was a more substantial public controversy surrounding the illegal activity and aftermath. The text reports:

> Although Congress had prohibited aid to the Nicaraguan contras, individuals in Reagan's administration continued to illegally support the rebels. These officials secretly sold weapons to Iran in exchange for the release of American hostages being held in the Middle East. Profits from these sales were then sent to the contras. News of the illegal operations broke in November 1986. One of the chief figures in the Iran-Contra scandal was Marine Colonel Oliver North, an aide to the National Security Council (NSC). He and other senior NSC and CIA officials testified before Congress and admitted to covering up their actions, including shredding documents to destroy evidence. President Reagan had approved the sale of arms to Iran, but the congressional investigation concluded that he had not been informed about the diversion of the money to the contras. To the end, Reagan insisted he had done nothing wrong, but the scandal tainted his second term in office. (Appleby, 2007, p. 870)

While neither text completely absolves Reagan of any and all wrongdoing, each of the brief accounts is worded in a way that places distance between him and those individuals who committed the crimes. Both texts also redirect the reader's attention to Reagan's already-established stellar moral character and good intentions for the country.

This is only one of several examples we found when evaluating the texts. Other disturbing similarities included glowing, non-critical introductions of extreme right-wing "reformers" such as William F. Buckley, Jerry Falwell, and Pat Robertson. Commonalities among these textbooks also devoted relatively little attention devoted to the experiences or perspectives of common Americans during the period, and virtually no text accounting for political opposition to and protests of the policies and initiatives of these conservative heroes.

Implications and Conclusions

A focused examination of Russian and American history education related to patriotic and nationalist identity lessons from 1980 to the present was quite revealing on several levels. In Russia, for instance, common history themes of today are radically different than those before perestroika. Paraphrasing the late Russian linguist Yuri Lotman (1996), history as portrayed in general textbooks often sharply contradicted the *cultural context* of the Soviet Union. This was especially true in the late 1970s and early 1980s, so much so, in fact, that students regularly noticed and pointed out inconsistencies. Rather humorously, a common practice among school children of that time was to concern themselves more with what the teacher was expecting to hear than with reporting historical accuracy.

Currently, however, the overall public mood among Russians continues to shift and a spirit of jingoism is clearly on the rise. According to our analysis, and as exemplified in the passages cited above, it appears clear that the gap between the history text and the cultural context of modern Russia has narrowed. What's more, the unavoidable impact of a significantly increasing ideological tone of textbooks has been sharply advanced by the growth of state television and radio (with a limited number of competitors), and an abrasive attitude by political entities towards anyone or anything that espouses an alternative point of view. This disturbing trend shows no signs of slowing in the near future. In a final example, a regional patriotic organization called the "Immortal Regiment" went to great lengths during the 2015 Victory Day Parade to bring people together with photos of their family members who defended the country during World War II (http://parad-msk.ru). The 2015 Immortal Regiment was much larger in size and scope, and this time, the marchers were joined by President Putin himself, proudly carrying a portrait of his father (m24.ru, 2015). Immediately after this year's parade, news outlets reported that in Moscow alone, over half a million people attended the march, most similarly carrying images of family members. Interestingly, however, soon after the rally was over, photos went out on social media of garbage bins full of these family members' pictures (echo.msk.ru, May 2015), which begs the question: who throws away photos of wartime veteran relatives?

As we have seen, a similar, albeit less intense, fever of nationalistic ideology continues to emerge across the United States. According to our findings, this emergence is taking place at a relatively slower and less dramatic pace. Nonetheless, the heroification of historical and even current political figures is a means by which both Russian and American textbooks present the rather ideological concepts of national identity and patriotism. Again, the textbooks only publish the text they know will sell to school systems and districts, and while this may come as a top-down mandate in Russia, the current political climate in the United States has yielded similar results.

In conclusion, our study revealed a rather disturbing trend of compounded and increased ideological agendas in both countries. This trend included clear attempts to heroify various political and military figures and symbols, and to foster and promote national identity and patriotism. These observations led us to conclude that the manipulation of content on students' general understandings of history and their country's place in history is having an ever-increasing impact upon their overall personality and character development.

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Bond, Denton & Ellis: Impact of Reflective Assessment on Student Learning
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John B. Bond, David W. Denton & Arthur K. Ellis (USA)

Impact of Reflective Assessment
on Student Learning: Best-Evidence Synthesis
from Ten Quantitative Studies

Summary: *Formative assessment involves feedback to teachers for informing instruction and also feedback to students for directing their own learning. Early research on formative assessment showed independence from any particular theoretical foundation. Self-regulated learning theory provides a helpful construct for organizing formative assessment through familiar classroom practices, including provision of feedback, strategy use, and metacognition. One way to integrate reflective activities is with reflective assessment, which emphasizes gathering feedback through questioning, writing, and discussing. Ten studies were analyzed using best-evidence methodology to show the effects of reflective assessment on student performance of posttest and retention tests. Weighted mean effect sizes ranged from .28 to .37. Results suggest additional investigations into the use of reflection for improving student learning and other outcomes.*
Keywords: *best-evidence synthesis, effect size, feedback, formative assessment, metacognition, reflective assessment, self-regulated learning, strategy use*

Резюме *(Джон Б. Бонд, Давид В. Дентон & Артур К. Эллис: Воздействие рефлексивной оценки на обучение учеников: синтез убедительного доказательства из десяти количественных исследований): Формирующая оценка включает обратное сообщение учителям для организации урока и ученикам для организации их собственного обучения. Прежние исследования по вопросам формирующей оценки показывают независимость от любых специальных теоретических оснований. Теория самоуправляемого обучения предлагает полезную концепцию для организации формирующей оценки с помощью известных практик обучения, включая обратную связь, использование стратегии и метакогницию. Способ интегрирования рефлектирующих видов деятельности – это рефлектирующая оценка, подчеркивающая сочетание обратной связи, устного и письменного опроса и дискуссии. С использованием методики убедительного доказательства были проанализированы десять исследований, чтобы показать воздействие рефлектирующей оценки на достижения учеников при проведении заключительного теста после завершения курса и теста на проверку способности запоминания. Средние показатели величины эффекта составили от 0,28 до 0,37. Результаты говорят о необходимости проведения дальнейших исследований об использовании рефлексии для улучшения успехов в учебе и прочих достижений.*
Ключевые слова: *синтез убедительного доказательства, величина эффекта, обратная связь, формирующая оценка, метакогниция, рефлектирующая оценка, самоуправляемое обучение, использование стратегии*

Zusammenfassung *(John B. Bond, David W. Denton & Arthur K. Ellis: Auswirkungen der reflexiven Beurteilung auf das Lernen der Schüler: Eine Best-Evidence Synthese aus zehn quantitativen Studien): Die formative Beurteilung beinhaltet eine Rückmeldung an die Lehrer für die Unterrichtsgestaltung sowie für die Schüler hinsichtlich der Ausrichtung ihres eigenen Lernens. Frühere Forschungen zur formativen Beurteilung zeigten die Unabhängigkeit von jeglichen besonderen theoretischen Grundlagen. Eine Theorie des selbstregulierten Lernens bietet ein hilfreiches Konstrukt für die Organisation formativer Beurteilungen durch vertraute Unterrichtspraktiken, einschließlich des Feedbacks, des Strategie-Einsatzes und der Metakognition. Ein Weg, reflektierende Aktivitäten zu integrieren, ist die reflektierende Bewertung, die die Zusammenführung von Feedback, mündlicher und schriftlicher Befragung und Diskussion hervorhebt. Zehn Studien wurden unter Verwendung der Best-Evidence-Methodik analysiert, um die Auswirkungen der reflektierenden Beurteilung auf die Schülerleistungen bei Posttest und Retentionstests zu zeigen. Die gewich-*

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teten mittleren Effektstärken reichten von 0,28 bis 0,37. Die Ergebnisse sprechen für weitere Untersuchungen über die Verwendung von Reflexion zur Verbesserung der Lernerfolge der Schüler und weitere Erkenntnisse.
Schlüsselwörter: *Best-Evidence-Synthese, Effektstärke, Feedback, formative Beurteilung, Metakognition, reflektierende Bewertung, selbstgesteuertes Lernen, Strategie-Einsatz*

Introduction

The literature base supporting formative assessment is substantial and increasing. However, early research by Black and Wiliam (1998) distinguishes itself from the broad array of theoretical and empirical articles currently available to practitioners and academics. One reason for this is the way Black and Wiliam worked to explain underlying tenets of effective assessment for improving achievement, which were sensible and straightforward, and which aligned with the practical experience of most educators. One of the conclusions reached by Black and Wiliam is that formative assessment involves feedback to teachers for informing instruction. Another is that students themselves gather feedback for directing their own learning and for correcting errors. And yet another is that formative assessment depends on actively engaging students, which is widely accepted as a principle of effective instruction appropriate to all levels and disciplines. Likewise, though not explicitly stated by Black and Wiliam but rather inferred, is the idea that assessment need not always be linked to evaluation. Bloom, Hastings, and Madaus (1971) detached assessment from evaluation a decade earlier, reinforcing the notion that feedback from students be used for day-to-day adjustments made by teachers and students at the classroom level.

An important characteristic of the early research compiled by Black and Wiliam (2009) was its independence from any particular theoretical foundation. As they indicated, formative assessment "did not start from any pre-defined theoretical base but instead drew together a wide range of research findings relevant to the notion of formative assessment" (Black & Wiliam, 2009, p. 5). While excluding theory from research has disadvantages (Knowles, 1990), in the case of formative assessment, it proved helpful. The absence of unifying theory encouraged researchers to explore a variety of instructional practices generally thought to be formative, along with distinctive theories for justifying their use. As a result, formative assessment is wide-ranging and has been applied to various categories of teacher and student activity, including teacher-made-observations, discussion, questioning, graphic organizers, and student self-assessment, among others. Later, Black and Wiliam (2009) provided their own unifying theory of formative assessment, but before they had, researchers were already associating it with principles of curriculum design, teacher to student interdependence, peer to peer interdependence, classroom discourse, mastery learning, and self-regulated learning, among other concepts, constructs, and models.

Although there are several theories that researchers have linked to formative assessment, self-regulated learning significantly broadens the possibilities of improving classroom practice through teacher and student efforts. Consideration of self-regulated learning components - including motivation, metacognition, and behavior - contribute to a nuanced understanding of formative assessment, and also one that is complex and integrative of multiple fields. Part of the complexity has to do with assumptions underlying self-regulated learning. Self-regulation assumes learners are agents who construct knowledge and that all learners self-regulate, but with varying degrees of precision and efficiency (Winne, 2005). One of the intriguing implications of these assumptions is that students can improve their capacity for self-regulation through scaffolding activities, or strategies, such as provision of feedback.

Indeed, feedback is one of the defining characteristics of both formative assessment activities and

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self-regulated learning theory. For example, Black and Wiliam (2009) suggest "feedback is a critical feature in determining the quality of learning... and is therefore a central feature of pedagogy" (p. 6). Moreover, according to Black and Wiliam, feedback is not just gathered by teachers for modifying instruction, it is also gathered by students for selecting a strategy or changing a behavior. With respect to self-regulation, Winne (2005) indicates learners need feedback to understand whether their efforts are producing desired results (p. 562). Likewise, Zimmerman (1989) emphasizes the importance of feedback for regulating motivation and behavior, along with the use of specific learning strategies that enable students to monitor whether their efforts are producing improved outcomes.

Strategy use is another definitive characteristic for each field. A strategy is any procedure applied for accomplishing an academic task (Pressley & Harris, 1990). Major elements of teaching strategies to students include (a) demonstrating the strategy in the context of a meaningful academic task, (b) introducing strategies one at a time, (c) providing feedback and opportunities for practice, and (d) assisting students that struggle with the strategy on an individual basis (Pressley & Harris, 1990). Similar to feedback, researchers have included strategy use as a significant component of formative assessment and self-regulated learning. For example, Black and Wiliam (2009) suggest, "feedback on understanding of the task may have to be linked with feedback on the learner's understanding of the criteria used in his/her own self-regulation, or on the choice of strategy made in the light of that understanding" (p. 24). Likewise, Zimmerman (1989) has suggested a students' self-regulative knowledge is dependent on the application of a strategy and feedback from its use (p. 332).

A third definitive characteristic of formative assessment and self-regulated learning is metacognition. Flavell (1976) defines metacognition as heightened awareness of one's thought processes, or "knowledge concerning one's own metacognitive processes or anything related to them" (p. 232). Zimmerman (2002) situates metacognition within self-regulated learning, and suggests metacognition involves several cognitive skills including (a) setting goals, (b) adopting strategies, (c) evaluating the efficacy of one's methods, and (d) adapting future methods. Similarly, Dignath and Büttner (2008) add that metacognition includes planning the completion of a task, monitoring one's comprehension through self-testing, and evaluating one's learning products in comparison to a goal. Dignath and Büttner also emphasize the importance of teachers communicating to students how, when, and where to apply various metacognitive strategies while also illustrating the benefits of their use.

In summary, characteristics of formative assessment make it amenable to a variety of learning theories and instructional practices. Self-regulated learning theory provides a helpful construct for organizing formative assessment through familiar classroom practices, including provision of feedback, strategy use, and metacognition. Black and Wiliam (1998) themselves justified these connections through their early definition of formative assessment, which they reported as any activity undertaken by "teachers – and by their students in assessing themselves...[to] provide information to be used as feedback" (p. 140).

Reflective Assessment

While provision of feedback, strategy use, and metacognition tell how to unify formative assessment as a possible expression of self-regulated learning theory, these fields include their own questions of how they are implemented at the classroom level. One way to improve coherence is by focusing on a finite set of learning activities, such as those identified as reflective assessment. Reflective assessment emphasizes gathering feedback through observing, questioning, writing, illustrating, and discussing. Information gathered through reflection is intended for use by both teachers and students. A few reflective assessment strategies follow for illustration.

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I learned statements are comments spoken or written by students summarizing whatever they learned from the lesson (Ellis, 2001, 2010). There are various ways to implement I learned, such as having students share their thinking with nearby peers, or writing an Exit Slip. Questions for eliciting I learned statements include

- What did you learn?
- What part of the lesson did you find most interesting?
- What is the value of what you learned?
- What do you think you will remember from today's lesson?

A strategy similar to I learned is *key idea identification* (Ellis, 2001, 2010)**,** which depends on broader unit goal statements, sometimes referred to as the unit focus, central focus, guiding question, essential question, big idea, or concept. Questions for eliciting key idea identification from students include

- How does yesterday's lesson relate to today's lesson?
- How do you summarize what you have learned from these last few days?
- What is the key idea that explains our activities over the last few weeks?

Another strategy is *clear and unclear windows*, which uses comparisons, rather than lesson or unit goals, as its subject matter (Ellis, 2010). According to Marzano, Pickering, and Pollock (2001) making comparisons is an effective form of instruction, and also flexible since comparisons are readily shown visually, such as Venn diagrams, tables, and graphs. T-charts are yet another visual method for comparing two or more characteristics of things. Marking one side clear and another side unclear turns the chart into clear and unclear windows. Students use the chart for identifying parts of the lesson that make sense and those that are confusing.

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Similar to clear and unclear windows with respect to its visual characteristics, *learning illustrated* (Ellis, 2010) focuses on reflection through images, pictures, diagrams, and other representations that are readily understood by students, especially since most brain activity is occupied with processing visual information (Medina, 2008). Some prompts for eliciting illustrations include

- What picture can you draw to show your learning?
- Summarize your learning by illustrating a graphic organizer.
- How can you represent this information as a diagram?
- Assemble a flow chart to show the events or steps.

These examples show a few qualities of reflective assessment, such as its dependence on questioning, reflecting, and various forms of communication. Teachers and students need only talk with each other about important questions, with or without pencils, dry boards, projectors, word processors, though these tools may facilitate reflective processes.

Asking questions and contemplating answers, both independently and collaboratively, are fundamental teaching and learning activities. Reflection, or forms of thinking synonymous with it, appear across cultures from ancient times. In the Old Testament, the psalmist reported meditating on the law of the Lord by talking to himself day and night (Psalm 1:2, The New King James Bible). The Greek sage, Aesop, told of an old woman who, chancing upon an empty wine bottle, recollected the once fragrant contents of the remaining dregs (Aesop, trans., 1992). In the Tao Teh Ching, the wise master, Lao Tzu, reminded the disciple that in order to cultivate the mind, one must "know how to dive in the hidden deeps" (trans., 1989, p. 17). In the Bhagavad Gita (2:41), the hero, Arjuna, was advised to contemplate one action at a time in order to avoid straying onto irresolute paths and innumerable

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distractions.

These examples also show ways to focus student thinking on the purpose of the lesson in connection to previous, current, and subsequent learning activities. Some researchers associate this concept with alignment, or the accuracy with which elements of planning, instruction, and assessment work together to produce learning (Resnick, Rothman, Slattery, & Vranek, 2004). While most educators presume these elements work in concert with each other, there is evidence to suggest alignment is not always achieved, at the class level and at other levels of the education hierarchy (Browder, Spooner, Wakeman, Trela, & Baker, 2006; Parke & Lane, 2008; Pellegrino, 2006; Porter & Smithson, 2001; Tindal & Nolet, 1996). Gathering feedback from students about what they have learned, what they perceive as valuable, or what they believe is the purpose of a lesson or activity enables teachers and students alike to observe whether planning, instruction, and assessment are indeed working together to promote learning through alignment.

Analysis of Quantitative Studies

A large body of empirical research exists regarding formative assessment strategies that occur during learning activities. A brief summary follows of some prominent studies that relate directly to reflective assessment. Since reflective assessment depends on characteristics of reflection, and also makes alignment of goals and activities more explicit, it is perhaps unsurprising that research shows positive effects of interventions indicative of reflective assessment on student achievement (Blank & Hewson, 2000; Bond & Ellis, 2013; Conner & Gunstone, 2004; Dignath & Büttner, 2008; Gulikers, Bastiaens, Kirschner, & Kester, 2006; Gustafson, 2002; Hartlep & Forsyth, 2000; Naglieri & Johnson, 2000; Schneider et al., 1986; Schunk, 1983; Wang, Haertel, & Walberg, 1993; White & Frederiksen, 1998). However, many of these findings are derived from studies examining various subjects, not the least of which include formative assessment and self-regulated learning, but also reflective thinking, critical thinking, questioning techniques, feedback, and strategy instruction.

One way to identify the effects of reflective assessment, in the context of limited or diversified research studies, is by applying best-evidence methodology. Similar to meta-analysis, the purpose is to reveal patterns, show relationships, and add to the cumulative knowledge of a particular field (Hunter & Schmidt, 2004; Slavin, Lake, Hanley, & Thurston, 2014). End goals of both meta-analysis and best-evidence summary is theory development or explanation of phenomena (Hunter & Schmidt, 2004; Slavin, Lake, Hanley, & Thurston, 2014). These techniques are especially important in the area of behavioral or social science investigations, given the limited number of studies in any one area, which often show conflicting results (Hunter & Schmidt, 2004). In addition, though less important as an underlying rationale for selecting best-evidence methodology, educators are becoming accustomed to reports of the parametric qualities of instructional practices, mostly from informative comparisons of effect sizes by Bloom (1984), Hattie and Timperley (2007), and Marzano, Pickering, and Pollock (2001).

Slavin, Lake, Hanley, and Thurston (2014) identify the following steps for conducting best-evidence syntheses: a) identify selection criteria for including or excluding studies, b) calculate average effect size across studies, c) weight effect sizes proportionally to the number of study participants to show results of practical or theoretical interest, and d) extend the description of results beyond quantities to encourage replication.

The analysis that follows is intended to provide educators with information on the effects of reflective assessment, or those reflective activities that integrate formative assessment based on self-regulation theory. The methodology adheres to steps for best-evidence synthesis outlined by Slavin, Lake,

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Hanley, and Thurston (2014). The selection criterion includes studies with reflective assessment as the intervention. While this yields a small number of studies for inclusion, this approach avoids the "file drawer problem," which Sheskin (2007, p. 1307) defines as omission of studies from the research record which show non-significant statistical results. In addition, the need to justify instructional practices, and their contribution to achievement – or in most cases, test achievement – is an increasingly important activity for educators. At the very least, an analysis justifying reflective thinking serves as an antidote to the current standards movement, which is justified through demands for accountability in the form of increasing test scores.

Questions used for guiding this best-evidence synthesis of the impact of reflective assessment on student learning include the following:

1. How does reflective activity affect performance on a content-specific posttest?
2. How does reflective activity affect performance on a content-specific retention test?
3. Does teacher feedback on reflective activities improve student performance on a content-specific posttest and retention test?

Methodology

The data set included results from ten doctoral dissertations completed at one institution. Investigators conducted studies with the cooperation of teachers and school building administrators, where interventions were integrated as part of the assigned school curricula. All but one of the studies involved public school students. Moore (2010) sampled English speaking students from an international school in India. In total, study investigators worked with 1,251 students, grades 4 through 12, across a variety of content areas. Table 1 shows the author and context information for each study.

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Table 1

Study and Sample Characteristics

Author	*n*	Grade	Discipline
Bianchi	110	10	Science
Bond	141	5-6	Math
Denton	259	8	Social Studies
Edwards	54	9-10	Math
Evans	223	9	English
Johnson	65	4-6	Math
Kourilenko	85	9-12	French
Moore	73	4	Science
Shoop	134	9-12	Science
Zirkle	107	8	Geography
Total	1,251	na	na

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Each study applied one or more reflective assessment strategies, as shown in Table 2. Eight of the studies used *I learned* statements in combination with *think aloud*, *talk about it*, *clear and unclear windows*, and *learning illustrated*. Two other studies used *journals* with *talk about it* or *read aloud*.

Reflective activities were deployed near the end of the lesson and required between five and ten minutes to complete. Participating teachers gathered student reflections as part of the intervention. However, six of the studies included teacher feedback on student reflections as part of the treatment, also shown in Table 2. An important part of feedback in some of the studies, when it was provided, included teachers identifying a few exemplary reflections from the previous day at the beginning of subsequent lessons, and in some cases, teachers leading brief discussions about the exemplars. Four of the studies involved teachers collecting reflections, but not providing feedback. Methods for providing feedback are shown in Table 2.

Table 2

Independent Variables or Reflective Assessment Strategies

Author	I Learned	Think A-loud	Talk About It	Journal	Read A-loud	Learning Illustrated	Clear and Unclear Windows
Bianchi	X						X
Bond	X	X					
Denton*†Δ				X	X		
Edwards*Δ	X	X					X
Evans*†Δ	X	X					
Johnson	X	X					
Kourilenko*†Δ	X		X				
Moore*			X	X			
Shoop*	X		X				
Zirkle	X					X	

* Strategy deployed along with teacher feedback.
† Teacher shared exemplary student reflections at the beginning of each subsequent lesson.
Δ Teacher led discussion of exemplary reflections.

Each study included more than one classroom for assessing planned comparisons between treatment and comparison groups using analysis of variance (ANOVA). All studies included a control group, with the exception of Zirkle (2009). The dependent variable for each study was a content-specific test. Seven studies applied pre- and posttest design using equivalent forms of the content-specific test. Three of the studies applied a posttest only design. All but one study applied an equivalent form retention test, 6 to 12 weeks after posttest administration. Two studies included covariates. Four studies applied non-parametric calculations to mitigate non-normal distributions of posttest data.

Statistically significant results comparing treatment classroom and comparison classroom performance on content-specific posttests were reported in seven of the studies. Alternatively, treatment and comparison performance on posttests for three studies showed non-significant results. Levels of statistical significance for posttest comparisons are shown in Table 3.

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Table 3

Study Design Features

Author	n	Treatment Comparison Control	Pretest and Posttest	Posttest Only	Retention Test	Covariate	Nonparametric Tests	Posttest p
Bianchi	110	X	X		X			< .01
Bond*	95	X		X	X		X	< .00
Denton	187	X	X		X	X		< .01
Edwards	54	X	X			X		.42
Evans	163	X		X	X		X	< .00
Johnson	46	X		X	X		X	< .00
Kourilenko	59	X	X		X		X	.05
Moore	53	X	X		X			.19
Shoop	68	X	X		X			.63
Zirkle	107		X		X			.05

Note. *Randomly assigned students to treatment, control, and comparison groups.

Results

A fixed effects model was used for calculating a weighted mean effect size for posttest performance and retention test performance. According to Borenstein, Hedges, Higgins, and Rothstein (2009), fixed effects modeling is appropriate when studies use similar methodology and examine similar variables. To calculate weighted mean effects, Coehn's *d* effect sizes were calculated for each study and aligned with the number of participants as shown in Table 4 for posttest results, and in Table 5 for retention test results. According to Vogt (2005), individual study effect sizes, such as Coehn's *d*, show the estimated amount of variance on the dependent variable which may be attributed to an independent variable. Fixed effects modeling uses effect size estimates to calculate a weighted average based on individual case performance, rather than random effects modeling, which uses individual studies as the unit of analysis (Borenstein et al., 2009).

Table 4

Posttest Effect Size Statistics

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Author	n	Cohen's d	d * n
Bianchi	110	.628	69.08
Bond†	95	.495	47.03
Denton*	187	.032	5.98
Edwards*	54	-.23	-12.42
Evans†	163	.69	112.47
Johnson†	46	-.19	-8.74
Kourilenko†	59	.395	23.31
Moore	53	.67	35.51
Shoop	68	-.34	-23.12
Zirkle	107	.15	16.05
Total	942		265.14

* Included a covariate and conducted ANCOVA calculations.
† Included nonparametric calculations because data sets violated assumptions of normality.

Table 5

Retention Test Effect Size Statistics

Author	n	Cohen's d	d * n
Bianchi	110	.31	34.10
Bond	92	.52	47.84
Denton	174	-.17	-29.58
Evans	158	.95	150.1
Johnson	46	-.22	-10.12
Kourilenko	59	.30	17.70
Moore	53	.43	22.79
Shoop	68	.06	4.08
Zirkle	107	.17	18.19
Total	867		255.10

Weighted mean effect sizes are calculated by multiplying the effect size of each individual study, *d*,

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by the sample size for each study, *n*, as shown in Table 4 and 5. Results are then multiplied and the products are summed and divided by the total sample from all studies. The weighted mean effect size for the posttest was .28, while the weighted mean effect size for the retention test was .29.

Analysis of studies which included teacher feedback as part of the intervention showed similar effect sizes on posttest and retention tests. One exception was studies incorporating teacher feedback on reflections along with teacher led discussion of exemplary reflections, which showed a mean weighted effect size of .33 for retention tests.

Additional calculations were made which excluded studies by Shoop (2006) and Edwards (2008) because of high rates of student mortality, above 20%, and inconsistent deployment of intervention activities, according to limitations reported by each author. Revised calculations showed a weighted mean effect size of .37 for the posttest and .31 for the retention test.

Conclusion

Use of reflective activities, specifically reflective assessment, showed positive effects on student learning. Weighted mean effect sizes for posttest and retention tests ranged from .28 to .37. For comparison, Hattie, Biggs, and Purdie (1996) report corrective feedback shows an effect size of .65, homework .43, and ability grouping .18. Also, in their early analysis of the effects of formative assessment, Black and Wiliam (1998) report effect sizes between .40 and .70. However, also according to Hattie, Biggs, and Purdie, the average effect size of an educational intervention is .40. Also for comparison, according to Cohen (1969), an effect size of .20 is small, .50 is medium, and .80 is large. However, Glass, McGaw, and Smith (1981) caution that the magnitude of effect size should be judged in comparison to similar interventions seeking to produce the same results. Some interventions similar to reflective assessment include higher-order questions, feedback with goals, and questioning, which show effect sizes of .30, .42, and .41, respectively (Bloom, 1984; Hattie & Timperley, 2007).

Lastly, an important point for accurate interpretation of results is the brief amount of time needed to engage students in reflective activities, which ranged from five to ten minutes. Minimal expenditure of time, in comparison to meaningful gains in student achievement, provide helpful context for judging small effect sizes as encouraging and worth further investigation.

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Scheuermann, Gritter & Schuster: Collaborations with Tribal Elders for Sustainability Education
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Richard Scheuerman, Kristine Gritter & Carrie Jim Schuster (USA)

Collaborations with Tribal Elders for Sustainability Education

Summary: *Environmental sustainability studies are enhanced through local and regional partnerships between academicians and curriculum developers with members of area First Nation communities who have lived sustainably since time immemorial. Recent collaborative efforts between Seattle Pacific University's School of Education and Snake River-Palouse tribal elder Carrie Jim Schuster have led to the development of a one semester, secondary level integrated history, geography, literature, and science curriculum investigating the indigenous peoples and environment of the Pacific Northwest's Columbia-Snake River system. Seven core principles of cultural and environmental sustainability are discussed that were formulated through this collaboration involving Northwest tribal elders.*
Keywords: *Sustainability Education, indigenous peoples, principles of cultural and environmental sustainability*

Резюме *(Рихард Шойерман, Кристине Гриттер & Кэрри Джим Шустер: Сотрудничество со старейшиной рода для создания экологической устойчивости): Исследования по экологической устойчивости были расширены локальными и региональными партнерствами между академиками и разработчиками учебных планов с членами сообществ индейских племен аборигенов, которые издавна вели экологически устойчивый образ жизни. Последние совместные попытки педагогического факультета Тихоокеанского университета Сиэтла и старейшины рода Снейк Ривер-Палоуз, Кэрри Джима Шустера, привели к разработке учебного плана на один семестр, ориентированного на среднее образование второй ступени. Данный учебный план интегрирует историю, географию, литературу и естественные науки и исследует жизнь и окружающий мир индейских народов в системе ЛЕД-Пасифик Нортвест Коламбия-Снейк Ривер Систем. В рамках данной работы обсуждаются семь основных принципов культурной и экологической устойчивости, сформулированных при сотрудничестве со старейшиной северо-западного рода аборигенов.*
Ключевые слова: *создание экологической устойчивости, индейские народы, принципы культурной и экологической устойчивости*

Zusammenfassung *(Richard Scheuerman; Kristine Gritter; Carrie Jim Schuster: Zusammenarbeit mit Stammesältesten für Nachhaltigkeitsbildung): Ökologische Nachhaltigkeitsstudien sind durch lokale und regionale Partnerschaften zwischen Akademikern und Lehrplanentwicklern mit Mitgliedern von First Nation Communities, die seit jeher nachhaltig gelebt haben, erweitert worden. Neueste gemeinsame Bemühungen zwischen der School of Education an der Seattle Pacific University und dem Stammesältesten des Snake River-Palouse, Carrie Jim Schuster, haben zur Entwicklung eines einsemestrigen, auf den Sekundarbereich orientierten Curriculums geführt. Es integriert Geschichte, Geographie, Literatur und Naturwissenschaften und untersucht Leben und Umwelt indigener Völker des LED-Pacific Northwest Columbia-Snake River System. Sieben Grundprinzipien der kulturellen und ökologischen Nachhaltigkeit werden diskutiert, die durch diese Zusammenarbeit mit Nordweststammesältesten formuliert wurden.*
Schlüsselwörter: Nachhaltigkeitsbildung, indigene Völker, Prinzipien kultureller und umweltbezogener Nachhaltigkeit

Introduction

Place-based education fosters student learning by incorporating elements of surroundings and community throughout the curriculum. "Place" in this context is usefully defined by geographer Yi-Fu Tuan to be space plus culture, or the dynamic regional relationships between human society and the natural world. Explicit advocacy of the approach is seen in the work of such theorist-practitioners as

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Comenius, Pestalozzi, Montessori, and Dewey. By incorporating considerations of place into regular instructional practice, a method also characterized as constructivist and experiential, they sought to facilitate the development of students as whole social beings with moral sensibilities. Place-based educators who are heir to this pedagogical legacy in rural, suburban, and metropolitan settings directly connect classroom activities to their students' lives and communities. They develop critical thinking about cultural, political-economic, and environmental connections to promote community sustainability by relating locales to the wider world. Four core aspects of teaching are generally emphasized including (1) consideration of community life, indigenous knowledge, and local ecosystems; (2) active, inquiry-based interdisciplinary learning experiences; (3) preparation for citizenship and the technological literacy in the information age; and (4) reflection about these experiences (Sobel, 2005, Gruenewald, 2003).

The Rise of Place-Based Instruction

Among the most prominent and enduring examples of place-based studies in at the elementary and middle levels is Shady Hill School in Cambridge, Massachusetts. School founders Agnes Hocking and Katharine Taylor formulated a private educational experience in the 1920s combining "active examination of local surroundings" with year-long interdisciplinary "central subject" themes of world significance which to this day still include Ancient Greece and Rome, China and the Silk Road (Marco Polo), Maritime Cultures and Exploration (James Cook), and Early America (Yeomans, 1979; Shaw, 2006). Place-based investigations combined with curriculum derived from such traditional sources such as those associated with world civilization represent a powerful educational convergence fostering at once appreciation for the cultural heritage with contemporary, community relevance.

The renowned British contemporary of Shady Hill's founders and an eloquent enemy of "inert ideas," mathematician-philosopher Alfred North Whitehead, suggested such a plan in his celebrated 1921 London lecture, "The Place of the Classics in Education." Whitehead proposed that studying the works of exemplars of learning throughout history could bridge the growing divide between classical and technological education. In the case of a unit on Greece, he advocated a literature curriculum for younger students based on an age-appropriate translation of the Odyssey, history derived from the writings of Herodotus and Plutarch, scientific study of Archimedes' simple machines, and connections to several axioms and propositions from Euclid's Elements on number theory and geometry.

The relevance of Homer and Marcellus to a London suburb might seem as peculiar as that of Marco Polo to Seattle. But not to Whitehead and advocates of expansive learning. He advocated the mapping of local features, measurement of precipitation and wind, collection of plants and rock specimens, and related tasks ("gaining the utmost information from the simplest apparatus") as means to understand and appreciate the local as well as other places and times. Active student inquiry in such ways offered educational experience of highest quality. Global education becomes meaningful when it is preceded by local education that imparts cultural and personal identity, civic responsibility, and environmental stewardship (Whitehead, [1921] 1967; Theobold 1997).

Place-based educators similarly often incorporate works of local authors as curricular connections to themes from classical world literature and epic tales of mythology from indigenous peoples. As Helen Vendler's observes, "Literary imagination is incurably local. But is it against the indispensible background of the general literary culture than native authors assert their local imaginations. Our schools cannot afford to neglect either resource" (Bellah, 1996:451-52).

Place-studies at the high school level in America were notably popularized by Eliot Wigginton at a public high school in Raburn Gap, Georgia in the 1960s Foxfire project of cultural journalism that emphasized the values of simple living in rural Appalachia. In-depth interviews with community

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members were conducted by students who then edited and illustrated their stories into a series of articles published annually in a journal and remain in print as a best-selling book series (Puckett, 1989). In the 1970s Seattle Pacific College Education Professor Margaret Woods introduced a generation of Northwest teacher candidates to the principles of "hands-on creative learning techniques" consistent with a place-based approach. One of her students, Meryl Pruit, went on in the 1980s to establish a comprehensive curriculum on regional Native American culture and pioneer life in cooperation with Puget Sound school districts (Labuda, 1985).

Coincident with the emergence of place-based approaches like Foxfire was the publication of popular books bearing such titles as *The Greening of America* (Reich, 1970), *The Closing Circle* (Commoner, 1971), and *Where the Wasteland Ends* (Roszak, 1972). Such authors presented in both romantic and critical terms a view of post-World War II culture increasingly dominated by technocratic mentality and complex organizational structures to advance interests that measured wellbeing in purely quantitative standards of socio-economic value. The result of this shift in values from individual dignity, material adequacy, and mutual concern and others espoused by the republic's founders spurred the deterioration of public trust, environmental quality, and community spirit.

Authors and educators like Reich and Wigginton had been greatly influenced by the legacy of environmentalist author-activists like Aldo Leopold and Howard Zahnizer—themselves heir to the ideas of Gesner, Blake, and Muir. Leopold's classic 1949 book of essays, *A Sand County Almanac*, offered a naturalist's hope for establishing new appreciation for place not as commodity, but "as a community to which we belong" meriting love and respect borne of special study and understanding. He found evidence of such appreciation throughout history and evident in accounts of explorers and First Peoples as widespread as in the Tarascan and Aztec empires of Central America to Marco Polo's China and medieval Europe. The book initially received an indifferent reception but became a best-seller after its 1973 reprinting. By that time Zahnizer's efforts as executive director of The Wilderness Society resulted in the 1964 Wilderness Bill to preserve natural places across the nation as "vast schoolrooms" of worth far beyond any market value. In these place members of all generations could "apprehend the interrelations of the whole community of life" by learning about interdependence and self-reliance (A Leopold, 1949; M. Harvey, 2007).

Zahnizer saw natural areas as a fundamental source of liberal and democratic traditions, and their preservation as an educational imperative for the benefit of young people and spiritual fulfillment for all in accordance with religious principles of environmental stewardship. He and Leopold intuitively understood the pedagogical and social significance of place. In *Beyond Ecophobia,* David Sobel (1996) warns of misplaced concern about environmental degradation and climate change through "premature abstraction" and focus on disaster scenarios. He writes of the need for opportunities by children "to bond with the natural world, to learn to love it, before being asked to heal its wounds." The same might be expected of teachers and other adults. In one of our summer teacher training institutes I overheard a conversation among teacher candidates about a controversial practice of banning the use of rock salt from Seattle streets during winter in order to prevent damage to Puget Sound. The most animated participants found the idea incomprehensible for a major Northwest metropolitan area known to periodically experience snow and ice. But when asked if any had actually observed one of the dozen killer whale pods inhabiting the Sound, none replied in the affirmative. Whales and salmon were ideas sometimes seen on television or read about in the newspaper, not living creatures now threatened that had lived in harmony with residents of the area for generations.

Sobel credits environmental activism whether in rural or urban settings to two sources: "hours spent outdoors in a keenly remembered wild or semi-wild place in childhood or adolescence, and an adult who taught respect for nature (p. 10)." This ethic provides proper justification for the many outdoor environmental education programs operating across the country to provide young people raised in

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any setting with life experiences fostering connection to the natural world. Leopold lamented an educational system's preoccupation with technical interests at the risk of society's wellbeing by heading "away from, rather than toward, an intense consciousness of the land" (A. Leopold, 1949, p. 223). The validity of Henry Wallace's New Deal era reminder of place-based education's special promise for any community endures: "Many of the most lively, intimate expressions of spirit spring from the joyous continuous contact of human beings with a particular locality. If life can be made secure in each community and if the rewards are distributed justly, there will flower… not only those who attain joy in daily, productive work well done; but also those who paint and sing and tell stories with the flavor peculiar to their own valley, well-loved hill, or broad prairie." Not everyone may need a Walden to foster an ethic for sustainability, and commentary on Thoreau proposing otherwise is a misreading of the Concord sage. He spurned ascetics like the French Canadian woodsman Alek Therien for boasting of self-reliance without books and for being ignorant of major social issues.

Societal Challenges to Place-based Approaches

The prospect of affirming the centrality of place and its myriad natural and human associations as an educational model met with challenges of implementation among teachers traditionally influenced by national professional associations and developers of curriculum materials for the mass market. Moreover, the 1973-74 oil embargo and ensuing energy crisis in America generally led to mere reconsideration of change in spite of presidential encouragement by Jimmy Carter to shift from the national mentality of an Abundant Society sustained by exploitation of global resources to the Modest Society affirming local self-reliance. Scion of one of America's most wealthy families, Laurence Rockefeller wrote a 1976 *Reader's Digest* article, "A Case for the Simple Life-Style," that described a host of endeavors resembling the Table of Contents in a classroom Foxfire volume including the revival of handicrafts and the formation of consumer cooperatives. Americans were being encouraged to engage in "plainer living and higher thinking" without renouncing technology or modern conveniences, but by fostering, or perhaps rediscovering, a new spirit of self-reliance (Rockefeller, 1976).

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Historian Ray Billington viewed the decade of the 1970s as a turning point in Western civilization and concluded, "We have reached the limits of the past type of life that we've been able to enjoy." But the "permanent adjustment in mentality" he envisioned—an educational construct, "might take years or decades or even a century of agony…" Indeed, federal calls for restraint were replaced through national policies in the following decade rededicated to principles of individualism, economic freedom, and relaxed regulatory oversight. The new order sought to restore prosperity through the international marketplace and free trade rather than engender economic and educational policies of constraint to promote local wellbeing (Stevens [Billington], 1979).

Kentucky writer-poet Wendell Berry found American public schools complicit in the arrangement. "Schools are no longer oriented to a cultural inheritance that it is their duty to pass on unimpaired, but to the career….," he wrote in a prescient 1988 essay, "The Work of Local Culture." "The orientation is thus necessarily theoretical, speculative, and mercenary. The child is not to be educated to return home and be of use to the place and community; he or she is educated to *leave* home and earn money in a provisional future that has nothing to do with place or community." Berry characterized his charge against the public educational establishment in terms revealing its historical connectedness to industrialization in order to serve interests beyond the community and region. The costs of such education, Berry concluded, are evident in psychological dislocation, cultural loss, and environmental neglect (Berry, 1990, pp. 162-63; Peters, 2007).

The remedy and educational imperative for our day lies in the recovery of character and skill, which for Berry means understanding the value of restraint—choosing less, and self-reliance, or doing more for oneself. At the present time, however, education and economies for consumption are normative.

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Education for independence from constraints of time and place leads to the accumulation of things that have little to recommend them other than their availability, and lead to insidious problems ranging from personal and national debt to energy demands and climate change.

Berry finds relevant examples in communities past and present, Old World and New World, where cultural values shaped attitudes of stewardship through restraint and self-reliance. In his essay, "A Native Hill" (1968), he contrasts the experience of his Kentucky forbearers with the ways of Old World peasants and Native Americans:

(…) the Indian, who had the wisdom and the grace to live in this country for perhaps ten thousand years without destroying or damaging any of it, needed for their travels no more than a footpath; but their successors, who in a century and a half plundered the area of at least half its topsoil and virtually all of its forest, felt immediately they had to have a road. (…) Indians and peasants were people who belonged deeply and intricately to their places. Their ways of life had evolved slowly in accordance with their knowledge of their land, of its needs, of their own relation of dependence and responsibility to it. (…) We still have not, in any meaningful way, arrived in America. And in spite of our great reserve of facts and methods, in comparison to the deep earthly wisdom of established peoples we still know but little.

Elements of Sustainability from the Columbia Plateau Peoples

Place-based learning approaches do not discount the importance of building strong academic proficiencies for a wide range of professional opportunity, but also seek to promote sustainability and student wellbeing through instruction that relates community, regional, and global issues to the experience of indigenous cultures. For the native peoples of the Pacific Northwest's Columbia Plateau, core foundational beliefs have characterized a common life way for generations throughout a vast region of geographic diversity and cultural complexity. Such prominent nineteenth century Plateau spiritual leaders as Kotaiaqan among the Yakama and the Wanapum prophet Smohalla expressed these beliefs through traditional *Wáshat* ceremonies and in meetings with agency officials (J. MacMurray, 1884; C. J. Schuster, 2009.

The term *Wáshat* is derived from the Sahaptin word for "dance".). Consideration of these ideas by middle level students through readings and presentations by tribal elders on ceremonial traditions, mythology, and ecological understandings offer topics of significance that relate to the full range of content areas including social studies, language arts, science, fine arts, and health and fitness and include the following elements:

1. Pervasive spirituality. Human experience is inextricably linked to sacred obligations within nature. Reliance upon Mother Earth for sustenance does not assume we exist apart from our "place" within the environmental system. (Note the use of names for family and band clusters was derived from the locative suffix –*pam*, or "people of" with indigenous geographic morphemes). Human beings are to be stewards or proprietors (vs. owners) of creation. Humanity exists in a covenant relationship, or sacred trust (*ahtow'*), with the Creator through which sustenance is provided to people, animals, and plants. (Knowledge in general is *wapsu'khwid*.) This is what the Plateau chiefs of the nineteenth century meant when they spoke to government officials about the "law" (*tamanwit*).

2. Environmental knowledge. We are to respectfully use and manage natural resources which requires intimate understandings of environmental systems, native species, and agricultural practices. The desire to get more than one needs leads individuals, groups, and even nations to harm land and life. The health of individuals and culture is related to the health of the environment—plains and forests, streams, rivers, beaches, and oceans. Experiential knowledge further involves detailed cosmological lore related to hunting and fishing, gathering and cultivation, and realms of meteorological

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and astronomical understanding.

3. Language and moral literature. Words contain special force implicit in sounds associated with natural forces, life forms, and landscapes (e.g., fire, wind, animals, personal names) and storytelling fosters understanding of experience. Cultural knowledge transmitted through myth (ancient), tale (experiential), lore (anecdotal), and oral history provides practical and symbolic means to meaningfully relate to place and culture. These experiences develop moral sensibilities for respect, stewardship, reciprocity (sharing), cooperation, hospitality, and cleanliness. Songs express appreciation for the "law" that descended to Earth and put all things in existence commemorating the sacrifice of creation for humanity, and our gratitude for these benefits. Elders teach and maintain cultural memory to guide youth and sustain natural resources for future well-being through lessons and experience for personal identity and affiliation with the circles of life (e.g., fire-keeper [child]>hunter [adolescent] > trader [adult] >etc.), and responsibilities to family, clan, community, and world.

4. Ceremony and celebration. Songs, dances, feasts, rites and other ceremonies recognize and commemorate relationships with one another, within families, among generations, and between peoples and creation. (Note also sacred architecture, cardinal directions, and Seven Drums of the *Wáshat.*) Ceremonies offer thanksgiving and teach obligations to animals and plants, landscapes and waters, and the Creator to reveal our place and role in the web of life. (Sacred First Foods in creation order and hierarchy of creature chiefs: water/*kúš*> fish (salmon/*núsux*)> animals (venison/*yamaš*)> plants (bitterroot/*piyáxi*)> fruits (huckleberries/*wíwinu*).

5. Artistic expression. Baskets, bags, clothing, gear, and other utilitarian goods are crafted from natural materials. They are generally decorated with motifs associated with their particular use, place of origin, or individual or family identity that impart a sacred influence beyond symbolic value. For example, Kotaiaqan's sacred colors were white, symbolizing earthly light and unseen spirit; blue (in the center) for water and sky; and yellow for the heavenly light of the spirit world. Specific practices were taught for the gathering and processing of plant materials often accompanied by songs and ceremonies. Through these preparations and in the actual weaving, sewing, and beading individuals learned about tribal culture, family ancestors, and individual spirituality.

6. Cyclical time. Aspects of physical and spiritual experience reoccur in a cyclical process that transcends time and circumstance and is not bound by linear progression. Time exists in a dimension beyond the course of chronological incidents. Events from the time of myth and personal qualities of persons from former generations are sometimes revealed in dreams or in the sounds of nature for those who listen, and lived out in contemporary experience. The hemp string "time ball" (*ititamat*), literally a "day counter", or calendar, was tied with tiny markers of colored stones, bones, beads, and cloth to record significant events throughout one's lifetime, and ultimately be buried with the owner. Just as events from an individual's "season" might touch upon another from a different time and place, so humanity's wisdom and experience may intersect through power of a sacred word, story, creature, or event.

7. Responsible innovation. Change can be beneficial when promoting the well-being of humans within the natural world system and among global cultures. Conflicts with the dominant culture have often arisen when such constraints are ignored in the name of short term gain or perceived higher needs. Plateau political leaders ("chiefs", or *miyúux*) like Kamiakin welcomed Christian missionaries and adopted such agricultural and pastoral innovations the raising of grains, crop irrigation, and selective breeding of livestock. A spiritual leader ("shamans", "medicine men", or *twáti*) like Kotaiaqan or teacher (*iyánča*) like Smohalla spoke of the family of all mankind, and accepted technological progress within the limits of moral obligations to creation. In contrast, 20th century government engi-

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neers sought to impound the state's entire Columbia-Snake river system for hydroelectricity threatening the Fish Nations; erosive and contaminant agribusiness practices result from "fence to fence" cultivation; and scientists seek to retain ancient human remains indefinitely in spite of federal legislation and moral imperatives for repatriation.

Place-based Storytelling Strategies

As veteran middle level social studies-language arts educators, we have spent much of our teaching careers creating contact zones for students to encounter Native American oral myths in the Pacific Northwest. The strength of these collected stories and encounters with tribal elders have affected the frameworks of social studies, language arts, science, mathematics, fine arts, and health and fitness curricula at the schools with which we have partnered. Through years of collecting such legends through collaboration with Native American elders, we have sought to develop a framework for deeper insight into the time-honored values of the region's First Peoples. The juxtaposition of indigenous values with modern ones afforded ample opportunities for students to read and write authentically across disciplines and reexamine the integrity of their own values. We have found the following strategies to be effective in organizing instruction for these purposes.

Reading Authentic Indigenous Literature

Basal literature readers for middle level students typically feature a handful of popular selections by notable Native American and other authors representing the nation's ethnic diversity. While publications meant to appeal to a national audience can devote only limited attention to specific places, an enriching array of age-appropriate indigenous literature can be found for instructional use. We were led to meet Gordon Fisher through a reference in *The Way It Was (*Anaku Iwacha): *Yakima Indian Legends,* a book of Columbia Plateau Sahaptin legends published by the Region IV Johnson O'Malley Committee. Although many works like this one are printed in limited editions and soon out of print, permission from copyright owners to reprint selections for classroom use is common. Other books, such as *First Fish, First People: Salmon Tales of the North Pacific Rim* (University of Washington, 1998) remain in print and are excellent resources for use at the secondary level.

Writing Imaginative Stories and Poems

The vivid and expressive language evident is stories like Gordon Fisher's, "How Beaver Brought Fire to the People" leads to authentic associations with meaningful personal experience. Students are given opportunity to reflect on various themes that emerge through storytelling such as overcoming challenges and service to others above self, and are inspired to write about their own experiences. Initial drafts are evaluated by peers using a six-trait writing model with exemplary work featured in classroom publications.

Making Interdisciplinary Connections

The nature of Native American holistic understanding provides myriad meaningful associations to the academic disciplines. Chief Seattle famously observed, "All things are connected," and this wisdom can be applied by creating interdisciplinary units derived from place-based story themes. Tales from Snake River country of Beaver and the Wolf People easily relate to science lessons on endangered species, native flora and fauna, regional geology, and other topics. Connections can similarly be made in mathematics, social studies, and the arts and available in such units for middle level/junior high students as *I Am Salmon* (One Reel Productions, 2000).

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Conclusion

Place-based experiential learning based less on teaching and more on learning. The learner, rather than the teacher and standardized curricular materials, becomes the focus along with ideas, before skills. The ancient doctrine of interest is invoked, and students are invited to pursue ideas with local relevance. The teacher's job is to support and make possible the exploration of such ideas by students and to create the kind of physical, social, and intellectual environment that makes it possible for learners to become active explorers. For these reasons, the teacher's role becomes more challenging and complex. Textbooks and workbooks play a greatly diminished role. The study of "real" books (biographies, novels, etc.) and indigenous literature of local significance is encouraged. The fact that not all the students in a group have "covered" the same pages in a text is perceived as a strength, not a weakness, because this is not a centralized, standardized curricular approach.

Integration of subject matter, particularly with emphasis on thematic learning, is integral to this place-based learning. Student-to-student interaction is encouraged in the form of cooperative investigations, discussions, and the sharing of work. Whereas conventional approaches sought to keep students away from each other, now we are inviting them to talk to each other about matters of immediate interest and relevance, to work together, and to share, not compete, for ideas. Problem-solving projects with their inherent syntactic complexities are focused on real-world outcomes like the group of Canadian middle school students who mounted a successful campaign, complete with abundant research, to remove chlorofluorocarbon-containing Styrofoam cups the British Columbia ferry system.

Thus the curriculum becomes localized, decentralized, and less predictably patterned. Students are expected to search for meaning, patterns, and relationships in the course of place-based investigations. True intellectual rigor is demanded of students, but on their own terms, at their own pace, and in a variety of ways of demonstrating that learning is indeed taking place. Assessment is less standardized even though students who experience an exploratory curriculum generally do as well or better than their traditionally schooled counterparts. In these ways predetermined outcomes and material to be covered is secondary to an emphasis on learners and the process of learning.

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Shu-Sheng Liaw (Taiwan)

Investigating Learner Attitudes toward Mobile Learning Environments: Based on Gender Perspectives

Summary: *Mobile technology, accessing Internet resources anytime and anywhere, empowers the shift from traditionally pure instructor-centered classroom teaching to fully learner-centered educational settings. On the other hand, the issue of the relationship between gender perspectives and mobile learning environments has been a controversial topic in educational technology. Therefore, the main research objective of this study is to explore gender perspectives of attitudes toward mobile learning environments. Subjects of the study were selected university students who had already used an APP-based m-learning system for a month. A total of two hundred thirty-three valid questionnaires were collected, spilt evenly between female and male students. Based on gender perspectives, our statistical analyses lead to various significant conclusions.*
Keywords: *mobile learning, gender studies, interactive learning, postsecondary education*

Резюме *(Шу-Шенг Лиав: Исследование отношения к учению в контексте мобильной среды обучения и на основании гендерной перспективы): Мобильная технология, доступ к интернет-ресурсам в любое время и в любом месте обеспечивает смещение традиционных, нацеленных только на учителя методов обучения в направлении учебных заведений, полностью концентрирующихся на обучающихся. С другой стороны, вопрос об отношениях между гендерной перспективой и мобильной средой обучения представляет собой тему для дискуссий в образовательной технологии. В связи с этим, главной целью данного исследования является изучение отношения к мобильной среде с позиции гендерной перспективы. Субъектами исследования были студенты, использовавшие систему мобильного обучения на основе приложения APP уже в течение месяца. Всего было собрано 233 анкеты, одновременно разделенные между студентами женского и мужского пола. На основании гендерной перспективы наши статистические анализы привели к различным по важности заключениям.*
Ключевые слова: *мобильное обучение, гендерные исследования, интерактивное обучение, высшее образование*

Zusammenfassung *(Shu-Sheng Liaw: Untersuchung von Lernhaltungen im Kontext mobiler Lernumgebungen und auf der Grundlage der Geschlechterperspektive): Die Mobiltechnologie, der jederzeit und überall verfügbare Zugriff auf Internet-Ressourcen ermöglicht die Verschiebung traditioneller, rein lehrer-zentrierter Unterrichtsmethoden in Richtung vollständig lernerzentrierter Bildungseinrichtungen. Auf der anderen Seite ist die Frage nach der Beziehung zwischen Geschlechterperspektiven und mobilen Lernumgebungen ein umstrittenes Thema in der Bildungstechnologie. Daher ist das Hauptforschungsziel dieser Studie die Erkundung der Haltungen gegenüber mobilen Lernumgebungen aus der Geschlechterperspektive. Subjekte der Studie wurden Studenten, die bereits für einen Monat ein APP-basiertes M-Learning-System genutzt hatten. Insgesamt wurden 233 gültige Fragebögen gesammelt, gleichmäßig verteilt zwischen weiblichen und männlichen Studenten. Auf der Grundlage der Geschlechterperspektive führen unsere statistischen Analysen zu verschiedenen signifikanten Schlussfolgerungen.*
Schlüsselwörter: *mobiles Lernen, Gender-Studien, interaktives Lernen, Hochschulbildung*

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Introduction

Advanced applications in information and Internet technologies now allow learners and teachers to exploit the potential learning effectiveness of mobile-based learning. Essentially, m-learning (mobile learning) environments are blooming all over the world. They range from the use of tablet computers, or notebook computers in classrooms, through smart mobile phones to support learning between schools and learners. This research tries to understand the use of an APP-based m-learning system as learning tools in terms of learners' self-efficacy, self-regulation, anxiety, satisfaction, usefulness, and behavioral acceptance. Based on the research approach, the study develops a research model to investigate learners' attitudes toward mobile learning acceptance.

M-learning systems, accessing Internet resources anytime and anywhere, empowers the shift from traditionally pure instructor-centered classroom teaching to fully learner-centered educational settings. Essentially, m-learning could be defined as "learning across multiple contexts, through social and content interactions, using personal electronic devices" (Crompton, 2013, p.4). Although we do not expect m-learning to fully replace formal classroom learning or other formal learning approaches; however, m-learning can complement and add value to the existing learning styles or learning models.

From advantages of m-learning, the main research purpose is to explore attitudes toward m-learning environments based on gender perspective. Specifically; this research surveys the gender difference about female and male university students' attitudes toward using APP-based m-learning environments. Indeed, investigating gender perspectives of behavioral acceptance toward APP-based m-learning systems is now a critical issue in the field of educational technology.

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Research hypotheses

The m-learning measurement should incorporate different aspects of learner perceptions to facilitate the creation of appropriating m-learning environments for teaching and learning. Additionally, understanding gender difference toward m-learning is the major research objective of this study. Previous studies (Albert & Johnson, 2011; Chu, 2010; Liaw, 2002; Liaw, 2007; Ong & Lai, 2006) are not conclusive with respect to the level of positive attitudes toward educational technology. Therefore, based on our research model as shown in Figure 1, we propose our research hypotheses as follows.

H1: Perceived self-efficacy has positive predictive value for perceived satisfaction toward m-learning.
H2: Perceived self-efficacy has positive predictive value for perceived usefulness toward m-learning.
H3: Perceived self-regulation has positive predictive value for perceived satisfaction toward m-learning.
H4: Perceived self-regulation has positive predictive value for perceived usefulness toward m-learning.
H5: Interactive learning environments have positive predictive value for perceived satisfaction toward m-learning.
H6: Interactive learning environments have positive predictive value for perceived usefulness toward m-learning.
H7: Perceived ease of use has positive predictive value for perceived satisfaction toward m-learning.
H8: Perceived ease of use has positive predictive value for perceived usefulness toward m-learning.
H9: Perceived anxiety has negative predictive value for perceived satisfaction toward m-learning.
H10: Perceived anxiety has negative predictive value for perceived usefulness toward m-learning.

H11: Perceived satisfaction has positive predictive value for behavioral acceptance toward m-learning.

H12: Perceived usefulness has positive predictive value for behavioral acceptance toward m-learning.
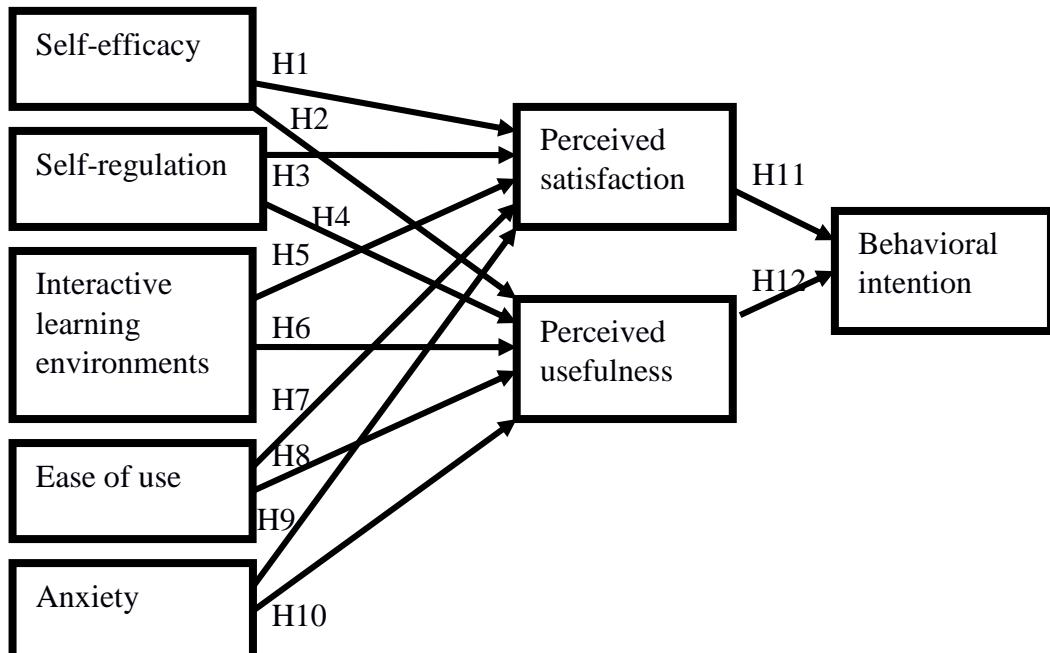

Figure 1: The model of research hypotheses

Methodology

Participants

To understand learner attitudes toward the APP-based m-learning system, the questionnaire collected demographic information and posed questions related to experience using computers and Internet; attitudes toward the APP-based m-learning system also were included in this questionnaire. The paper-based questionnaires were distributed with a cover letter. A total of 233 valid responses were collected, 135 female learners and 98 male participants.

Measurement

The questionnaire covers eight factors. The five factors of perceived self-efficacy, perceived anxiety, perceived usefulness, interactive learning environments, and behavioral acceptance were modified from Liaw et al. (2010) (α = 0.96). Questionnaire items for self-regulation and perceived satisfaction were revised from Liaw and Huang (2013) (α = 0.95). Items for perceived ease of use were revised from Sun et al., (2008) (α = 0.90). Based on these studies, questionnaire items were designed to focus on investigating learner attitudes toward learning systems. The eight-factor questionnaire covered 30 items, each item using a 7-point Likert scale (1 = "strongly disagree" to 7 = "strongly agree").

Results

In this research, PLS technique was applied to detect relationships among eight factors (perceived self-efficacy, perceived self-regulation, interactive learning environments, perceived ease of use, perceived anxiety, perceived satisfaction, perceived usefulness, and behavioral acceptance). After PLS analyses, Table 1 showed the results of 12 hypotheses (including female and male learners). From the results for female learners, four hypotheses were not supported that included H7, H8, H9, and H10. For the male learners, one hypothesis (H4) was not supported.

Table 1: Research results of hypotheses

Hypothesis	Female students	Male students					
	Prediction	β	p	true	β	P	True
H1	Self-efficacy⬚satisfaction	.169	<.01	Yes	.195	<.01	Yes
H2	Self-efficacy⬚usefulness	.316	<.01	Yes	.433	<.01	Yes
H3	Self-regulation⬚satisfaction	.264	<.01	Yes	.067	<.05	Yes
H4	Self-regulation⬚usefulness	.120	<.01	Yes			No
H5	Interactive learning⬚satisfaction	.404	<.01	Yes	.606	<.01	Yes
H6	Interactive learning⬚usefulness	.563	<.01	Yes	.266	<.01	Yes
H7	Ease of use⬚satisfaction			No	.075	<.01	Yes
H8	Ease of use⬚usefulness			No	.175	<.01	Yes
H9	Anxiety⬚satisfaction	.109	<.01	No	-.088	<.01	Yes
H10	Anxiety⬚usefulness	.105	<.01	No	-.034	<.05	Yes
H11	Satisfac-	.306	<.01	Yes	.424	<.01	Yes

	tion⬜accep-tance						
H12	Usefulness⬜ac-ceptance	.598	<.01	Yes	.505	<.01	Yes

Discussions

Based on gender perspective, it is an issue when understanding learners' attitudes toward m-learning environments; especially APP-based learning systems. In our statistical results, perceived self-efficacy is a more critical predictor on perceived satisfaction and perceived usefulness for female students than male students. Regarding perceived self-regulation of perceived satisfaction and perceived usefulness, like perceived self-efficacy, it has more contribution for female learners than male learners. Indeed, perceived self-regulation is not a predictor on perceived usefulness for male learners. Interactive learning environment is a crucial predictive factor for both female and male students; no matter perceived satisfaction or usefulness.

Based on the statistical results, perceived ease of use is not a predictor for female learners, but it is a significant positive factor for male learners, on both perceived satisfaction and usefulness. Perceived anxiety is a big issue based on our statistical results. The results show that when female learners have more perceived anxiety toward APP-based m-learning; then they also have more positive perceived satisfaction and usefulness. Unlike male students who have more perceived anxiety toward APP-based m-learning; they have more negative perceived satisfaction and usefulness. The statistical results, for both female and male learners, when they have more perceived satisfaction and usefulness, then they also have more positive behavioral acceptance toward APP-based m-learning.

Conclusions

In summary, a better understanding of the gender perspectives toward m-learning environments can assist researchers and educators to understand more about how to take into consideration the gender difference when developing m-learning platforms for both female and male learners. Based on the results of Table 1, the results showed that self-efficacy as a better crucial factor for male learners while perceived anxiety was a better critical factor for female students. Unlike previous research of Albert and Johnson (2011) as well as Padilla-Meléndez, et al. (2013), our findings provide evidence that female and male learners have different perceptions toward m-learning environments.

In this research, we proposed an 8-factor conceptual model for investigating the gender differences of attitudes towards an APP-based m-learning system. The factors include perceived self-efficacy, anxiety, self-regulation, ease of use, usefulness, interaction learning, satisfaction, usefulness, and behavioral acceptance. We have designed an APP-based m-learning system that was used by undergraduate students in the context of four different courses. After the period of one month we have collected questionnaires examining students' attitudes and performed the analysis. The results lead to the following conclusions:

First, the proposed model is a suitable conceptual model for understanding female and male learners' attitudes. The proposed research conceptual model is an acceptable conceptual model to survey learners' (including female and male learners) attitudes toward m-learning. In Figure 1, learners' personal factors (such as perceived anxiety, self-efficacy) could predict environmental factors (such

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as interactive learning environments). At the same time, environmental factors also could predict behavioral acceptance factors. Therefore, our research results support previous research of Liaw (2008) and Liaw and Huang (2013).

Second, gender perspective is an issue of learners' attitudes toward m-learning. After investigating our 12 hypotheses as presented in Figure 1, we might conclude that the gender factor could influence learners' attitudes towards m-learning. Perceived anxiety is a positively significant predictor for female learners while perceived self-efficacy and perceived self-regulation have more positive contribution for male learners. Perceived usefulness has the highest contribution on behavioral acceptance toward m-learning for both female and male learners. These results are aligned with previous studies (Carr, 2005; Okazaki & Renda dos Santos, 2012; Ong & Lai, 2006) claiming that female and male learners have different cause relationship among attitudes toward m-learning.

Third, Perceived anxiety is a critical factor for female learners. Based on statistical results, perceived anxiety is the most significantly positive predictor on perceived satisfaction and usefulness for female learners. These results can be explained when female learners have higher perceived anxiety toward m-learning; then they also have higher satisfaction. On the other hand, perceived anxiety is a negative predictor on perceived satisfaction and usefulness for male students. These results indicate that when male learners have higher perceived anxiety toward m-learning; then they will decrease their positive feeling toward m-learning.

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Hsiu-Mei Huang (Taiwan)

Applying Augmented Reality for Experiential Learning: A Case Study of E-Commerce Learning

Summary*: The great impacts of advancing technology, such as 3D virtual worlds, create new learning opportunities for learners. Educators and researchers have been exploring how to apply 3D virtual technology to improve the virtual learning process and authentic activities. Augmented reality (AR) technology offers the opportunity for learners to interact in both the virtual and real world significantly. Augmented reality can be an attractive technology that allows learners to realize that virtual and real objects coexist at the same time. Therefore, AR technology allows educators to design courses utilizing simulation, visualization, and interaction with the virtual objects and real environments. For Dewey (1916), learning should be real and applicable to daily living. This study builds an e-commerce learning system based upon Kolb's experiential learning theory.*
Keywords*: Augmented reality (AR), Kolb's experiential learning cycle, E-commerce*

Резюме *(Хсиу-Мей Хуанг: Использование технологии дополненной реальности в основанном на опыте обучении: исследование на конкретном примере электронного коммерческого обучения): Речь идет об огромном влиянии передовых технологий, таких как, например, технология виртуальных 3D-миров, предлагающих обучающимся новые возможности обучения. Педагоги и исследователи обнаружили, как можно использовать виртуальные 3D-технологии для усовершенствования учебных процессов и аутентичных видов деятельности. Технология дополненной реальности (ДР) предлагает обучающимся возможности значительного взаимодействия как в виртуальном, так и реальном мире. Технология дополненной реальности может стать эффективной технологией, предоставляющей обучающимся возможность увидеть, что виртуальные и реальные объекты могут сосуществовать одновременно. В связи с этим технология ДР позволяет педагогам разрабатывать курсы, в которых можно использовать симуляцию, визуализацию и интеракцию с виртуальными объектами в реальной обстановке. Для Дьюи (1916) обучение должно было быть приближенным к реальности и связанно с повседневной жизнью. Данное исследование разрабатывает систему электронного коммерческого обучения на основе теории основанного на опыте обучения по Кольбу.*
Ключевые слова: *технология дополненной реальности (ДР), Кольб, основанное на опыте обучение, цикл, электронная коммерция*

Zusammenfassung *(Hsiu-Mei Huang: Die Augmented-Reality-Anwendung im erfahrungsbasierten Lernen: eine Fallstudie zum E-Commerce Learning): Es geht um die großen Auswirkungen der fortschreitenden Technologie, wie zum Beispiel virtuelle 3D-Welten, neue Lernmöglichkeiten für die Lernenden. Pädagogen und Forscher haben herausgefunden, wie man virtuelle 3D-Technologie anwenden kann, um virtuelle Lernprozesse und authentische Aktivitäten zu verbessern. Die Technologie von Augmented Reality (AR) bietet die Möglichkeit für Lernende, sowohl in der virtuellen als auch in der realen Welt bedeutungsvoll zu interagieren. Augmented Reality kann eine attraktive Technologie sein, die es den Lernenden ermöglicht zu sehen, dass virtuelle und reale Objekte gleichzeitig koexistieren können. Daher erlaubt die AR-Technologie den Pädagogen, Kurse zu entwerfen, in denen Simulation, Visualisierung und Interaktion mit den virtuellen Objekten und realen Umgebungen genutzt werden können. Für Dewey (1916), sollte das Lernen wirklichkeitsnah und auf das tägliche Leben bezogen sein. Diese Studie baut entwirft ein E-Commerce-Lernsystem auf der Grundlage der Theorie des erfahrungsbasierten Lernens nach Kolb.*
Schlüsselwörter*: Augmented Reality (AR), Kolb, erfahrungsbasiertes Lernen, Zyklus, E-Commerce*

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Introduction

3D virtual worlds have impacted higher education in teaching and learning for many years. There has been a growing demand for empirical research to inform instructional design in 3D virtual learning environments. Augmented reality (AR) generates a synthetic environment through computer graphics that supplements the learner's perception of the real world. Therefore, the AR application allows for the simulation, visualization, addition of information, and interaction with the virtual objects without being totally immersed in the virtual environment.

A learning situation takes into consideration how the environment may impact the learner and calls for an interaction between the learner and his or her environment (Dewey, 1916). Dewey believed that learning, for students, should be real and applicable to daily living (Dewey, 1916). Therefore, knowledge is based on active experiences of learners; education should be experimental and experiential. As a result, experiential learning theory is based upon the work of Dewey, Lewin, and Piaget (Kolb, Boyatzis, & Mainemlis, 2002).

Piaget's instructional theories focus on real-life activities as a method of motivating learners (Kolb, Boyatzis, & Mainemlis, 2002). In short, the real life learning context is an important factor that may affect the learners' performance, while also potentially enhancing their learning interest. The learners actively interact with the real world by using their knowledge from daily life, thus increasing the effectiveness of learning outcomes (Chen & Tsai, 2012). There are three benefits of computer-based simulation technology to real life activities and learning:

(1) computer-based learning environments allow for the physical integration of different authentic media, (2) make adaptive interactive trainings more possible than other types of media, and (3) facilitate the simulation of realistic complex relations between different objects within a learning environment. (Horz, Winter, & Fries, 2009, p.818)

A learning strategy that implements learning through action, doing and experience approach is experiential learning (Kolb, 1984). Many educators and researchers apply virtual reality or augmented reality into experiential learning instructions (Jarmon et al., 2009; Wojciechowski & Cellary, 2013). For example, Wojciechowski and Cellary (2013) found that an augmented reality environment enabled teachers to carry out a chemical experiment following the experiential learning theory, which they might not have otherwise been able to conduct.

A review of experiential learning theory

Kolb et al. (2002) proposed that experiential learning allows learners to build their knowledge and skills through a four-stage learning cycle: concrete experience (CE), reflective observation (RO), abstract conceptualization (AC), and active experimentation (AE) (Kolb et al., 2002; McLeod, 2013). The learners accumulate their knowledge based upon the learning cycle due to the recursive process of experiencing, reflecting, thinking, and acting in the learning situation. The process provides feedback, and then encourages new action and evaluation of the consequences of that action. The four stage learning cycles are discussed as follows (Kolb et al., 2002; McLeod, 2013).

(1) Concrete Experience. This stage of the learning cycle emphasizes how a learner experiences an everyday situation. The learner typically will encounter the situation in a new way.

(2) Reflective Observation. Learners understand, conclude and think about the experience, and

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then transform that experience into additional knowledge. In this stage, the learner reflects on what they did and observed, wrapping up with a discussion on what they gained from the experience.

(3) Abstract Conceptualization. In this learning stage, learners integrate theories and concepts into the learning process with their critical thinking. Thus, the learner is trying to conceptualize a theory or model connected with what is observed.

(4) Active Experimentation. Learners actively engage in a practical approach and are concerned with real life activities to test their developed theory. In this stage, learners plan on how to improve and test a theory or model based upon the previous stages of the learning cycle.

Integrating AR technology and experiential learning theory

Carmigniani et al. (2011) defined augmented reality as "a real-time direct or indirect view of a physical real world environment that has been enhanced/augmented by adding virtual computer generated information to it" (p.342). Augmented reality technology integrates 3D virtual objects generated by computer imagery into the learner's immediate surroundings and into any indirect view of the real world environment (Cuendet et al., 2013; Park, 2011). 3D computer generated graphics can be spatially overlaid on 3D objects and real imagery (usually captured by video cameras) to create visual AR. For augmented reality, most images are real and can interact with the virtual world in real-time. El Sayed et al. (2011) noted that recent AR applications are designed to offer a useful, effective, and interactive tool for instruction.

AR techology offers learners the opportunity to interact with 3D virtual objects integrated within a real world environment. Thus, learners can explore or navigate an AR learning environment and manipulate the 3D learning objects using a mouse or a physical marker card. Wiley(2001) proposed connecting the learning behaviors with AR technology in a virtual 3D learning system for learners. Learners operate their virtual characters to move around the environment, examine 3D objects, or to learn about presented content (e.g., textual or audiovisual elements). In addition, learners can also actively engage with the learning environment, observing or interacting with any of the 3D learning model content. As a result, AR technology meets the requirements for experiential learning, since Roussou (2004) noted that interactivity is a key determinant of the effectiveness for experiential learning.

AR applications offer intuitive interaction, a sense of physical imagination, and a feeling of immersion for learners. Immersion allows learning to be situated in a comprehensive and realistic experience. This immersion feature of AR provides the opportunity to support situated learning; learning is immersed in the context in which it will be applied (Lave & Wenger, 1991). Kolb (1984) noted that learners must act; Kolb's experiential learning cycle concept applies to the 3D immersive virtual worlds, which allow learners to learn by doing, to observe the outcomes of their actions, to test their hypotheses about the world, and to reflect further on their own understanding of the experiential learning cycle concept (Chee, 2007; Hew & Cheung, 2010).

A case study of augmented reality learning system

AR technology can reduce the level of complexity of presented concepts, so the learners are more easily able to gain knowledge and to understand the material at hand. Therefore, AR technology is a useful tool to create experiential learning environments for learners. This study builds an E-commerce learning system based upon experiential learning theory for learners. The author created E-

commerce learning environments, enabling experiential learning, through an image-based augmented reality and a virtual reality. The 3D shopping mall learning system was designed by integrating Unity 3.0 and 3D graphic modules of the system, drawn and rendered with 3DsMax and Maya. Additionally, D'Fusion studio was applied to further create an augmented reality experiential learning application.

The system uses the AR technology, comprised of a video camera, a display device, and 'real objects' represented by a set of card markers. The main page of the E-commerce learning system is shown in Figure 1. The learners can explore and navigate E-commerce related knowledge in the 3D shopping mall learning environment as shown in Figure 2. Thus, the learner is experiencing a shopping mall activity to gain concrete experience. After the learner understands the concept of e-commerce, the learner could rely on their understanding and careful judgment of the system. Hence, the system provides online testing for learners to do reflective observation as shown in Figure 3.

Figure 1: The main page of the E-commerce learning system

Figure 2: A screenshot for the course content

Figure 3: A screenshot for an online test.

The learner navigates through an online AR shopping learning scenario as shown in Figure 4. For more realistic learning, the learner wears a bracelet with a square-shaped marker on their wrist (in Figure 5), allowing the AR Browser to combine with the 3D virtual watch and superimpose it onto the learner's wrist. This provides live video images captured by a video camera as shown in Figure 6. Moreover, the learner is able to try out the different 3D virtual watches with the same processes as how we buy a watch in reality. In this learning stage, the learner makes links about the previous learning experience of e-commerce and any theories or knowledge that they can apply, such as experiential marketing. Finally, the learner would take a practical approach in concluding the online through shopping procedures (in Figure 7).

Figure 4. AR online shopping learning scenario.

Figure 5. The learner wears a bracelet with a square-shaped marker on her wrist.

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Figure 6. The learner tries out the 3D virtual watch.
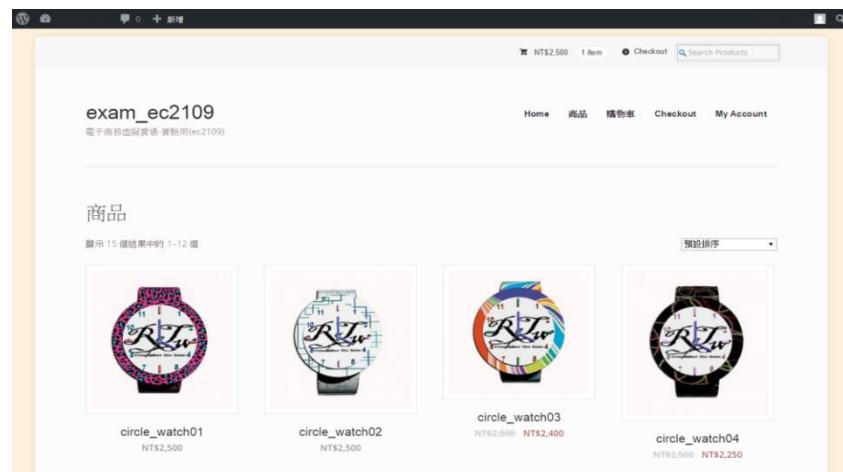
Figure 7. Online shopping procedures.

Conclusion

The study demonstrates a case study of applying augmented reality technology into e-commerce instructions, based upon experiential learning theory. In particular, learners were able to learn by doing; they applied previously learned online shopping concepts into their daily life. The author describes the interactions among the augmented reality, as shown in above figures, to affirm the importance of experiential activities learning. Interaction with a simulated environment through the augmented reality learning can be a reasonable and viable substitute for the real-world experience. The more the technology is used with the appropriate instructional theories, such as in this study, the less design efforts will cost. From the results of the case study, the connections between the experiential learning cycle and an e-commerce course design are shown in Figure 8. However, this study needs additional empirical investigation to evaluate learners' perceptions in this system in the future.
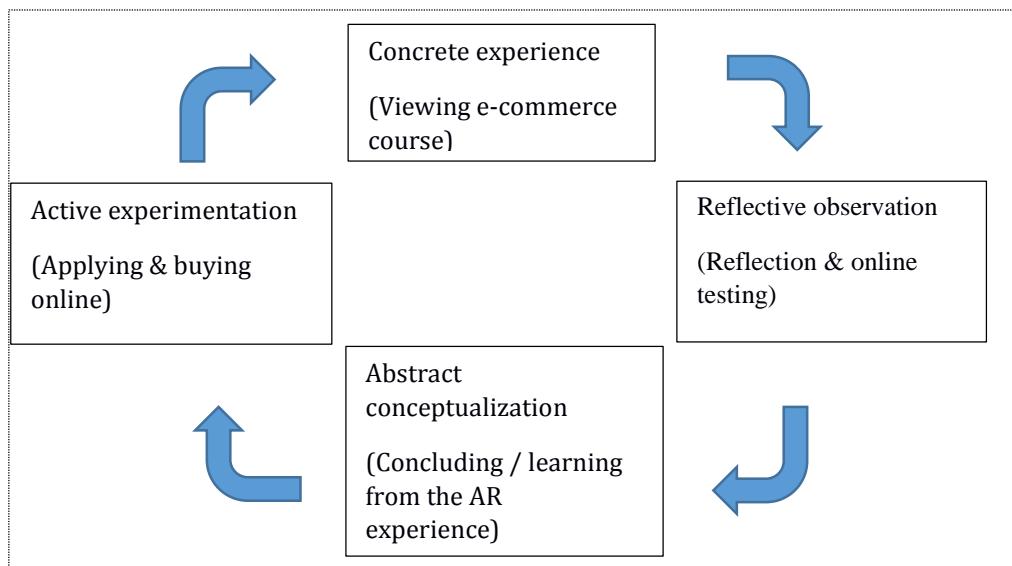
Figure 8: Experiential learning model for E-commerce instructions.

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Richardson: Social Media in the College Classroom
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Marianna Richardson (USA)

Social Media in the College Classroom

Summary: *The power of social media in our global society has been labeled as a social revolution that is changing the way we live, work, communicate, and learn. College students are surrounded by and engrossed in social media. University professors are realizing the necessity of incorporating social media in their classrooms. Social media has become a major component of distance learning and massive open on-line courses (MOOCs) increasing the availability of a college education to students who could not previously afford it or who geographically had no access to it. The rising use of social media in college classrooms is changing the delivery of information and the formation of educational communities. In addition, it is advancing the democratization of universities and the opportunities for international students to experience a world-class education.*
Keywords: *social media, MOOCs, university classroom*

Резюме *(Марианна Ричардсон: Социальные технические средства обучения в высшем образовании): Сила социальных технических средств обучения в нашем глобальном обществе была отмечена как социальная революция, влияющая на то, как мы живем, работаем, общаемся и учимся. Студенты колледжа окружены социальными средствами обучения и постепенно погружаются в них. Профессоры университетов признают необходимость вовлечения социальных технических средств обучения в свои учебные занятия. Социальные средства обучения стали неотъемлемой частью заочного обучения и массовых открытых онлайн-курсов (МОДК) и повышают доступность высшего образования для студентов, которые раньше не могли себе это позволить, или не имели к нему доступа в географическом аспекте. Рост использования социальных технических средств обучения в школе влечет за собой изменение подготовки информации и организацию образовательных сообществ. Кроме того, технические средства обучения содействуют демократизации университетов и дают возможность иностранным студентам получить первоклассное образование.*
Ключевые слова: *социальные технические средства обучения, МОДК, аудитория*

Zusammenfassung *(Marianna Richardson: Soziale Medien in der Hochschulbildung): Die Macht der sozialen Medien in unserer globalen Gesellschaft wurde gekennzeichnet als eine soziale Revolution, die Einfluss hat auf die Art wie wir leben, arbeiten, kommunizieren und lernen. College-Studenten sind davon umgeben und vertiefen sich in den sozialen Medien. Universitätsprofessoren erkennen die Notwendigkeit der Einbeziehung sozialer Medien in ihren Lehrveranstaltungen. Soziale Medien sind zu einem wichtigen Bestandteil des Fernunterrichts und massenhafter Offener Online-Kurse (MOOCs) geworden; sie erhöhen die Verfügbarkeit einer Hochschulbildung für Studierende, die sie sich zuvor nicht leisten konnten, oder zu der sie geographisch keinen Zugang hatten. Die steigende Nutzung von sozialen Medien in der Schule verändert die Bereitstellung von Informationen und die Organisierung von Bildungsgemeinschaften. Darüber hinaus fördert sie die Demokratisierung der Universitäten und die Möglichkeiten für internationale Studierende, eine erstklassige Ausbildung zu erhalten.*
Schlüsselwörter: *Soziale Medien, MOOCs, Hörsaal*

Introduction

The power of social media in our global society has been labeled by some as a social revolution that is changing the way we live, work, communicate, and learn (Hinton & Hjorth, 2013; Prensky, 2001; Qualman, 2011). Social media can be defined as Internet applications that allow the creation and exchange of user-generated content, founded on the ideological foundations of Web 2.0, thus enabling content consumers to become content creators (Draskovic, Caic, & Kustrak, 2013; Kapplan & Haenlein, 2010). It has become a major communication vehicle for universities students (American

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Association of University Professors, 2014; CLEX, 2009; Fisher, 2013; Qualman, 2011; Young, 2013). In an attempt to better communicate with students and to become more ecologically responsible, university professors and administrators are increasingly incorporating social media technologies in the college classroom. Yet, some professors are still questioning the validity of these technologies in their teaching. Understanding the variety of social media technologies available and their usefulness in the classroom will enable professors to make knowledgeable choices, rather than jumping on a technological bandwagon that may or may not strengthen learning and improve pedagogy. Globally, social media and Internet technologies have also advanced the democratization of university education, giving students educational opportunities previously inaccessible.

Social Media Technologies

Mayfield (2008, p. 5) lists the following as characteristics of social media applications: (1) social media encourages participation between contributors and viewers, (2) social media promotes openness in communication through voting, comments, and sharing, (3) social media advocates two-way conversations between multiple users rather than merely broadcasting information, (4) social media supports quick-forming communities, especially around a common interest, and (5) social media thrives on connectedness, bringing people together through common resources, links, sites, and media.

Table 1: Social Media Categories, Explanations, and Application Examples

CATEGORIES	EXPLANATIONS	EXAMPLES
COMMUNICATION	Exchanging user-generated content on and Internet platform for communication	Email, texting, IM, online chat
FILE SHARING	Exchanging files on an Internet platform as an individual or a group for review or discussion	Google Docs, Dropbox, Microsoft OneDrive
VIDEO CHAT	Communicating with others through video, rather than text, as a group of people or two individuals	Skype, Google Hangouts, FaceTime
SOCIAL NETWORKS	Forming social networks by creating a profile and building a network of friends and contacts	MySpace, Facebook, LinkedIn
CONTENT COMMUNITIES	Similar to social networks, but based on a content (i.e., photos, videos, newsfeeds)	Flickr (photos), Digg (news), YouTube (videos)
BLOGS	An online journal written by identified author(s) and commented on by readers	Blogger, Wordpress, TypePad (blog publishers)
MICROBLOGGING	Similar to blogging, but limited to a very short message (ex. Twitter has 140 character limit)	Twitter, Pownce, Jaiku
WIKIS	Website which allows people to contribute and edit its content	Wikipedia, Wikia, WikiHow, Wikinews
PODCASTS	Audio or video files published on the Internet for subscription	Apple iTunes, Podcast Alley, Audacity (publish a podcast)
FORUMS	Discussion around a topic of interest with each sub-topic as a separate thread	Forums, Slack
GAMING COMMUNITIES OR VIRTUAL REALITY	Video games which are played in Internet teams or in virtual reality	World of Warcraft, Second Life
HYBRID COMBINATIONS OR MASH-UPS	Using content from more than one source to create a single service or application	District Taxi Fare Estimator, Dangerous Roads on Earth

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Table 1 (Maynard, 2008) illustrates categories of social media currently available along with social media applications. These categories should not be viewed as discrete or separate from each other. Instead, many of the examples could be placed in multiple categories. For example, Reddit is an application which can be used both as a content community and as a forum. YouTube is a content community which also plays video and audio podcasts for viewers. The list is constantly changing as new social media applications explode on the Internet scene daily, while others fade away.

Universities have already incorporated many of these technologies for faculty and student use. Online learning management systems (e.g., Canvas, Blackboard, and individual programs developed by private institutions) have become the standard for online grading and communication with students. Most systems allow online submission of assignments and permit instructors to give online feedback to students about their work. Some of these programs incorporate video chat and digital dialogue features to encourage student discussion groups and faculty-led discussions without the participants having to be physically together at the same time or place. This online communication and feedback from the instructor fosters an online relationship between faculty and students.

Turner and Thompson (2014) studied first-year college students trying to determine why some university students are successful and others drop out, never finishing their degree. A critical component for success was the instructor-student relationship. The broad implications of this study are that "students who develop an interactive relationship with the instructor increase the chances of academic success" (Turner & Thompson, 2014, p. 101). Students are in need of new teaching techniques, strategies, and programs which "foster a more collaborative learning environment that motivates millennial students to be self-reflective and active participants in constructing knowledge" (Turner & Thompson, 2014, p. 95).

In order to support these social media technologies, universities must have effective communications networks with standard protocols and compatible software. A basic key to success is building and maintaining a campus communications infrastructure that can handle the ever-increasing use by students and faculty (Lewis, 2015) and the evolution of their technological demands. Even in the United States, universities are scrambling for funds to re-tool existing hardware, and experimenting with creative solutions to solve existing technological limitations in classrooms.

Jon Nichols (2015) describes well the challenges some colleges and universities are facing with server storage, wireless access, malware on school computers, and hardware obsolescence. Nichols bemoans how many of his lessons plans had to be changed unexpectedly because the server went down or the LCD projector didn't work. His most difficult experience was submitting midterm grades using paper forms because the course management platform the college was using went down. Nichols tries to use technology as a teaching tool, but when technology fails, he refocuses his efforts on improving his teaching, rather than relying on the "glitzy package of technology" (Nichols, 2015).

Especially in developing countries, building and maintaining the technology and infrastructure for social media applications can be a particularly difficult problem. In Nigeria, students and professors reported that Internet services improved their quality of teaching (77.5%) and research output (79.1 %), yet the unreliability of electric power made technology difficult to use (Okafor, Imhonopi, & Urim, 2011). A student pointed out: "If you have a deadline to meet in sending a paper for publication, you may not have electricity to type the paper, not to talk of sending it via the Internet" (Okafor, Imhonopi & Urim, 2011, p. 145). Ajegbomogun and Popoola (2013) did a similar Nigerian study two years later with the same complaint of inconsistency of public electric power, as well as telecommunication support problems. The need for these Internet services far exceeds what is currently available in developing countries (Armah, 2009).

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The Internet and social media will continue to remain a remarkable force for all universities, promoting research and academic development. Expanding computer labs, training users more effectively, introducing users to scholarly discussion groups and bulletin boards in a variety of disciplines, promoting Internet sites on topical issues, and anticipating future Internet library requirements will stimulate scholarship worldwide. Students and professors can ask questions to further clarify concepts and ideas with experts around the world through texting, emailing, and video chatting. Those interested in similar subjects may discuss their ideas on blogs, forums, and wikis, thus fostering a global academic community.

Student Use of Social Media

Young adults between the ages of 18 and 25 have been surrounded by social media since childhood. For many of these young people, social media is the way they communicate with each other and encompasses the way they interact with their world. These behaviors spill over into the university classroom, as these students try to communicate and learn with other students and their professors. Students walk down the university hallways with their eyes on their cell phones often texting, watching the latest YouTube video, or following their friends on Facebook. Social media has become their method of communication and the most popular activity on the Web (Qualman, 2011, p. 3).

Students are more likely to leave home without their purse or wallet, than without their smart phone (Fisher, 2012, p. 30). Students depend upon their smart phones to tell them where to go for their next class, what homework to do, what information to study, when to study with a TA, where to buy books and other supplies, and how much money to spend. Students are also doing their academic work on smartphones and tablets rather than desktop computers. A survey of college students done by Educause Center for Analysis and Research found that nearly half of university students used tablets for their academic work in 2014, compared with just 12 percent two years earlier (Biemiller, 2014). Also, 68 percent of students reported using smartphones to do academic work in 2014, as compared to 42 percent of students who did so in 2012 (Biemiller, 2014, p. 58).

Figure 1 - College Students' Reasons for Using Social Media 2012
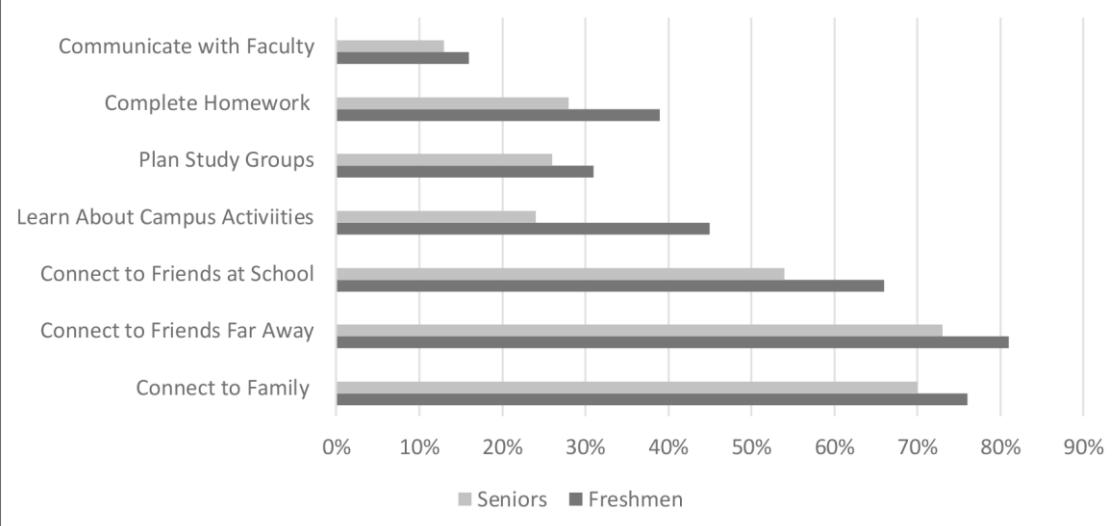
Every year, the use of social media is increasing among college students. Young (2013) surveyed

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19,000 students at 42 institutions in the United States in 2012. Figure 1 represents the results of this data (Young, 2013, p. 4). In every category, freshmen students used social media to a greater extent than senior students. In the figure, both freshmen and seniors used social media the most to connect with friends outside of college, to connect with friends at the college, and to connect with family. For college-related purposes like group study, homework assignments, and obtaining information about campus activities, the difference in social media use between freshmen and seniors was a 3% to 21% increase depending on the category (Young, 2013, p. 6). University administrations and professors need to pay significant attention to the role social media plays in the classroom as this trend continues.

The Clash of the Generations

The generation of students currently attending college has been given many labels, including Millenials (Monaco & Martin, 2007), Generation Y (Shaw & Fairhurst, 2008), and Digital Natives (Prensky, 2001). Overgeneralizations should be made cautiously, especially when discussing an entire generation; however, many research studies have found trends of behavior that should be noted and dealt with when working with current university students. Millennials are collaborative, tend toward optimism, are willing to try new technologies and are more comfortable with ambiguity and uncertain outcomes than previous generations (O' Brien 2007, p. 6). Professors need to step out of their comfort zones and meet students where they are. Students want to teach and learn from each other rather than having an expert lecture to them, and they should have the opportunity to teach each other. Students do not feel the need to memorize information as much as knowing where to find and retrieve pertinent facts. Rather than talking at students, professors need to talk with them and work to provide a more constructivist learning environment (Cunningham, 2007). Shared learning experiences are highly valued by these students.

The clash of the generations may be seen as professors are unable or unwilling to change their educational methodologies to teach a new generation of students. The use of social media applications (such as, blogs, Facebook, Twitter, LinkedIn, YouTube, etc.) can help students to readily access educational material, and consequently, to enjoy greater success in the classroom. These students want to be more open about who they are and understand who their teachers are. Social media has allowed them to show their thoughts and actions in a digital world where all can see (Qualman, 2011, p. 126).

Digital Immigrants Teaching Digital Natives

Fourteen years ago, Marc Prensky (2001) labeled young adults as Digital Natives distinguishing them from older adults whom he labeled as Digital Immigrants (p. 1). Now, many of these same Digital Natives are becoming faculty and are teaching in the college classroom themselves. However, Digital Immigrants are still a part of most colleges and universities. They have learned to adapt to their new digital environment, but they will always retain an accent to some degree (such as, printing out digital information, or phoning someone to make sure a text was received). Prensky (2001) makes the statement that "our Digital Immigrant instructors, who speak an outdated language (that of the pre-digital age), are struggling to teach a population that speaks an entirely new language" (p. 2). Further emphasizing his point, Prensky (2001) states: "Today's students are no longer the people our educational system was designed to teach" (p. 1).

In a recent survey done in the United States by the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation, professors were asked if they used various technologies and innovative techniques as a part of their teaching

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(In brief, 2015). The survey targeted such technologies as social media, clickers, hybrid courses, discussion forums, and flipped classrooms. Only 40 percent of the professors who responded acknowledged using or being interested in learning about these technologies and innovative teaching techniques. Only half of those professors (20 percent of the respondents) had actually used any of them. Innovation may be sweeping higher education, but not all faculty members are embracing it in the classroom (In brief, 2015).

Some professors remain skeptical of the instructional validity of social media use in the university classroom. Draskovic, Caic, and Kustrak (2013) did a qualitative study interviewing Croatian university students and professors to find out their preferences in using social media in the college classroom. The students were motivated to use social media to interact with professors and to interact with other students. The professors were more skeptical because of "their belief that the lecturer-student relationship needs to remain professional, which implies the use of formal communication channels" (Draskovic, Caic, & Kustrak, 2013, p. 337). These professors who were interviewed also had a more limited understanding and general unfamiliarity with the various aspects and forms of social media available to them in the classroom. A similar problem could also be preventing other university professors around the globe from social media and Internet use in the classroom.

Digital Encouragement for All

Digital Natives continue to become college and university professors and embrace new technologies in education (O' Brien, 2007, p. 6). These professors feel comfortable using social media to establish educational communities with their students and promote instructor-student and student-student relationships through the use of digital platforms in the college classroom. Professors become students, too, as they learn from their students about the latest app for their cell phone or the latest relevant Tweet on Twitter for their subject domain and incorporate this information into the university classroom. Universities have started forming centers to concentrate on the use of social media for student engagement in academic courses and programs, along with instruction for professors wanting or needing additional training.

In 2005, Hurricane Katrina forced instructors at Southern University of New Orleans (SUNO) to quickly incorporate online instruction using social media as their students were scattered across the western United States. Instructors and administrators soon realized "the danger of losing these students permanently if they did not reach them and work with them to continue and complete their programs of study" (Ralph & Ralph, 2013, p. 450). Instructors were trained in online technologies and if they met the rigorous standards set by the university, they were given a laptop and monetary incentives to continue their online innovations. In 2009, SUNO established the Center for Excellence in Teaching and Learning to study advantages and challenges of social media use.

Focusing on the audience of those born in the digital age, Harvard professors and students started the Digital Native Project (Berkman Center, 2010) as an appendage to the Berkman Center for Internet and Society. The purpose of the center is to encourage creative ways for society to better understand and harness digital fluency by using social media and digital communication. Palfrey and Gasser's (2008) book, *Born Digital*, became the basis of a social media campaign run by students at the Berkman Center. The purpose of this book is "to separate what we need to worry about from what's not so scary, what we ought to resist from what we ought to embrace" (Palfrey & Gasser, 2008, p. 9). Each chapter explores the different activities used by Digital Natives while on social media, such as defining an identity, becoming an activist, pirating information, turning into an aggressor, innovating new ideas, and learning information. The thirteen chapters were turned into short social media clips by students to be used as learning and discussion platforms for other students.

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Social Media Technologies in the University Classroom

Many university professors are realizing the power of social media as a learning tool and shifting the way they teach. Professors are changing their educational methodologies in a variety of subject areas in college campuses across the United States. The following paragraphs highlight a few examples of American university professors who have started to integrate social media applications in their curriculum.

Doctoral candidates in mechanical engineering at Purdue University are pleasantly surprised when they take Dr. Charles M. Krousgill's *Mechanics and Vibrations* course to find social media tools in place to help them be successful in the class. Dr. Krousgrill has a blog for his course (independent from the university course site) with all the course material readily available online in an easier social media framework. As students work on engineering and mathematical problems listed for the course, they are encouraged to discuss their solutions together and help each other when they are stumped. Thus, the students work together remotely to figure out the answers. Dr. Krousgrill is able to monitor these discussions and he enters into the conversations periodically. An educational community has been formed through social media without face-to-face lab time, study sessions, or formal office hours. One graduate student commented:

Even though the class was challenging, I was able to figure out problems easier with the help of the group. Sometimes, I would be stuck on a problem late at night or early in the morning, but I could write something on the blog and other students would help me out. Also, Dr. Krousgrill responded quickly to students' questions. (David Richardson, personal communication, December 24, 2014)

Dr. Andrew D. Maynard is a professor of Environmental Health Sciences and Director of the Risk Science Center at the University of Michigan. He uses social media to communicate with his students in the university classroom and has a blog for each of the courses he teaches. He has even developed a course entitled, *Communicating Science through Social Media* (EHS665), during which he teaches other science educators how to incorporate social media in their lessons. Maynard has his own YouTube Channel, entitled *Risk Bites,* which provides short, interesting videos about the science behind human health risks (Maynard, 2015).

Dr. Joshua Eyler is the Director of the Center of Teaching Excellence at Rice University and teaches humanities courses incorporating Twitter as a part of his course expectations. Students are required to Tweet five times a week over the course of the semester for the purposes of furthering student engagement in the course material and extending students' discussion beyond the classroom. A specific hashtag was given for the course and Eyler used an online archiving tool to keep track of Twitter activity. He also gave three specific guidelines the Tweets must follow: "(1) They must have something to do with the class (i.e., a response to the reading, a link to a related article, a question, etc.), (2) They must be substantive, and (3) They must be respectful" (Eyler, 2013, para. 3).

Eyler claims that social media has changed the way he teaches. He does understand there may be elements of social media which could present potential drawbacks, but he feels these can be mitigated by establishing clear expectations. He also expressed the concern that social media could seem like busy work to students if the relevancy of these platforms to the students' coursework is not explained clearly.

At Brigham Young University's Marriott School of Business, advertising and marketing classes analyze companies' use of social media in promoting their products and business. Dr. Kurt Sandholtz teaches an advanced writing course for business majors. He has begun to require his students to have

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a LinkedIn profile, along with their written paper resume. Students are also required to write a formal business article as well as a blog post and Twitter version of their article. Business students need to be able to write in these different platforms using a writing style that varies between a formal article, a blog post, and a Tweet (Kurt Sandholtz, personal communication, March 17, 2015). Groups in these classes are also encouraged to use Google Docs or Microsoft OneDrive as a vehicle to write and edit their group report. Students with a variety of schedules are still able to communicate with each other by using email, texting, and online chat. One of their projects is a mock individual interview, in which they video tape themselves and post for all teachers and students to view and give feedback.

Under the direction of Sandholtz, Lisa Thomas, an adjunct professor also teaching management communications, has developed short animated features on a YouTube channel entitled *BYU MCOM* to teach students basic business grammar. By using a social media platform, a tedious part of the curriculum (such as punctuation, subject-verb agreement, sentence structure, active versus passive voice) becomes much more stimulating and attractive to students (BYU MCOM, 2015).

A Few Words of Caution

These are just a few anecdotal examples of the many professors in a variety of ages and stages in their careers who are actively changing their teaching styles by incorporating social media. A few words of caution may be helpful before moving forward with social media use in the college classroom.

First, as universities slowly move in the direction of using social media technologies for communication, instructors need ready access to relevant instruction geared to their level of expertise. Instructors who use social media applications before they are proficient may confuse and complicate student learning. Kentaro Toyama (2015) observes that the value students place on any technology is in direct proportion to the instructor's capability to use it. Because social media is constantly changing, continuous professional development should be given to instructors to keep them aware of new ways to incorporate social media technologies into their teaching (Ralph & Ralph, 2013, p. 451). The formation of university centers for digital instruction is just one example of tools being created to assist college professors.

Second, social media technologies do not need to be used in every class all the time (Lin, Hoffman, & Borengasser, 2013). As Eyler (2013) stated previously, the relevance of social media assignments needs to be made clear to students. If not, social media can seem like busy work rather than a necessary part of the curriculum. Lara Burton, who teaches computer science at Brigham Young University, made the point:

I worry that sometimes people jump to use a technology because it is new. I call that the 'shiny' effect. 'It's shiny! I want it!' I approach technology more by asking the question: 'How can this serve my needs and the needs of my students?' (personal communication, April 12, 2015)

Third, social media does not always improve learning (Toyama, 2015). Jensen, Kummer, and Godoy (2015) compared two freshman biology classes with the same instructor, lectures, assignments, activities, and classrooms. The differences between the two classes were when and where students were given the lectures and application activities. For one class, the students watched the lectures online and had social media discussions with active learning activities happening in the classroom. The other class was traditionally taught with the lectures and learning only happening in a classroom.

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The academic performance of the students was not statistically different between these two classes based on their exam scores. In an interview about the study, Kummer said, "the key to successful learning gains is likely more attributable to active learning, a teaching model where students are actively involved in the process, constructing knowledge themselves instead of just listening" (Hollingshead, 2015, para. 3).

In response to this article, a university student commented that the researchers were missing the point. The student wrote:

> The underlying premise should be that we are all unique individuals and we live in a day and age where technology makes it very possible to personalize how we learn. Instead of asking how best to teach this generic 'student,' maybe we should ask how to best accommodate individuals. (Hollingshead, 2015, comment 2)

Technology does allow universities to give students the opportunity to choose the kind of pedagogical venues they feel most comfortable with (e.g., flipped classroom, online classes, traditional classrooms). Professors should also be encouraged to choose the teaching style which best fit their strengths and their abilities to teach.

Another impediment of social media use is acquiring the necessary hardware, which seems to be ever increasing in speed, storage, and cost. As previously discussed, this obstacle plagues both developed and developing countries. Consistent upgrades are necessary for students, faculty members, and universities causing a financial burden and strain on all members of the educational community. Striking a balance between needs and wants for technology in the college classroom is a crucial compromise that needs to be reached at all college campuses (Stuart, 2014).

The key to using social media wisely in the classroom is keeping the focus on the student, rather than on technology. David Lewis (2015), who is Lehman Librarian at Columbia University, discusses the fundamental change universities are currently going through in transforming instruction and scholarly communication digitally and reminds professors that "we need to recognize that though technological development will force changes, we can shape the way technology is used" (p. 307). Educational professionals should remember that their primary responsibility is to teach content using the best pedagogical practices rather than becoming excessively engrossed in social media tools for teaching.

Changing Educational Communities

A generation ago, educational communities at the college level were based on an on-campus experience at an accredited college or university. Technology is causing these traditional educational communities to expand and morph into many different directions. Online courses have been around for decades and are offered by many universities. More recently, massive open online courses [MOOCs] have become a conundrum for many educators in higher education. Most of these computer-based educational communities use some form of social media (e.g. blogs, podcasts. forums, content communities, and social networks) to establish a sense of cohesion as a class, to establish student-to-student and faculty-to-student interconnection, and to establish a dynamic (rather than static) learning community.

MOOCs are not a social media platform themselves, but they are a way of delivering course content

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to large groups of people. Armando Fox is the faculty director of UC Berkley's MOOCLab which extends existing online education programs with MOOC research and practice. Fox expresses the opinion that "if MOOCs are used as a supplement to classroom teaching rather than being viewed as a replacement for it, they can increase instructor leverage, students' throughput, student mastery, and student engagement" (Fox, 2013, p. 38). He uses a university model of education termed small private online courses [SPOCs] which incorporate MOOCs along with limited classroom instruction and discussion in small groups or small-group lab work done in a university classroom. Fox (2013) tries to dispel many myths and prejudices held by the academic community against the use of MOOCs; the biggest concern for academics being that "universities will use MOOCs to lower costs by firing faculty and teaching assistants, thus sacrificing educational quality" (p. 38).

In a pilot program at San Jose State University in California, students studied MOOC lectures by MIT professors and homework assignments created by Anant Agarwal, CEO of edX online. This work was done by students at home on their own schedule. Faculty and teaching assistants spent classroom time working with students on lab and design problems rather than on lectures and homework. These students' test scores were compared with the students of the previous cohort who had been taught using the more traditional university delivery system. On the first exam, the SPOC students received grades averaging 5 percentage points higher than the traditionally-taught students; on the second exam, their average grade was 10 points higher. The most striking difference was the comparison between the numbers of students who received credit for the course (a "C" grade or better) which rose from 59 percent to 91 percent (Fox, 2013, p. 39; Lewin & Markoff, 2013, B1; Lucas, 2014, p. 34).

Other universities are allowing MOOC's to be used as a part of their academic program if the tests associated with these classes are physically proctored at the university or other monitored sites allowing for tighter controls on the validity of the test results as an indicator of students' knowledge. Georgia Tech has announced a professional Master of Science degree in computer science earned through MOOCs and proctoring centers across the country (Lucas, 2014, p. 32). The tuition for the program is an inexpensive $6,600 for three years of course work as compared to the $44,000 price tag for the same degree for residential students (Belkins, 2013).

In addition, Belkins reported a startling increase of U.S. residents applying for this MOOC program (reaching 79%) as compared to the applicants for the residential program for the same degree (only 9% of whom are U.S. citizens). Sebastian Thrun, the CEO of Udacity which is one of the many companies partnering with Georgia Tech to help sponsor this program, said, "There is a really huge number of people in this country that would love to get an education while having a job or raising a family or staying at home," (Belkins, 2013).

These experimental models of universities and college communities are used to enlarge classrooms beyond the boundaries of four walls. University buildings are replaced by global pockets of students meeting together for instruction, usually over the Internet and communicating often using social media (e.g. Generation Rwanda, Kepler University, International Network for Higher Education in Africa, and African Virtual University). Some of these experiments are being started as free (or nearly free) on-line services for students seeking an education who may not have the money nor the time for a traditional residential college experience (e.g., Coursera, edX, Khan Academy, MOOC2Degree, and MOOC University).

Table 2: Technology-Enabled Teaching with Possible Opportunities and Difficulties

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| Technology-Enabled Teaching	Opportunities	Difficulties
Asynchronous online courses offered by for-profit universities by faculty with little or no faculty-student interactions	This model gives more students the opportunity of taking classes and is less money for the university.	Fewer Ph.D. faculty are needed and the quality and delivery of the education is lessened.
Synchronous online courses with online interaction between faculty; possibly combined with short residence sessions	This model reaches students unable to come to a physical campus, yet gives them opportunities to work with university faculty.	School facilities would not be as well used (which could be viewed by the institution as an opportunity or a problem).
A university program featuring MOOC's and physical proctoring of exams.	Similar to Georgia Tech's program, many more students can afford this program.	Other universities may be concerned with the competition for students.
Integrate MOOC's into the traditional classroom taught by capable Ph.D. faculty and/or blend physical classes with video-lectures and multimedia homework using social media to connect with faculty.	These teaching techniques will improve the quality of courses meeting physically at universities while allowing more students greater accessibility to content.	Faculty would need to be trained and changes made in campus classrooms.
Free MOOCs with asynchronous videos and interactive sessions via Google Hangouts for a small number of participants and faculty.	This model allows instruction for underserved populations with increased flexibility and enhancing educational opportunities around the world.	The quality of this college education may be questioned leading to graduates finding it difficult to find jobs.
New models for universities; such as, Project Minerva, MOOC degree programs, and a MOOC university	Increased flexibility for students and the democratization of a college education for all students who want to learn. Students will need to accept more responsibility for their own learning.	These new universities will incur start-up costs and will need to establish their brand and reputation for quality. Some of these universities may fail. If they become successful, fewer Ph.D. faculty will be needed.

Table 2 goes into further detail about each of these models along with the possible opportunities and difficulties with each one (Lucas, 2014, p. 33-34). As shown in this table, the opportunities listed for these different educational models center largely upon greater flexibility of time and place, affordable classes, the democratization of a college education for all who want to learn, accessibility of content, and the opportunity for students to take classes from professors who usually only teach at expensive, top-tiered universities.

Most of the difficulties of these educational models center upon issues affecting the administration and faculty at universities. University administrators are concerned with the competition for students, the decreased quality of education because of limited interaction with other students and faculty, money needed to upgrade the technology in campus classrooms, and the possible demise of traditional college campuses. Faculty members are concerned with the need for new training,

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changes to curriculum and teaching delivery, and the possible lack of Ph.D. faculty jobs.

University administrators and professors need to figure out which type of course delivery current students really want. A national survey asked 112,585 college students at 251 sites between the months of February and April of 2013 concerning the type of course they prefer (Young, 2013, p. 14). They were asked to choose between courses with no online components, hybrid courses (combining face-to-face classroom instruction with online activities), and courses that are completely online. Figure 2 displays the students' preferences.

The largest percentage of students (57.7%) said they preferred hybrid courses while less than half as many students (22.1%) preferred courses with no online components at all. The smallest group of students were those who preferred a completely online courses (7.8%). A relatively small group of students did not have a course preference (13.4%) (Young, 2013, p. 13). These figures beg the question whether students would go the way of the MOOC, if they could afford to choose another type of course. For some students, they do not have this choice.

Figure 2 - Students' Course Preference
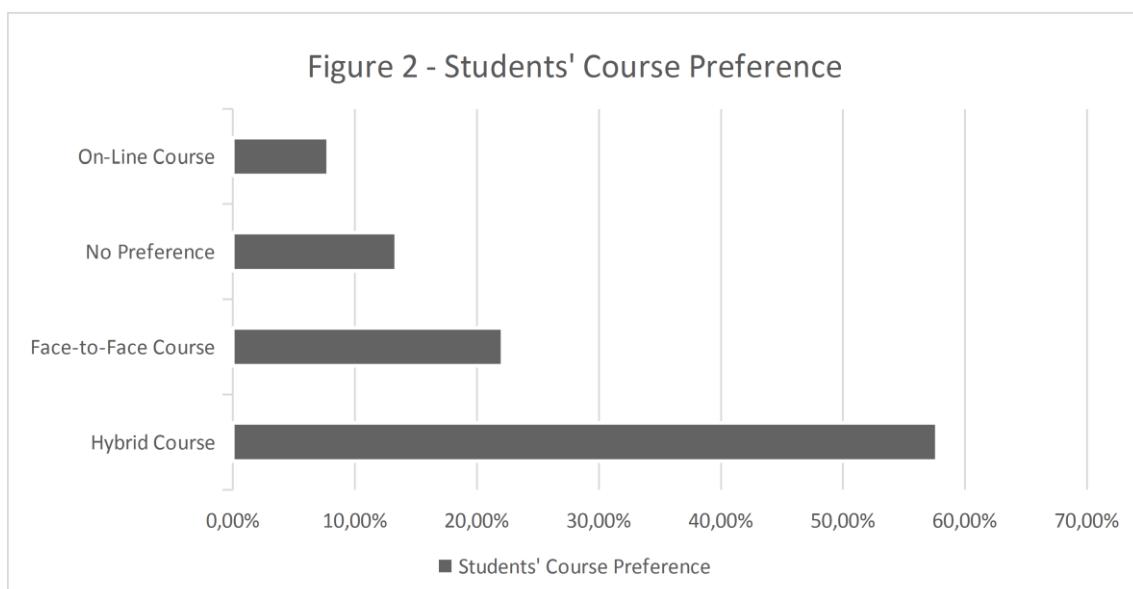
During the same survey, more than 100 professors who teach MOOCs were asked how they felt about their MOOC course. More than three quarters (79%) of the professors believe that MOOCs are worth the hype and have intrinsic value, but nearly three quarters of these same professors (72%) also believe that students who succeed in their MOOC do not deserve formal credit from their institution. Another two-thirds of the professors (66%) believe that their institution will eventually grant formal credit to students who do succeed in the MOOC (Young, 2013, pp. 14-15). In 2014, 2.800 academic leaders were again surveyed and only 16% of them felt MOOCs are a sustainable way to offer college courses, while 51% felt they were not (Kolovich, 2015).

Another criticism of MOOCs is that those who are well-educated and who already have great jobs are those who disproportionately complete MOOC courses. Toyama (2015) argues that MOOCs help the educationally rich get richer without making a significant difference in helping those who are educationally poor. He concludes: "More technology only magnifies socioeconomic disparity" (Toyama, 2015, final para.).

The MOOC hype has faded recently as it has become clear that this particular breed of online course

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will not change the economics of mainstream higher education. MOOCs will never replace face-to-face instruction, but more learners can be reached, leading to a net social and economic benefit. Kolovich (2015) lists the positive impacts of MOOCs as (a) helping recruit potential students to explore the possibility of a college education, (b) nudging more colleges to integrate social media and other online technologies into courses, and (c) advertising and increasing the visibility of specific institution that have had very popular MOOCs on the Internet. The popularity of these other university educational models also may force universities to "control their costs better and lessen the steep rise in tuition" (Cusumano 2013, p. 27; Young, 2015) which has become such an economic strain on families and individuals trying to receive a higher education.

Conclusion

Cultivating a partnership between students and teachers is the key to social media success in the university classroom. Since social media is the major communication tool of college students, Jackson (2011) expressed the need for instructors to "allow [them]selves to be part of the conversation, or it is one more way school becomes irrelevant" (p. 40). Professors can be a part of the conversation by understanding the social media technologies available to them and their appropriate use in the classroom.

Open discussions and theoretical studies will continue to expand the limits of technology in all subject areas while professors and students continue asking questions; such as, "'Why can't we do this?' and 'When can we have the technology to do that?'" (O'Brien, 2007, p. 6). Universities will continue to push the envelope of technology.

The democratization of information and the global restructuring of universities may seem to be a modern phenomenon. Yet, Longstaff (2014) argues that historically, universities consistently go through a cyclical model of change "where waves of inclusivity alternate with bouts of exclusivity" (p. 167). The first universities were accessible and mobile communities. The origin of a campus-based education as a place of learning has only developed over time (Byrd, 2001, p. 289). Current university changes simply represent the latest reincarnation of higher education. Perhaps, technology will "invoke a wholesale shift to the boundless model" (Longstaff, 2014, p. 117) of a university education being offered to any student in the world who wants to learn.

Some educational theorists are worried about the college classroom itself disappearing. Frey (2013) estimates that over 50% of colleges will collapse by 2030 because of the rising cost of a college education and the cheaper alternatives which are becoming more available through the Internet. Vardi (2014) is wringing his hands over the possible dissolution of higher education because of MOOCs. In sharp contrast, Morson and Schapiro's (2015) predictions are bullish as they contemplate universities in 2040:

A college degree will continue to be a great economic investment, and enrollments will increase to record levels. American higher education has long been the model for the world, and 25 years into the future, we are confident that will still be the case. (final para.)

Personally, I am not worried about the fate of university and college campuses. Face-to-face communication and learning will always have a place in education. University classrooms with four walls, whiteboards, chairs, and desks are not going away—they are just changing. Looking forward, faculty and administrators should focus on teaching content and on the needs of the individual student. Using social media in this context can and will continue to enhance, rather than detract, from a university education.

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