peDOCS
Open Access Erziehungswissenschaften

DIPF ◖◗

Koppen, Jan Karel [Hrsg.]; Lunt, Ingrid [Hrsg.]; Wulf, Christoph [Hrsg.]
Education in Europe. Cultures, Values, Institutions in Transition

Münster; New York; München; Berlin : Waxmann 2002, 319 S. - (European Studies in Education; 14)

Digitalisiert

Mitglied der
Leibniz
Leibniz-Gemeinschaft

EUROPEAN
STUDIES
IN EDUCATION

Jan Karel Koppen / Ingrid Lunt
Christoph Wulf (eds.)
Collaborating editor: Silvia Hedenigg

Education in Europe
Cultures, Values, Insti-
tutions in Transition

WAXMANN

European Studies in Education

Education in Europe
Cultures, Values, Institutions in Transition

European Studies in Education

Europäische Studien zur Erziehung und Bildung
Études Européennes en Science de L'Éducation

Jan Karel Koppen
Ingrid Lunt
Christoph Wulf (eds.)

Collaborating editor: Silvia Hedenigg

Volume 14

Waxmann Münster/New York
München/Berlin

Education in Europe

Cultures, Values, Institutions in Transition

by Jan Karel Koppen
Ingrid Lunt
Christoph Wulf

Collaborating editor: Silvia Hedenigg

Waxmann Münster/New York
München/Berlin

l

European Studies in Education

The political, economic, and social developments in the European Union pose new challenges to education in Europe, where each country has its own system. Under these circumstances, the relation between national, regional and local traditions on the one hand and supra-regional, transnational aspirations on the other must be conceived. The field of education is seeing the rise of new issues, responsibilities, and research requiring scholars from different cultures to work together.

European Studies in Education constitutes an international forum for the publication of educational research in English, German, and French. The multilingual nature of this series mirrors that of Europe and makes it possible to portray and express cultural diversity.

The present volume was written in the context of the Amsterdam-Berlin-London network of faculties of educational science (*Able*). It contains contributions from two conferences which took place in Amsterdam and London within the network's collaborative sphere.

Christoph Wulf   Berlin 2001

Table of Contents

I Intercultural Education

II Values in Education

III Educational Institutions

Introduction

This book deals with three major fields of contemporary education in Europe: *intercultural education, values in education and educational institutions*. In each of these central areas education is currently confronted with rapid changes, related to the process of European unification and globalisation, which is considerably altering the frame of reference for nation-based cultures and educational systems. The enlargement of Europe in the years to come constitutes one of the most challenging developments in the European Union. This development will make the communication between the members of the different cultures even more crucial than it is today. In this process the *commonalities and differences* between European nation states, cultures and regions play an important role (Wulf 1998). How to handle these will be among the central tasks of the future. In the European Union, education is destined to become an increasingly intercultural task (Wulf 1995).

The first chapter of this book considers therefore some of the issues that concern intercultural education. How to communicate and to cope with the other is among the central challenges of intercultural education (Wulf). The *other* plays a constitutive part in the development and well-being of the individual and the community. It is counterpart to a person's sense of self and identity. Patterns of ordering create the differences according to which the other is identified. Cultural contexts and the symbolic order define why someone is perceived as an other. Moreover, neither can an individual or a community be conceived without the other, nor can the other be conceived without them. Thus, instead of conceptualising culture as a homogeneous unit, it is better to think of it as a conglomeration of profound differences, as a plurality of ways of being and belonging, as a *deep diversity*. The same applies to the identity of an individual, which is more appropriately conceived as a unit of heterogeneous elements. To come to know the other inside of oneself is an important prerequisite to cope with the other in the outside world. A mimetic approach towards the other is suggested for further elaboration. In the process of migration and immigration, the other, such as people belonging to different ethnic groups and cultures, is of central importance. Schools are confronted with the task

9

of helping students from different ethnic backgrounds find their way into the society they live in (Leeman). Preparatory arrangements for new arrivals, language programmes, multicultural policies, compensations and enrichment strategies are offered. In spite of these common efforts, approaches to dealing with students from various minorities may vary largely. In the Netherlands there is a strong tendency to allow multiculturalism and to stimulate intercultural education. This has created a shift in the focus of intercultural education, from 'getting to know' immigrants to 'learning how to associate with others'. In this situation *multiculturalism* is the result of a process of negotiation on cultural and ethnic differences in an ethnically heterogeneous society. Here, major issues are the policy of the school, the school climate, the communication and the contact between school and parents. The problems of 'communication in the school' and of the 'relationship between school and parents' are dealt with in detail. In the context of intercultural education, school motivation, future perspectives and the well-being of high school students play a central role (Peetsma/ Wagenaar/de Kat). In the reported research on pupils in segregated and integrated schools in the Netherlands the findings are evident. The *students' motivation and well-being* rate higher in an integrated or a black segregated situation in comparison to a segregated white situation. With regard to pupils' motivation, the black segregated situation offers the most positive results for migrant children, whereas native pupils are better motivated in an integrated situation. With regard to well-being, on the other hand, the integrated school offers the best conditions. With regard to 'motivation' and 'well-being', ethnic self-description was of no influence, a finding which calls for further research. To develop a positive future perspective black girls seem to need school more than black boys. On the whole, migrant youngsters adapt easier to their new country than older people.

This and other research show that in intercultural education the historical perspective is of central importance. Social phenomena like racism, xenophobia and nationalism can only be dealt with in their historical context (Gundara). History helps to come us to be aware of the development and specificity of different cultures and to perceive their commonalities and differences; art history is an especially important field for intercultural learning, since it allows a non violent mimetic assimilation of a specific culture and permits one to grasp its beauty and value. The production of textbooks, maps and monuments must take this into consideration. What is required in this context is therefore an education oriented towards *social*

integration (Lenzen). Social integration has to cope with four types of dis-integration due to national dispositions, ethnic, religious and cultural bonds, physical characteristics and characteristics that stem from social statuses that threaten European integration. Integration as the state of being of a societal system may be distinguished from integration as a social act integrating people in a society. Furthermore, discourse on European integration concerns systemic integration, which can only be observed but not be created. Finally, discourse on the integration of underprivileged groups in the European nations refers to integration as a social act of integration. To achieve European integration the societal system requires at least one code which can be used to decide whether an operation is affiliated to the system or not. Moreover, the participants of the system need a common system of symbols, in which the system can be communicated; they have to be prepared to refrain from those options which are not affiliated with the operation licensed by the system code. A system code communicated through a shared system of symbols must therefore be developed, in which participants are prepared to refrain from certain options. The system must also be self-reflexive. Finally, the question of whether pedagogy has a role to play in establishing these conditions is examined.

In intercultural education, as well as in education in general, *values* play an important role. Issues related to values and value conflicts are central within a pluralistic society. They result from the cohabitation of different ethnic and social groups and are related to the freedom of individuals. What and how something is to be taught are controversial issues in education. This raises the problem of to what extent values can be taught and how value differences and conflicts can be dealt with? All societal and educational transformations imply value changes. To understand them requires *sociological imagination* (Whitty). Drawing on this, societal and educational alternatives can be conceived and developed, which implies a challenge to many school effectiveness studies that do not pay sufficient attention to alternatives to the existing school system. More than ever must the goals, methods and contents of education in transition be discussed. European unification and globalisation constitute challenges to education by which the traditional character and values thereof might be changed. From the perspective of market-oriented education, values of individualism, competition, performativity and differentiation play an important role. The growth of self-managing schools and the promotion of a decentred market identity go hand in hand. Deregulation of the economic field produces new demands and values for education, engendering changes of

11

emotions, attitudes and mentalities. To understand these changes, their historical character has to be considered. A study on the *intimacy and estrangement between parents and children* in the Netherlands and Flanders 1800-1970 provides an example for mentality changes and their importance for education (Röling). On the basis of memories of childhood intimacy, safety and trust are proved to be characteristic for the relation between parents and children. Furthermore, the father is perceived as a base of safety and the 'unforgettable' mother as a reference point for intensive feelings. At the same time, children are also aware of the gulf that exists between their parents, who they look up to and admire, and themselves. The father and/or mother's inaccessibility often constitutes a significant part of a child's experience. This influences their relationship to the parents and contributes to shaping their emotions. These parent-child relations can be understood as the result of different values shaping parental and child behaviour.

The same is true in the study on the Authoritarian Character Revisited (Merkens). The *authoritarian character* can be conceived as a set of values shaping the individual's performance; it can be seen as the result of economical dependencies and the pauperisation of human relations. The authoritarian character is a personality formation that arises under the conditions of the late capitalist society. Using the authoritarian character as a theoretical concept gives rise to a research problem that results from the low degree of coherence between the nine sub-concepts of authoritarianism stretching from conventionalism to authoritarian subordination to destruction and cynicism. Nevertheless, the strong theoretical value of the concept challenges us to use it again for research on families and youngsters. Here the concept of authoritarian character was constructed as a latent variable within the three variables 'extreme right-wing orientation', 'nationalism' and 'social differences'. In the study carried out between 1990 and 1997 in East and West Berlin, between 600 and 800 young people in all secondary types of classes 7 to 10 were annually surveyed. The research shows that a small group of these young people can be defined as having an authoritarian character.

Given the importance of values and attitudes for personality development and education, *moral education in schools* (White) is clearly needed. After having introduced the National Curriculum for state schools, which is based entirely on traditional academic subjects and has little provision for personal and social or civic education, in 1996, the School Curriculum and Assessment Authority (ACAA) complained that schools were not do-

12

ing anything about moral and civic development. At least the authorities took moral education seriously. For this purpose the quest for a value-framework is needed, in which people could believe, as they did 150 years ago, in the church, the nation, the monarchy and hard work. Value education includes cultivating virtues like generosity, courage, friendliness, and patience as well as inducting rules against things such as stealing, killing, lying and breaking promises. To do this and to build up confidence in pupils, their own flourishing should be placed more in the centre of the teaching. Pupils must receive a more rounded picture of their well-being and of what a fulfilled life is like. *Moral education as social inclusion* is also an important issue in German schools, especially in the new school subject L-E-R in Brandenburg (Ehrenspeck). It is considered important in times of social upheaval and social crisis as a means of counteracting the loss of meaning and lack of orientation that many pupils suffer from, or to fight concrete problems such as violence among youths, attacks against foreigners or the loss of normative orientation. Problems of value orientation, world conception and meaning are at the centre of this new subject, which takes the place of religious instruction in other counties. Being 'school-', 'problem-', 'project-', and 'action-oriented', as well as 'interdisciplinary' and 'integrative', L-E-R (Life-Ethics-Religion) instruction is supposed to contribute to the development of 'personal' and 'social competence', to the 'competence to have disagreements with meaningful suggestions' and 'ethical competence'. Insisting on 'openness', this new school subject focuses on a 'shared search for orientation' and 'authentic' learning experiences to contribute to the education of young people in a complex society.

Not only school based value education but also *children's play* constitutes an important educational activity in which a variety of values are expressed and learnt. A comparison between games in Germany and Japan makes this very clear (Lenzen). Indeed, not only the values in children's play but also the practices and performances vary. In Japan the time spent playing indoors doubled between 1975 and 1992. This suggests that children spend just over 1% of the day playing, whereas in Germany an estimated 25% of a child's day is spent at play. With a reduction of autonomous play, there seems to be a clear displacement in the direction of organised free-time activities in Germany. Here play is not oriented towards a practical purpose, but has its purpose in itself. In Japan, interiorisation and a temporal reduction of play shapes play-reality and there is also a minimalisation of available space, time, distance between the play cycles,

movement, requisites, physical multiplicity of play, options for individual activities, individual order and the possibilities of individual imagination. A comparison of the historical semantics of 'play' in Japan and Germany reveals fundamental differences. On this basis different qualities of the meaning of 'play' are compared.

Most education takes place in *educational institutions*. To a large extent these institutions determine the quality of the processes of education. Changes in education therefore imply changes within the educational institutions. Intensifying intercultural education and value education consequently leads to the transformation of educational institutions. In five case studies, processes of transforming educational institutions are described and analysed. The first case study *(Jewitt/Kress)* analyses the construction of scientific entities through image, gesture and movement in the science classroom. Within this process it is essential to consider the full repertoire of meaning making resources which pupils and teachers bring to the classroom (action-based, visual, and linguistic resources) and which are central to teaching and learning. Exploring language as one mode operating alongside others, within a multimodal communicational landscape, both enables a better understanding of the meaning potentials and limitations of language itself and the role of other modes in education. What this study shows is how the construction of entity 'particles' in a science lesson is achieved through the interaction between language, image, gesture and demonstration, rather than solely through the written and spoken narrative of the teacher. Finally, what may be concluded is that *learning and teaching are multimodal processes* in which each mode is developed to realise different meanings. In the second case study the *implementation of cross-age peer tutoring in primary schools* is examined to develop knowledge of the conditions in which this intervention strategy can be used successfully (Vosse). Peer tutoring is an important strategy to decentralise education and to help minority groups, such as pupils from deprived areas, mentally retarded pupils or those from ethnic minority groups. In this study, the effects on tutors and tutees of a cross-age peer tutoring programme for mathematics reveals an improvement of achievement as well as a means to stimulate the development of social cohesion among pupils in schools. This programme leads to improvements in academic achievements and to positive changes in attitudes and self-conception, although the evidence here is less strong than for the academic results. The third case study deals with the *social integration of juvenile delinquents* in Reformatory Education in Japanese schools and shows fundamental differences in reform

strategies, based on differences in historical and cultural developments (Hedenigg). Reformatory Education is closely linked to the ambivalent process of modernisation, in which disciplinary power and bio-power are confronted with the paradoxes of westernisation. Whereas in this study the focus is on an historical analysis of the Japanese process of civilisation, the following fourth case study deals with *characteristic changes in the student body* in the Netherlands between 1982 and 1995 (Sikkema). The question dealt with in this research is to what extent the elite character of higher education in the Netherlands has changed or may have stayed the same, because in general the socio-economic status has increased in society, and individuals with lower socio-economic backgrounds may still hesitate to enter university. Mass student population and the influence of the socio-economic background of student aspiration call for an examination of the extent to which the parental socio-economic status of students, the initial capacities of students and the study attitude of students changed between 1982 and 1995. In this context the study also investigates the extent to which cohort and discipline have an influence on goals and investment after the inclusion of background characteristics. For this purpose data from different longitudinal data sets are used. The study shows that changes in the background characteristics of students and cohort effects make for differences in goals and investment. Students with different socio-economic backgrounds define their goals in a different way. Those from higher socio-economic backgrounds are more intent on getting a propaedeutic degree and graduating. They invest less in their studies and might have more academic self-esteem. The last contribution in this book also focuses on *higher education*. Here the focus is on issues of individualisation (Rau). With the transition from elite to mass education, the concept and process of individualisation can be seen to change. These are influenced by student cultures, disciplinary cultures, and cultures of the academic profession, as well as by the cultures of institutions and of the national system of education. To a large extent individualisation is influenced by competition, efficiency and effectivity. Related to these problems, internationalisation, cost-effectiveness, excellence and market orientation play an important role in higher education today.

I

Intercultural Education

Christoph Wulf

The Other as Reference Point in European Education

For every society, for every social subject, contact with the *other* constitutes an essential condition. The human body is connected to and dependent on others for conception, sustenance and socialisation. Much of what an individual experiences is related to others, from gestures and rituals, to participation in games and the exchange of gifts. Mimetic behaviour is always directed towards another individual. A person comes both to resemble others, as well as to realise the limits to which another person can ever be fully related to or understood. We shall consider the following aspects:

– the ineluctable *other*,
– difference and otherness,
– reduction and repression,
– foreign others,
– mimetic approaches.

There is a constant ambivalence in the relationship between self and other: it oscillates between success and failure. A successful encounter will benefit both self and other, whereas its failure will work to the detriment of both.

The Ineluctable *Other*

In his essay on education, Rousseau speaks of how, in order to be happy, every individual is dependent on others. Human existence is both relative and collective, for our true 'I' is never quite within us. It is impossible to really be content or enjoy ourselves without it always having something to do with others.[1] People need others not only to lead happy lives, but also in order to find pleasure in themselves. An individual cannot choose to do without other people. Even to retreat from contact with others, still means

---

1   Rousseau 1993.

living in relation to them. Others enable an individual to perceive his/her own existence. This is due to our ability to direct our senses and emotions towards people otherwise unknown to us. We cannot live without being touched, spoken to, and looked at by others, without their representations within us. The *other* is a mirror in which we see, discover, and investigate our own selves. It allows us to perceive inner representations of ourselves and thus to develop consciousness. This dependency on other people and their representations is what makes human reality fundamentally social.

In order to have its existence confirmed and be able to grow, an infant needs to feel the attention and touch of the other, through its parents. A child's state of 'incompletion' is manifest in its dependency on its parents and their compensatory behaviour. Only through parental care can a child free itself from its initial sense of inferiority. The child's capacity to imitate is stimulated by its sense of inequality in relation to grown-ups; it yearns to relate to and resemble the other. This mimetic process is encouraged by the parents' reciprocal mimetic behaviour, which in turn, satisfies the child's demand for recognition, and encourages activities that lead to its fulfilment. A person's sense of belonging to a family and a community is rooted in this initial interplay between parent and child.

At birth, a child is already predisposed towards a social existence. In the infant's early development, this predisposition is diversified and specialised. Touch and attention constitute a form of pre-verbal exchange between parents and child. Speech and visual contact communicate to the child a sense of the other. Through being spoken to and looked at, the child also experiences its own existence. Playing with his/her parents or with other people of reference, a child makes his/her first enquiries into the world, and early forms of self-awareness are developed. Language enables the child to enter the world of the other. Mimesis plays an essential role in these stages of early childhood development. As in the physical interplay between parents and children, in their exchanges of touch, visual contact and ritual behaviour, mimetic processes are mutual. When parents attend to their child, it responds with mimetic reactions that elicit in turn a response from the parents, and call for more attention and input. A sense of communal togetherness, resulting from this kind of interplay, is the environment in which a child will develop its essential faculties: seeing, touching, remembering, and speaking. Without the parents' example, there would be no stimulus to imitation. Parents show the child what to do, and encourage or acknowledge its performance by their reactions. This exchange is what transforms the child into a social being. The child realises its dependency on others,

and experiences other people's recognition of its own existence as a necessary condition for life. In the mimetic relation between itself and others, the structure of a child's personality is developed. Features of others are adopted and come to overlay the child's archaic self. They connect with it. By experiencing the people in his/her environment – the challenges, interests and desires that they present – a child creates his/her own self-image, which will continue to develop throughout the course of his or her life. This self-image formed out of the responses the child receives from others, is created according to mimetic processes that take place between it and them.

Human interaction is not bound to the present. When for instance people of different ages live together, exchange is inter-generational. Through language, both spoken and written, as well as customs, human exchange reaches back into the past whilst pointing towards the future. The young build on the cultural achievements of the older generations. Human existence *in* time increases the individual's dependency on a community. Individual self-sufficiency, autonomy and sovereignty are all but illusion. An individual needs a community in order to grow and mature. Without the sense of being connected to a wider group, people would be isolated and paralysed. This fact of human incompletion makes mutual recognition a necessity for the members of a community.[2] Recognition is what makes an individual find his/her place within the community, and become a social being. If an individual fails to receive the amount of recognition s/he needs, s/he will feel marginalised and excluded and become 'invisible'. Loneliness and bitterness are the consequences.

The other plays a constitutive part not only in the development and well being of an individual, but also in the development and well being of every group, community and culture. It is counterpart to a person's sense of self and identity, to that which he or she considers his/her *own*. Borderlines and patterns of ordering create the differences according to which an *other* is identified. Historical and cultural contexts, and the symbolic order define why someone is perceived as other. In the same way as one's concept of 'self' is necessarily dependent on one's concept of 'foreign', so an individual is in complementary relation to that which is other. Neither can an individual be conceived without the other, nor can the other be conceived without the individual.

The split inherent in the human constitution enables people to relate to themselves. Reflexivity is the condition for our perception of others. A

---

2   Todorov 1989.

person's sense of the other largely depends on his or her attitude. Human flexibility makes for a great multiplicity of forms that the other can take. The process of relating oneself to internal as well as external 'others' defines whom a subject perceives as other. The other can be seen in many different figures: in that which is considered foreign, enemy, or mad; in the ghostly, evil, or unsettling; in the other sex, or the sacred. In cases like these, there is an overlap between concrete forms of otherness, and a more extreme, abstract other. In fact, every concrete form of otherness points towards a more indefinable, elusive, radical other. In the case of God for instance, the superimposition of a personified other with an abstract other is particularly clear.[3] Such overlaps can be seen in other figures as well. The multiple forms the other can take are a result of the symbolic order of language.

Difference and Otherness

Under the banner of egalitarianism, European civilisations have often shown the dangerous tendency to annihilate foreign differences through assimilation. The prevailing assumption is that other countries and cultures should not remain different, but transform in order to become part of a world-culture defined by Europe. Even between countries within Europe, this assumption has prevailed. Throughout history, various countries have claimed to be *the* measure per se for a European spirit, and have wanted to lay down the criteria for a European civilisation and *Weltkultur*, at the cost of European and World wars. Instead of valuing the unique characteristics of each culture, and strengthening such cultural features, European nations have tended to give in to the dangers of sacrificing the particular to the general. It is now, therefore, more relevant than ever to accept the particularities of every culture and encourage these to blossom. For surely, only on the basis of a supportive attitude towards the differences of other countries and people, will it ever be possible to discover and develop a sense of transnational community.

Despite national differences, similar social conditions have meant that European countries have much in common. They share the same democratic structure, economic system, as well as many cultural traditions. Life expectancy and living standards are also much the same. These points in

---

3   Otto 1963.

common are often the basis upon which different countries communicate, connect and unite. Many factors, including the New Media, have contributed to this European 'common ground'. With the mass media reporting the same events throughout Europe, the same information is spread. Events can simultaneously take place and be broadcasted in images and reports. People's perception is shaped by the high speed at which information travels, by the multitude of images, and the process of miniaturisation (through T.V. etc.). Our aesthetic sense is the media representation of the world we perceive. Processes of abstraction and pictorial representation have intensified. The emergence of a perception moulded by the media facilitates the globalisation of attitudes, values and knowledge. This, in turn, leads to the globalisation of products, money and signs, thus intensifying the dynamics of industrialised societies, whose aim it has been to reduce the 'unknown particular' to something more general and familiar.

In face of this movement towards the general, it is important to strengthen that which is 'other', and support the particularities of every given culture. Surely, cultural multiplicity is a European characteristic worth preserving. Instead of conceiving culture as a homogeneous unit, it is better to think of it as a conglomeration of deep differences, as a plurality of ways of being and belonging, as *deep diversity*. This new understanding of culture is a consequence of the world's decentralisation, and the fragmentation of cultures. Valuing deep diversity could contribute to reducing negative feelings and aggression towards that which is foreign, and encourage attitudes that are more open towards others. For surely, in accepting differences lies the essential condition for creating intercultural consciousness. Only real knowledge and acceptance of the differences of others can open the way for understanding, friendship and co-operation.

There are three main dimensions to our reception of those we consider *others*:

- The first concerns our value judgements. How do we regard the members of a foreign culture? Do we feel attracted to them or put off? What are the consequences of these perceptions and feelings?
- The second dimension concerns approaches to the other. What possibilities are there for communicative contact? Do people look for contact with those who are seen as different; do they desire to be close to them? Can one identify with the others and assimilate oneself with them? Do not some people even subordinate themselves to the other in a kind of euphoria about that which is foreign?

23

– Thirdly, to what extent do we really know those we perceive as different, and how substantial is our knowledge of them? This is especially relevant in situations where in fact there is no contact with the other.

All three complementary dimensions acknowledge the other's *separate nature*. To accept others you must overcome yourself. This takes a certain amount of courage, yet only then can those others be known. To experience an other's foreignness, one must be prepared to discover and get to know the other within oneself. For no individual is ever only one. There are always contradictory parts to a person, each possessing a will of its own. Although a subject will try to suppress its major contradictions and be free, time and again, its freedom is thwarted by heterogeneous drive impulses and regulatory norms. In order to perceive itself, the 'I' must acknowledge and include those excluded parts of itself. This is also a necessary condition for any tolerant or open approach towards others.

Relations between self and other are complicated by the fact that neither is a clearly separate entity. Many forms of the *other* are included in the make up of a subject. Far from existing only outside the 'I', otherness is also within every individual. An individual's internalised others may impede that person's approach towards outside others. There is no solid ground for the subject outside of the other, for the other is always already contained within it. Yet what the other is, and how it is seen, is not solely dependent on the subject. The impressions the other makes of itself, though not necessarily homogeneous, are equally decisive in determining the image an individual has of it.

Identity cannot be conceived without otherness. The subject, fragmented, yet irreducible in its particular character, is in constant relation to a multi-faceted other. Two further aspects play a part in this relationship:

– the unique nature, in every individual, of the connection between otherness and identity (due to each individual's particular life circumstances and experience etc.);
– the respective history of what is defined as 'self' or 'own', as opposed to 'foreign', as well as the history of relation between them.

If to question otherness is necessarily also to question one's self, and vice versa, then understanding the other necessarily involves processes of self-examination, self-recognition and development. As the 'foreign' becomes more familiar, there is an increased sense of self-estrangement or self-for-

eignness. As the world is progressively demystified, and the exotic banished, the danger arises that in future we will only ever meet likenesses of ourselves. People will then lack the possibility to grow and develop that is provided by contact with the unfamiliar and foreign. If the loss of that which is foreign endangers human development, then surely it must be protected. Suddenly it becomes important to defamiliarise that which is known, and safeguard one's own self-foreignness. The attempt to preserve the foreign within us, as well as the foreign outside of us, could be a valuable counter-movement to the global tendency to level out differences.

Since individuality is made up through amalgamation with the other, then only too easily could the disappearance of the foreign lead to the loss of the individual. The unquenchable driving-force of every individual requires self-assurance, that is, to realise what s/he has become, what s/he is, and what s/he wants to become. Self-conception, self-construction, and self-reflection all play a part. This kind of knowledge is only ever temporary, and changes throughout the course of one's life. In *Les Faux Monnayeurs*, André Gide defines an individual as only ever that which it believes itself to be. This changes so constantly that it often seems as if the being that I am in the evening would not recognise the one that I had been in the morning. Nothing is more different to an individual than itself.

There is no better key to an open attitude towards others than to be aware of one's own non-identity. Confrontation with foreign cultures, with the *other* in one's own culture, and with the foreigner in our own person, teaches us to perceive and think from the other's point of view. This change of perspective should prevent us from too easily reducing the 'foreign' to that which is our own. In order to see from the other point of view, I must develop *heterological thinking*, that is, suspend my sense of self and contemplate it through the other person's eyes. Central to this is the relation between that which is familiar and the 'foreign', the relation between knowledge and ignorance, certainty and uncertainty. Processes of de-traditionalising and individualising life, differentiation and globalisation have meant that much of our everyday life, otherwise taken for granted, has been called into question, demanding individual reflection and decision. Yet, this does not necessarily mean a gain in freedom. Conditions under which a decision can be made are often not within the control of an individual. In the realm of environmental issues for instance, the individual may be able to make environmentally conscious decisions, yet these will have little impact on the macro-structures of society, which really determine the quality of the environment.

Change in our understanding of reality results in new perceptions of what is foreign and other. Reality has never been so unreliable. In Antiquity, reality was irresistible in the immediacy of its appearance; in the Middle Ages, its truth was guaranteed by God; the Enlightenment had sovereign Reason dictate one's conception and handling of reality; but today, reality is constructed and interpreted, and one's experience of it fragmented and heterogeneous. Having one's own construction and interpretation of the world means confronting the construction and interpretation of others. Plurality is a necessary consequence of a fragmented perception of reality. No single view of the world can claim to be exclusively true; every interpretation is limited by the view of others. One's own experience of the world is thus complicated by the fact that other people's interpretations and conceptions must be taken into account as possible alternatives.

As the world becomes more complex and opaque, the individual feels increasingly insecure. Uncertainties and insecurities depend on a person's outside environment, his/her inner world, as well as on the relation between outside and inside. He or she may try to overcome this sense of vulnerability, by trying to appear certain and self-assured, yet this does not perfectly make up for the deep loss of security within. Besides, any proclaimed certainty is relative, and usually based on the arbitrary exclusion of alternatives. What an individual decides to exclude is determined by his/her psychological and social situation, as well as by the power structures of society and the values, norms, ideologies and discourses that characterise it.

In a world where multiple concepts of reality and science are at work, in terms of the development and handling of individual and social knowledge the experience of difference takes on a whole new dimension of importance. Without some knowledge of difference, there can be no constructive approach to foreign cultures. The notion of contingency is relevant here. Something is contingent if it could also have been otherwise, if it seems unplanned or to have occurred by chance, even though it might have been influenced by actions. In other words, contingency is the scope of open possibilities. Some events are contingent even though they may result from someone's actions, for it is not possible to say beforehand how or why something develops one way and not another. 'Contingent is that which is neither necessary nor impossible; that which can be the way it is (or was, or will be) yet would also be possible otherwise. Thus, the concept encompasses that which is given, experienced, perceived, expected, thought and fantasised in terms of a possible otherness; it refers to the horizon of possible modifications. It presupposes the world we know, does not therefore

refer to the realm of "absolute possibility", but to that which in reality could have been otherwise.'[4] This definition could also be regarded as a description of contemporary reality, in which the other plays a constitutive role. To face an other is to confront contingencies, and can therefore never be completely planned because the outcome is partially accidental and remains therefore unpredictable. Contingencies create new possible perceptions of the 'foreign' and 'self' that in turn point to unknown horizons and new structures of thinking. The process of recognising contingencies, in enabling one to acquire a consciousness of the virtual, allows for new approaches to the other.

Reduction and Repression

Discourse on the other must take into account the psychological, epistemological, and cultural aspects that are respectively associated with the traditions of *egocentrism*, *logocentrism* and *ethnocentrism*.[5]

Although it seemed for a while as if the other were gradually being unveiled and demystified, this has not proved to be true. Things, situations and people, right in the centre of our everyday well-known familiar world, are becoming increasingly foreign and unknown. Standards of living expected to remain secure and familiar are being called into question. Admittedly, the strategy consisting in demystifying the unknown other by increasing understanding, has succeeded in making many foreign things seem more familiar and replaced people's insecurity and fear with confidence and trust. Yet this sense of security is often only superficial; underneath it (and at its margins), feelings of fear and danger are still strong. The gesture of 'making-the-world-familiar' has not fulfilled our expectations. Instead, increasing the realm of the familiar has meant expanding the sphere of the unknown. Knowing more about it does not make the world any less complex. In fact, the more we know about phenomena and connections, the more there is we do not know. Time and again, ignorance exposes the limits of knowledge as well as the limits of human action based upon that knowledge. Though attempts are often made to reduce the other to a concept of 'sameness', it cannot as such be overcome. The other expresses itself in the centre and at the boundaries of the familiar, and demands to be considered.

---

4   Luhmann 1984, p. 152 (trans. A. Lagaay).

5   Waldenfels 1990.

Elias, Foucault and Beck have described in detail the processes involved in the constitution of the modern subject and the emergence of *egocentrism*.[6] 'Technologies of the Self' are involved in the development of subjects.[7] Many of these strategies are linked to the idea of a self-contained self, which, as the subject-bound centre of action, is called to lead its own life and develop its own biography. Yet the unwanted side effects of a self-sufficient subject are manifold. Often, the self-determining subject fails in the act of self-determination. In addition, other forces that are not bound to the same principles can counteract self-determination and the hope of autonomous action. The subject's constitution is constantly ambivalent insofar as its inherent egocentrism constitutes on one hand, a survival, appropriation and power strategy, and on the other, a tendency to reduce and level out differences. The subject's attempt to reduce the other to its usefulness, functionality and availability seems to both succeed and fail. This insight opens new horizons for dealing with the other, as well as new fields of knowledge and investigation.

As a consequence of *logocentrism* we perceive and deal with the other according to the rules of reason. We only really let into our field of vision that which is capable of reasoning or shaped by reason; everything else is excluded and belittled. He who stands on the side of reason is necessarily right. This is valid even for the reduced reason of functional rationality. Thus, parents stand above children, civilised people above the primitive, and the healthy above the sick. Those who possess reason are superior to those who possess only pre-forms or weak forms of reason. The more a person's language or reason differs from the general, the more difficult it is to approach and understand that person. Nietzsche, Freud, Adorno, and many others have criticised reason's self-satisfied status, and pointed out that people live in all kinds of ways that reason cannot fully comprehend.

Throughout history, the *ethnocentric* tradition has also resolutely subjugated all forms of otherness. Todorov,[8] Greenblatt[9] and others have analysed the processes involved in the destruction of foreign cultures. One of the most horrific examples is the colonisation of Latin America in the name of Christ and the Christian kings. Conquering the continent meant eradicating the cultures there. Even on first coming into contact with them, the conquerors demanded, on pain of enslavement or death, that the natives

6   Elias 1976; Foucault 1975; Beck 1995.

7   Martin 1988.

8   Todorov 1989.

9   Greenblatt 1991.

conform to their beliefs. With incredible force they asserted their own beliefs and values, as if to create a world devoid of otherness. Their power-thirsty strategy of reasoning enabled the invaders to instigate the eradication of the natives. The indigenous people failed to understand that the Spaniard's behaviour was scrupulously calculated and that they used their language to mislead them: friendliness was not what it seemed; promises were not used to make agreements, but to mislead and deceive others. Every act served another purpose than that which was purported. The interests of the Crown, the missionary duty of Christianity, and 'inferiority of the natives' were claims used to legitimise colonial behaviour. Greed and economic motives were kept silent and indeed barred from the conquerors own self-image or vision of the world.

Columbus was only able to perceive in the natives that which he already knew. He only saw signs in their world that he could refer back to things familiar to him, ones that he could read, classify, and interpret in terms of his own frame of reference, like the Procrustean bed, into which everything foreign is packed, so as to fit the given structure. The other is covered over by the subject's own images and symbols, and incorporated into them. Whatever fails to fit, remains outside the subject's field of perception and assimilation. There is no possible movement towards the other. Amazement and a sense of marvel at the New World are all that result. The unique and extraordinary appearance of the world is compared to and reported in terms of dream images. The actual outside world is drowned in dreamy description. 'To wonder is to experience both the failure of words – the stumbling recourse to the old chivalric fables – and the failure of vision, since seeing brings no assurance that the objects of sight actually exist.'[10] Amazement is in fact an obstacle that blocks any movement towards the other and intensifies the subject's sense of excitement in the face of the unknown. The result of this blocked movement is a distance between the subject and the other that stimulates the subject's desire to overcome the boundary between them. There are two possible ways to do this. One is to develop representations and figurations of the other, into which the 'foreign' can then be transformed, and thus more easily dealt with. Attempts to approach the other through discourse, as well as written representations are of this order. This way, a form of acceptance of the other may be achieved that encompasses both the outside foreign other, as well as the other within oneself and the familiar. In figurative, discursive and literary representa-

---

10 Greenblatt 1991, p. 133.

tions, the other becomes the self and the self becomes the other. The alternative is to emphasise the other's insurmountable difference. In this case, the other cannot be transformed. 'The movement here passes through identification to complete estrangement: for a moment you see yourself confounded with the other, but then you make the other become an alien object, a thing, that you can destroy or incorporate at will.'[11]

This was the Spanish conquerors' recourse. They could not bear the difference that the natives represented, nor did they want to. Instead, they preferred, indeed they felt compelled to take possession of the native's world. The conquerors' dream of ownership extended to the country's land and gold, to the bodies and souls of its people, yet it was only possible through destruction. Only when destroyed would the New World lose its otherness. What was left over was then at the conquerors' disposal.

To destroy and take possession of the natives was, for the Spanish, a way of protecting themselves from the unknown they feared. Fictitious reports of cannibalism among the natives were an expression of the conquerors' own fear of being killed, devoured, dissolved and assimilated. Their rhetoric tone of disgust at the sight of the so-called 'cannibals' was an attempt to distance themselves from their own fascination with the indigenous people. Destroying them was another way of creating a distance between them, and could be conceived as a strategy for self-protection and survival. Eradicating the natives was a way of destroying their unbearable otherness, and thus obliterating the threat they otherwise posed. The conquerors took into their possession everything they could, and disposed of it at their will: there was no opposition, no debate. Yet they did not content themselves with owning and exploiting the land's riches and women: the conquerors were also eager to convert the natives to their own religious symbols, thus finalising their subjugation by claiming the others' imagination. Instead of seeking self-enrichment through openness towards foreigners, occupation and destruction were the sad results.

Egocentrism, logocentrism, and ethnocentrism interrelate and mutually reinforce each other as *strategies for transforming the other*. Their common aim is to assimilate the 'foreign' or 'other' to that which is not foreign, that is, to the self, and thereby eradicate it. The processes involved can be observed on many levels. Not only is the multitude of cultures destroyed as a consequence, but so also are the lives of many people living in societies that are forced to change and conform. The situation is particu-

---

11 Greenblatt 1991, p. 135.

larly tragic in cases where local or regional cultures have been eradicated, but no other cultural values introduced that would help the people come to terms with their changed conditions.

Foreign Others

Cultural anthropology sees itself as a science concerned with the foreign. In recent years, there has been a widening epistemological debate about the other. How can it be thought, understood and represented? For a long time, it was assumed that the other could be clearly recognised, understood and appropriately represented. This is now being called into question. How, for instance, when one is bound to one's own point of view and criteria, is it possible to represent a foreign culture accurately without missing the culture's own self-conception? Is the representation of a culture's 'self-conception' at all an adequate way to investigate it? Are there not always parts of a society's reality left out by its own 'self-conception'? What is this reality? How can it be understood? Can it be grasped by the representations associated with objectified research? Which aspects of a culture's reality do investigators perceive, and which are distorted or left out of their field of vision by their very methods of enquiry? To what extent is the ethnologist's image of the other, in fact merely his/her own representation, that is, a mere construction of the foreign? Even if this is only partially true, the fundamental question must still be raised as to what extent every science in fact creates the object of its enquiry. Case studies constitute a central method of ethnologic research. Information is gathered according to a process whereby the ethnologist participates in the other culture and records his/her observations in a written fieldwork account. Although in cultural anthropology, *participatory observation* and *written descriptions of the other in case studies* still play a central part, we are now more aware of the reductions that stem from working in this way. Indeed, observing under these conditions means the other is only ever seen in a particular way. Whatever the other expresses is 'read' like a text and later transformed into a written account. The ethnologists' task is to provide a 'thick description', yet understanding and description of the other culture only ever proceeds from the other's text structure to the textual representation thereof.[12] This kind of tightly phenomenological description is bound to

---

12 Geertz 1983.

the conditions that a) manifestations and forms of expression of the other can be read and interpreted like a text; b) this reading can then be translated into a written form of text that truly represents the other.[13] To question the validity of these conditions is to potentially reduce the significance and truth-value of material gathered in this way.

As a hermeneutic science, cultural anthropology faces the danger of dissolving that which is different, that is, reducing the 'non-identical to a general concept of understanding whereby the foreign is appropriately deformed and therefore mistreated in order to fit a universally positive method of hermeneutic appropriation.'[14] In gaining insight into the differences of other cultures, science must avoid the temptation to flatten them with general concepts. Hermeneutic ethnology approaches the world of the other through readings and interpretations; but in so doing, it also focuses on the relation between the other and the scientist, that is, between the ethnologist's frame of reference and the other culture. The interpreter is drawn into the interpretation. Hermeneutic cultural anthropology involves methods of objectifying, as well as methods of reflecting world and self-references. This leads to an *ethnology of the self*, of crucial complementary importance to any *ethnology of the other*.

In ethnology, the other emerges at the crossing between cultural analysis and a more general theory of human beings, as well as in ethnographic translation and description. In the introduction to *Argonauts of the Western Pacific*, Malinowski proposed three mutually complementary methods of objectification:[15]

- the documentation of statistical data collected through surveys and observations, with the aim of working out rules and regular patterns,
- the systematic and continuous recording, in a fieldwork journal, of observations made on the behaviour of the people one is studying,
- the collection of typical narratives, expressions and magic formula.

These procedures turn the other into 'an intimate and systematic object of scientific observation: "othering" through distancing, contextualising, and enclosing (holism).'[16] In his role as ethnologist, Malinowski would work out a summarised representation of the foreign society; as an outsider, he

---

13 Clifford/Marcus 1986.

14 Berg/Fuchs 1993, p. 20 (trans. A. Lagaay).

15 Cf. Malinowski 1953.

16 Berg/Fuchs 1993, p. 20 (trans. A. Lagaay).

was able to see the relevance of the characteristics he observed. Malinowski then became a translator, chronicler, and spokesperson for the foreign cultures he studied; but in all these different functions, there was still no interactive process at work between the researcher and the representatives of the foreign culture. Only as ethnologist could he be active and creative. Monographs were the form of text best suited to Malinowski's attitude and research, and they have remained a central form of ethnographic textualisation, objectification and representation. In his work on the other, Malinowski hits upon the difficulties that all knowledge of the other must confront: the problem of constituting the object; the paradoxical relation between closeness and distance, particularity and generality; and the ethnologist's double role as field worker and author. These difficulties have since led ethnology to reflect upon questions of *textuality* and *discourse*, as well as to *experiment with new forms of representation.*

Clifford Geertz has contributed largely to discussions on the other and its possible representations. His work has been essential to *the hermeneutic turn in cultural anthropology.* Instead of the study of behaviour, the study of foreign life and world designs has become central. What significance and importance do people attribute to their feelings and actions? How can these connections be described? Significance and importance arise out of a combination of individual interpretation and collective understanding between tradition and new interpretation; they are socially constituted and therefore public. Central to this kind of research is the *interpretation of the symbolic systems* according to which people from other cultures perceive and interpret their world. Research focuses less on people's individual intentions and their own interpretations of their actions, than on the objective meaning of their intentions and actions. The aim is to investigate what values, meanings and orientations of behaviour are available in another culture. This involves employing appropriate concepts in a 'thick description' of actions and conversations, whereby the observer concentrates on the content of that which is described. The significance of someone's speech is fixed into a written account, not the actual oral event itself, that is, the speech act. To transform a spoken act into a text requires a certain distancing on the part of the observer from the speaker's emotional and mental intentions. Fixation in writing suspends the content of a spoken act from the time and place bound conditions of a spoken situation. Because the speakers are no longer physically or scenically present, their language becomes abstracted, and its content thus made relevant to many different addressees. At this point ethnology thus turns into a form of ethnography, or

the attempt to read a text, extract its structure, decipher its meaning and render the results of these processes in an ethnographic text. The idea of being able to read culture like a text and interpret social behaviour, institutions and traditions as such is central. Language games, metaphors and metonymies all become relevant to the analysis. The first level of interpretation is to look at what, according to the ethnologist, the people being studied have said. The results then undergo a higher level of interpretation in which the ethnologist's personal constructions, fictions and criticisms play a central role. Generally speaking ethnologists write and work on the *translation* of other cultures for the members of their own culture. How the processes described here actually proceed is an open question. It is a matter of debate to what extent in his own case studies Geertz actually achieved the quality and kind of approach towards the other, and representation of the foreign, for which he stands. But there is no doubt about the consequences of the new perspectives: a new literary, methodological and epistemological consciousness has developed in cultural anthropology, with fruitful results for the science and its level of reflection.

If there was a problematic split between subjectivity and objectivity in Malinowski's work, and if Geertz tried to do justice to this difficulty with the hermeneutic circle, then as a result, there has been a demand for the other's voices to be given more room. *The other speaks back* has become the programme of an important direction in international ethnology.[17] According to this movement, the other must attempt to reclaim, through its own language, the expression of its subjectivity and representation. The extent of this endeavour reaches 'from Franz Fanon's fundamentally political attacks and appeals[18], via the deconstruction of western hegemonic discourses that fixed the other – and the criticisms thereof which tend to do the same –,[19] right through to the questioning of authoritative images of individual cultures as presented by ethnology.'[20] Representatives of an indigenous anthropology have been growing in number, yet epistemologically, their works are still largely rooted in Anglo-Saxon cultural anthropology. In the 1970s and 80s, what was diagnosed as a 'crisis of the subject' in human science, and soon resulted in a 'crisis of the object', also had its effects on those who emphasised the other's right to speak and be heard. Privileged access to other cultures could no longer be taken for

17 Nandy 1983.

18 Fanon 1964.

19 Said 1978.

20 Berg/Fuchs 1993, p. 67 (trans. A. Lagaay).

34

granted. They too were confronted with the crucial problems of *constituting the object* and *representing the other*, as well as questions relating to the ethnologist's *subjectivity* and *control*.

Mimetic Approaches

Mimesis has gained increasing significance in the study of one's approaches to the other. In ethnology, Frazer was one of the first to note this. In *The Golden Bough*, he begins his explanation of 'sympathetic magic' by differentiating between 'imitative magic', based on the law of similarity, and 'contagious magic', based on the law of contact. Their functions are defined as follows: 'If we analyse the principles of thought on which magic is based, they will probably be found to resolve themselves into two: first, that like produces like, or that an effect resembles its cause; and, second, that things which have once been in contact with each other continue to act on each other at a distance after the physical contact has been severed. The former principle may be called the Law of Similarity, the latter the Law of Contact or Contagion. From the first of these principles, namely the Law of Similarity, the magician infers that he can produce any effect he desires merely be imitating it: from the second he infers that whatever he does to a material object will affect equally the person with whom the object was once in contact, whether it formed part of his body or not.'[21]

In the realm of magic, *mimesis can serve to exercise power over the other*. Similarity is the condition for a successful magical act. It strengthens the relation, created by the magician, between two objects, situations, or people. Magical influence over something is achieved by effectively copying or representing it. Belief in the magic is essential for it to work. However, Frazer was wrong to emphasise similarity per se as the central condition for magical effects created through mimesis. Similarity as such is not important. What matters is the connection between a representation, and the figure on which it is based, in other words, the creation of a relation between two 'worlds'. Mimetically relating my 'world' to the 'world' of the other constitutes a form of approach to the other.

Taussig illustrates this with the example of the Cuna figurines, many of which, through dress and appearance, are made to look like the white-

---

21 Frazer 1922, Vol. II, p. 52.

skinned colonisers.[22] The mimetic act of representing the white colonisers in the form of figurines is a way of reducing their size and threatening character. Magical performance then enables the Cuna to actually exert power over the white men whom they otherwise perceive as over-powering. There are numerous examples in the literature of cultural anthropology of how the other is approached through representation. Through the act of *creating of a representation*, one's feelings and attitudes towards the other can be expressed and described. The other is transferred into one's own symbolic world where one's relationship to it can be personified. Something becomes visible in the representation that may not have been easily graspable before. Thus, to create a representation of the white man is not merely to imitate him, but rather, to enter into a mimetic act, out of which something new arises. The mimetic act is not a mere reproduction, but a creative action. Producing figures of the white men is a way of coming to terms with their foreignness. Hidden behind the representation of the other are emotions such as irritation, insecurity, and the desire to control the fascinating unknown by keeping it within the boundaries of one's own symbolic world. In mimetically representing the white men as others, the Cuna are not interested in understanding the motivations behind the white people's behaviour, or the values and symbols of their culture. Their concern is rather to express and portray the significance and meaning of the whites for the Cuna. The mimetic act of creating these representations constitutes for the Cuna a way of appropriating the whites both imaginatively and symbolically. This stems from their need to clarify their relationship to them.

Many different forms of representation constitute mimetic approaches towards the other. Not only do texts and images play an important part, but also gestures and rituals, games and barter. In the creation of representations, self and other are combined. There is always a performative side to any representation of the other: something is portrayed, depicted or personified. Mimetic energies are such that a representation is never merely the copy of an original, but something different, the creation of a new world. Often a representation will depict an otherwise undeveloped concept of the other, and portray the 'unportrayable'. In such cases, mimesis itself invents the figure of a representation, that is, creates the very object it imitates.

In mimetic processes, the foreign is drawn into the logic and dynamic of one's own imaginary world, and therefore transformed. As representa-

---

22 Taussig 1993.

tion, the other is not exactly made into the self, but it becomes a figure in which self and foreign are mixed: *a figuration of the in-between*. The creation of this 'in between' gains significance in one's contact with the other. Mimetic representation makes it possible not to fix or incorporate the foreign, but to keep it in its ambivalence as something both familiar and unknown. Mimetic movement works like a dance between the foreign and that which is one's 'own', resting neither with the self, nor with the unknown, but oscillating between them. Representations of the other are contingent; they need not be the way they are, but could also be represented otherwise. Mimetic movement is therefore open; the figuration it creates depends on the play of imagination and on the social and symbolic contexts. No form of representation or figuration is necessary. Many different, heterogeneous forms are conceivable. Mimetic movement defines which figures will be danced, which forms of the game will be chosen. Mimesis of the other is an aesthetic experience involving a game with the unknown into which the self may expand. In it, one's self comes to resemble the other. Mimesis is a sensory event that can involve all the senses. It does not mean 'falling' or melting into the foreign. This would involve a different kind of effort on behalf of the self; it would mean equating oneself with the other, mimicking the foreign, and would result in a certain loss of the self. Rather, what constitutes mimesis is the simultaneous approach towards, and distancing from the unknown, remaining in the indecisiveness of the in-between – a dance on the borderline between oneself and the other. Any attempt to remain on either side would be a form of transgression – either of the self, or of the other – and would put an end to the mimetic movement.

Mimetic approaches to the other range between the extremes of Scylla and Charybdis, between self-abandonment to the other, and its reduction to the self. There are, on the one hand the blissed-out faces of projective xenophilia, and on the other, the hideous mugs of xenophobia. Both sides necessarily avoid real contact with or examination of the other. In the first case, differences are overlooked, in the second, they are not allowed. But in both cases, something is sacrificed: either the self, or that which is foreign. Neither allow for new relations or discoveries. At most, xenophilia allows for a reduced experience of the other. The person fails to look beyond his/her image of the other and his/her related emotions, and does not seek contact with the foreign outside of this image; he or she refuses to be exposed to the ambivalence of mimetic approaches. If the other fails to fulfil the individual's expectations and desires, his/her projected attraction

may soon turn into rejection and animosity, and later produce the same feelings in the other. A mimetic spiral of animosity and violence develops. Both sides react to the hatred of the other, potentially intensifying the scale of violence through their reactions. In order to overcome the 'mimetic crisis', a scapegoat is sought to blame and victimise. In projecting its inherent violence on to such scapegoats, a society attempts to recreate the social order that has been broken. The mechanisms at work here cannot be broken until the people involved see through them. Until then, there can be no understanding. Projections and mutually reinforced images of hatred prevent accurate perception, as well as contact with and examination of the other. The second way of 'missing' the other is to fail to perceive its difference. This too amounts to a refusal to let oneself be exposed to mimetic processes. Difference remains unbearable. The person only sees in the other, that which s/he already knows. To assimilate oneself to the other is seen as dangerous, as a threat to one's own existence. The only way out is to either belittle it or destroy it, and therefore obstruct the possibility of mimetic advances.

Mimetic approaches towards the other are constantly ambivalent. They can either succeed and be a source of self-enrichment, or misfire and lead to the destruction of both self and other. The nature of one's contact with others oscillates between determination and non-determination. Successful approaches to, or attempts to deal with the foreign, depend on the extent to which one manages to withstand the sense of insecurity when faced with the other's otherness. Neither self nor other should be conceived as self-contained, or mutually disconnected units. Instead, both the foreign and the familiar consist in their own complex and fragmentary relations. Arising out of the dual processes of imitation and difference, this mimetic relation is historic and determined according to particular contexts and times.[23]

References

Beck, U./Vossenkuhl, W./Ziegler, E.U. (1995): *Eigenes Leben. Ausflüge in die unbekannte Gesellschaft, in der wir leben.* München: Beck.

Berg, E./Fuchs, M. (1993): *Kultur, soziale Praxis, Text. Die Krise der ethnographischen Repräsentation.* Frankfurt/M.: Suhrkamp.

---

23 Gebauer/Wulf 1998.

Clifford, J./Marcus, G. E. (1986): *Writing Culture*, Berkeley/Los Angeles: University of California Press.

Elias, N. (1976): *Über den Prozeß der Zivilisation*. Frankfurt/M.: Suhrkamp.

Fanon, F. (1964): *Les Damnés de la Terre*. Paris: Maspero.

Foucault, M. (1975): *Discipline and Punishment: the Birth of the Prison*, trans. A. Sheridan-Smith. New York: Pantheon.

Frazer, G. F. (1924): *The Golden Bough. A Study in Magic and Religion*. London: Macmillan.

Gebauer, G./Wulf, Ch. (1995): *Mimesis: Culture – Art – Society*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Gebauer, G./Wulf, Ch. (1998): *Spiel – Ritual – Geste. Mimetisches Handeln in der sozialen Welt*. Reinbek: Rowohlt.

Geertz, C. (1983): *Further Essays in Interpretative Anthropology*. New York: Basic Books.

Greenblatt, S. (1991): *Marvelous Possessions: The Wonder of the New World*. Oxford: Clarendon Press (2nd edition).

Luhmann, N. (1984): *Soziale Systeme. Grundriß einer allgemeinen Theorie*. Frankfurt/M.: Suhrkamp.

Malinowski, B. (1953): *Argonauts of the Western Pacific. An Account of Native Enterprise and Adventure in the Archipelagoes of Melanesian New Guinea*. London: Routledge.

Martin, L. H. (ed.) (1988): *Technologies of the Self*. London: Tavistock.

Nandy, A. (1983): *The Intimate Enemy. Loss and Recovery of Self under Colonialism*. Delhi: Oxford University Press.

Otto, R. (1963): *Das Heilige. Über das Irrationale in der Idee des Göttlichen und sein Verhältnis zum Rationalen*. München: Beck.

Rousseau, J. J. (1993): *Émile ou de l'Éducation*. Paris: Garnier 1876; *Emile*, trans. Barbara Foxley, London: Everyman.

Said, E. W. (1978): *Orientalism*. New York: Pantheon.

Taussig, M. (1993): *Mimesis and Alterity. A Particular History of the Senses*. New York: Routledge.

Todorov, T. (1989): *Nous et les autres*. Paris: Éditions du Seuil.

Waldenfels, B. (1990): *Der Stachel des Fremden*. Frankfurt/M.: Suhrkamp.

Wulf, Ch. (ed.) (1995): *Education in Europe: An Intercultural Task*. Münster, New York: Waxmann.

Wulf, Ch. (ed.) (1998): *Education for the 21st Century: Commonalities and Diversities*. Münster, New York: Waxmann.

Wulf, Ch. (2001): *Anthropology of Education*. Münster, Hamburg, London: Lit.

Yvonne Leeman

Multiculturalism, Intercultural Communication and Education

Introduction

Since the second World War people from all over the world have been coming to Europe to make a new life for themselves. Their emigration has taken place against a back-cloth of de-colonisation, labour migration and unsafe living conditions still prevalent in many parts of the world. These new patterns of immigration present a challenge to social cohesion in West-European societies.

Traditionally, schools have an integrative function in as much as, in an ideal world, they are expected to develop a common core of knowledge, values and attitudes that create bonds between people and enable them to function within society. At the same time, schools are expected to respect individual and cultural differences while creating a school environment which is secure and which pupils feel is familiar. The schools' task of creating bonds that will link pupils together has become more difficult due to the ethnic diversity of the present school population. Schools are part of society, but few European governments have provided the newly settled communities with a confident feeling of belonging in European societies (Gundara, in this volume). The predominant trend is to think of people in dichotomies such as indigenous/foreign, Christian/Muslim, which are generally associated with differences that harbour implicit values such as modern/traditional. This ethnically-based differentiation is bound to have an influence on school culture. It fosters thinking in terms of immigrant and non-immigrant pupils, it detracts from the individuality of the pupils, and undermines social cohesion. Governments differ in the way multiculturalism is integrated into their official ideology. Whereas Dutch policy on ethnic minorities promotes a multicultural society, German policy, according to Hoff (1995), still places a strong emphasis on monoculturalism, and there is no political consensus on the way multiculturalism should be

40

viewed. From a legal, political and socio-economic point of view the overall position of the majority of the new settlers in Europe is weak.

According to Fase (1994), who conducted a cross-national comparison on ethnic divisions in Western European education (in France, Germany, the Netherlands, Belgium and Great Britain), all countries are having to face the phenomenon of ethnic minority pupils underachieving, despite the different composition of their immigrant populations. If viewed from a perspective of social integration, this is potentially divisive. From 1960-1990 the range of intervention strategies introduced as national policy increased in all countries: they have all introduced preparatory arrangements for new arrivals, language programmes, multicultural policies, and compensation and enrichment strategies. A constructive type of policy can be found in subjects like second language teaching and compensatory teaching programmes. In most countries the emphasis in the field of intercultural education is on 'governing by input'. This means that central authorities donate money and/or resources and the schools in particular are left to lead the way in setting out a policy on didactics, teaching materials and teacher training. Despite similarities, the intensity and frequency of special provision for ethnic minority pupils varies from country to country. At one end of the scale the British authorities are reluctant to acknowledge many special categories of pupils. At the other end of the scale, the German authorities have adopted a more utilitarian approach towards the categorisation of ethnic minority pupils and have introduced and institutionalised special provision for them. This has generally been legitimised on the grounds of egalitarianism. Other countries are positioned somewhere between these two extremes. Although the trend is towards universal policies, differences in national traditions have emerged. The guiding principles formulated in reports by government authorities and advisory committees vary. Without doubt, the daily practice in the different countries' schools will reveal similarities and differences in terms of ethnic-cultural differentiation. Comparative empirical research in the area of ethnic-cultural differences and social cohesion is scarce; this is especially true of research undertaken at the micro-level of teaching materials and daily interaction in the classroom (Leeman, 1997; 1998, Leeman/Leiprecht, 1999).

In immigrant countries like Australia, the USA, and the ones researched by Fase (1995) a form of 'intercultural education' or 'multicultural education' has been developed to prepare students for citizenship in a multiethnic context. In most countries a shift is taking place away from a perspective focusing only on 'educating the immigrants' towards a broader per-

spective incorporating some elements of multiculturalism and anti-racism. In political and educational circles there is an ongoing debate on education in relation to immigrant and multicultural policies. The debate is strongly related to political views on the goals of education and multiculturalism and in general two positions are defended, a liberal and a critical one. In a liberal approach knowledge of cultural differences and similarities, tolerance, sensitivity and empathy are desired pedagogic outcomes for ethnic majority students, while enhanced self-esteem is a desired outcome for ethnic minority students. Culture is treated as a learning resource. Critics of this approach state that tolerance is not enough because the dominant group retains the power to decide what is and is not tolerable (Sleeter, 1995). The inherent cultural bias of educational practice is up for discussion. From a critical perspective culture is viewed as battlefield in which issues like the content of the curriculum, the school culture and the daily interactions in the classroom are fought over. It is in daily interactions that ethnic-cultural differences take place and are evaluated.

Banks/McGee Banks (1995) published some overviews of developments in the area of intercultural education in different immigrant countries. The articles give an overview of the debate in the context of a single country and some insight into the characteristics of specially developed teaching materials, didactic arrangements and projects. On the situation in Germany, Hoff (1995) reports that they have a poor record when it comes to putting intercultural education into practice. The popular method for the development of intercultural education is 'the experimental method'. The duration of the models is between 3 to 5 years. The results of the experiments, even if they are promising, are normally not made a part of everyday reality. Besides there is no strong public demand for school reform to open the gates for intercultural education in mainstream classrooms. According to Figuera (1995), in the UK, the National Curriculum and marketisation in education are important factors in keeping intercultural education away from the mainstream. In the Netherlands the situation is in some respect different. Intercultural education has been compulsory in Dutch schools since the mid-1980's. Very few schools indeed have succeeded in incorporating 'the intercultural' into their curriculum. One of the problems being that the concept is not clear enough to be of practical relevance for teachers. The Ministry of Education, Culture and Science and the Ministry of Health, Welfare and Sport set up a special project group in 1994 to stimulate 'intercultural education'. Its main objective was to facilitate the implementation of intercultural education as a regular school ac-

tivity in all schools. One objective in education was to move beyond *culturalism*. Culturalism sees and addresses people predominantly as members of an ethnic-cultural group and associates them with the cultural characteristics of that group. Thus in the Netherlands there is a comparatively strong central policy designed to avoid intercultural education becoming marginalised. Whether this policy will succeed and what kind of intercultural education will result from it, are important questions that still have to be answered.

In the following I shall present the results of a short descriptive research project on new initiatives in the field of intercultural education in the Netherlands. Intercultural education is a very broad and poorly defined concept. In the Netherlands we can see a shift in focus in intercultural education from 'getting to know immigrants' to 'learning how to associate with others'. With this new focus more and more interest has been shown in intercultural communication.

Intercultural Communication

Nowadays many organisations in the Netherlands are active in intercultural communication, a field that barely existed in the past. These organisations are particularly active in the labour sector. The arguments in favour of intercultural communication are generally of an instrumental nature and run as follows: 'Labour organisations are increasingly confronted with the cultural diversity inherent in their workforce. Intercultural management is necessary for the optimal deployment of all employees, a pleasant working atmosphere and good intercommunication. In addition, it is essential that products and services are optimally attuned to the changes in the market brought about by immigrants settling in the Netherlands.'

Trainers in intercultural communication are not only to be found in the labour sector, they are also to be found in welfare services and education. Intercultural communication has been placed on two agendas: the educational agenda involving combating disadvantage and promoting participation, and the cultural political agenda involving acting as a mouthpiece for the cultural diversity in society.

Strictly speaking, intercultural communication refers to communication between people from diverse cultures (Gudykunst/Kim 1992; Landis/Rabi, 1996). In the present Dutch context it is mostly used for communication between Dutch people and immigrants, the important dimensions being the

development of self-identity and of reciprocal image-building. It is generally agreed that communication does not occur in a vacuum; in other words, the context influences the process of communication. There is a difference of opinion, however, on the importance and consequence of the contextual characteristics that may be distinguished, such as social dominance relations, local power relations and the quality of the inter-ethnic community.

Information, education and training influence the development of one's image about others and the quality of intercultural communication. Intercultural management, or the development of intercultural organisations, also becomes an important activity when the organisational context within which communication occurs is taken seriously. This involves focusing attention on influencing and developing the policy processes which can facilitate the manifestation of cultural pluriformity within organisations. It is against this background that 'interculturalisation' has become the latest buzzword in education. *Interculturalisation* is usually defined as a continual process of innovation aimed at the attunement of all aspects of an institution to a multiethnic society.

Thus there are varying perceptions of the significance and scope of the concept intercultural communication. The objective effects, and possible social effects of activities aimed at promoting and improving communication between Dutch people and immigrants are the subject of discussion, not least because activities in this field are interventions in reciprocal image-building and in inter-ethnic relations. The limited research that has been carried out on intercultural communication, for example in the health services, shows a clear tendency towards culturalism in the way problematic inter-ethnic relations are analysed, and in the kind of interventions that are chosen (van der Zwaard, 1993; Glastra, 1994). Culturalism occurs when cultural differences are seen as the core problem in inter-ethnic relations and this explanation neglects the processes of dominance and disadvantage, and as a result immigrants become more or less imprisoned in their own culture and thus become an issue.

Other discussion points include the level of equality in intercommunication between Dutch people and immigrants, and cultural political questions on the way in which cultural diversity in society is expressed. All these questions concern *multiculturalism*, the normative dimension of dealing with ethnic diversity.

The promotion of a multicultural society is included in the Dutch government policy on minorities. Multiculturalism is seen as a solution to 'the

problem of ethnic minorities', as a way of limiting discrimination, encouraging participation and combating educational disadvantage. It is a liberal, strongly individualised form of multiculturalism. Those it addresses, which would include people who discriminate, should develop different ideas and forms of conduct; and individuals from ethnic minorities should, by means of good educational results, be able to improve their position, thereby furthering their integration into Dutch society. In other words, this form of multiculturalism is a means of improving the position of immigrants; its effect is unavoidably homogenising.

Multiculturalism can also be interpreted as the outcome of a process of conflict and negotiation on cultural and ethnic differences in the context of an ethnically-heterogeneous society. Cultural diversity is the starting point of such an interpretation in which there is optimal room for recognising cultural differences related to ethnicity both at the level of the individual and at the level of the group (compare with Taylor/Gutmann, 1994). In this interpretation of multiculturalism, the one I favour, both achievement at school and the expression of cultural diversity in education are important themes in the study and design of intercultural communication processes. If the expression of cultural diversity is considered to be important, the perspectives of all, including immigrants, and reflection on these perspectives are essential in activities related to intercultural communication, as Shadid (1994) and Chen/Starosta (1996) quite rightly pointed out. Hence the development of intercultural competence for both immigrants and non-immigrants requires the development of a sensitivity to the perspectives of others, the willingness both to take these differences seriously and to deal with the uncertainties, power relations and dynamics in the collective process of creating a just multicultural society. The issue of intercultural communication in education is political as well as pedagogical (Sleeter, 1995; Auernheimer 1997).

Intercultural communication is on the educational agenda for combating immigrant pupils' disadvantage at school and on the cultural-political agenda for the expression of ethnic diversity in society. Research shows that the achievements of immigrant pupils at school are lower than those of Dutch pupils and school drop-out rates are considerably higher amongst immigrant pupils (Jaarboek Minderheden [Minorities Yearbook], 1996). Educational experts have been discussing the factors which could explain this lack of success. This discussion includes both educational and pupil characteristics. It is generally agreed that the social and economic background of pupils is extremely important. Opinions differ, however, about

45

the influence of ethnic and cultural characteristics on success at school (see Peshkin [1992] for an overview of the relationship between culture and curriculum). Experts are divided about the importance attributed to the quality of the processes of intercultural communication, generally identified by the dimensions: language, style of interaction, cognitive style, cognitive orientations and value orientations. Nevertheless, there is general agreement that the linguistic aspects of intercultural communication are a significant factor in achieving success at school.

Research on New Initiatives in the Netherlands

In 1996 the Dutch Temporary Commission for Minorities' Policy, set up by the Ministry of Home Affairs, commissioned the SCO-Kohnstamm Institute to carry out a short research project on the theory and practice of intercultural communication in education in the Netherlands. The research design included a more detailed description and analysis of new initiatives in the field of intercultural communication (Leeman 1997). Important topics in intercultural communication in education are communication in the classroom, the school climate, contact between school and parents, and school policy. Lack of time forced us to make a selection from these topics and we chose two: communication between the school and parents and communication in the classroom. Our choice was based on the fact that the latter is the core activity of education and that written material on both of these topics is more readily obtainable.

With the help of experts in the field of intercultural education, nine new initiatives in the area of communication in the classroom and eight initiatives concerning communication between school and parents were selected. In making this selection the main criterion was avoidance of culturalism in the creation of people's images. In the description and analysis the focal points were culturalism and the contribution of actors from different ethnic backgrounds.

Communication in the Classroom

Communication in the classroom is closely related to the content of teaching materials, the didactic approach and the orientations and skills of the teacher. Important conditioning factors are the school climate and relation-

ships between pupils (Leeman, 1994; 1997). Seven initiatives in the field of curriculum development and two initiatives which concentrated on the development of teaching strategies for ethnically-heterogeneous classes were studied.

Resources development for intercultural education focused initially on teaching new subject material such as knowledge about immigrants and the multicultural society. The stereotype character of a great deal of regular and intercultural teaching materials is a tenacious problem. Recently developed materials which have been based on more detailed study of intercultural education are mainly aimed at primary education. The materials include new subject matter and teaching methods for the primary school subject area 'world orientation' in which an effort has been made to avoid cultural stereotyping. This is mostly done by avoiding studying differences between groups and emphasising individual differences. There is only one example of the new material (see De Grote Reis [The Long Journey]) which really does justice to different perspectives of the world, both immigrant and non-immigrant. Little or no attention is paid in the new initiatives to developing a form of intercultural communication in the classroom whereby the teacher supervises the youngsters in a form of cultural production comprising different perspectives on reality and a feeling of solidarity across ethnic borders.

All the materials include a teachers' manual in which teachers are requested to concentrate not only on the subject material but also on the processes of interaction, exchange and dialogue in the ethnically-heterogeneous class. This places new demands on the professionalism of teachers without providing adequate training programmes for them. Based on the sparse, small-scale research that has been done on teachers' orientations on ethnic diversity, the assumption has been made that most teachers are inclined towards culturalism and are not sensitive to issues in the processes of intercultural communication, which immigrants perceived as being problematic.

The use of the newly developed materials, without a serious focus on teacher training, is not likely to support the development of a culturally inclusive curriculum in which immigrants' perspectives of the world are taken seriously.

The new initiatives that could be found that aim to develop teaching strategies for classes with a heterogeneous mix focus on cooperative learning which is very uncommon in Dutch schools (Vosse, in this volume). This strategy should provide an opportunity for pupils from different eth-

nic backgrounds to meet and interact and work together. As a consequence, it should effect the quality of communication, the content of education and the nature of relations between pupils. Slavin (1995; 1996) gives a clear overview of the generally positive results of cooperative learning in the field of school success and in the field of inter-ethnic relations. The initiatives found were based on forms of cooperative learning that were strongly oriented towards pupils' achievement at school, with an emphasis on increasing the active participation of pupils in learning tasks (They are based in particular on the work of Cohen, Slavin, Kagan, Johnson and Johnson. See Kutnich/Rogers [1994] for an overview). One of the methods used in achieving these aims was the use of group work to increase the level of interaction between pupils whilst performing learning tasks. These forms of cooperative learning are aimed at improving the educational attainment of all pupils and, in general, pay little or no attention to cultural diversity as an outcome and characteristic of the learning process that takes place in the classroom. They fit more appropriately into a form of multiculturalism in which the rectification of disadvantage is the main objective rather than into a form in which cultural diversity is the overriding aim.

The School and Parents

Schools and parents consider good communication to be essential to good education and to their joint responsibility for bringing up children. Communication between schools and immigrant parents leaves a lot to be desired. Small-scale research has indicated that there is a difference in perception between schools and immigrant parents on a number of important aspects concerning education and the upbringing of children. This difference in perception has an influence on the relationship between them.

It would appear that schools have insufficient insight into the problem. There seems to be a tendency on the one hand to reduce the problems to one of language, which can be solved with the help of an interpreter, and on the other to attribute it to insufficient educationally-supportive behaviour by parents. Immigrant parents consider educational support to be extremely important. They are also concerned, however, about the alienation of their children from 'their own culture'; about respect, and enough attention being paid to their children and the safety of their children at school; about a relationship of trust with the teacher; the provision of information by the school; and the scope for participating in the school. In several

immigrant communities the need for education and training aimed at the participation and involvement of parents in their children's school is under careful consideration and developments are in progress. Organisations run for, and by, immigrants have developed various forms of expertise to provide support on intercultural communication issues. Schools make incidental, sometimes structural, use of this expertise.

Several models for communication between schools and immigrant parents have been developed in educational practice. An independent evaluation of these models has not been made. The extent to which there is direct contact and cooperation between schools representatives and parents and hence the extent to which there is the opportunity for them to meet and time for exchange and dialogue varies from model to model.

The model of the school contact person is widely used. Of crucial importance in this model are the contact person's job description and status within the school. When contact with immigrant parents occurs exclusively via the contact person there is little opportunity for further interculturalisation within the school. In such a situation the very existence of a school contact person is quickly used as a legitimate reason for avoiding responsibilities. If other team members are also responsible for communication with immigrant parents there is a chance that the school will modify the way it works to accommodate cultural diversity.

In the Netherlands, a new project has been operational in Enschede and Zwolle since 1992. In this project the emphasis is not on the role of an intermediary from an immigrant background as arbitrator, but in experimenting with short, direct lines of communication between as many of the school's teachers as possible and immigrant parents. Following on from a project on school choice, a project has been implemented on school career guidance for immigrants in secondary education, the so-called SAVO project. The backbone of SAVO is an annually updated school career plan drawn up between the school, the pupil and the parents. These two projects are aimed at strengthening the parent-school-pupil relationship. The support and encouragement pupils receive from their environment are assumed to be an important factor in success at school. A number of agreements constitute the core of the project; agreements are made on the educational pathway considered to be feasible for that child and the way in which everyone can and must contribute to the successful completion of that pathway. These agreements are laid down in the school career plan which thereby constitutes a commitment on the part of all three parties. Parents, for example, commit themselves to providing time and space at

home for the child to study and commit themselves to going to the school when invited to do so. No measures are taken by the school without first conferring with the parents and the child. The child's commitment includes agreements on compulsory attendance at lessons and other activities in and out of school. The project set itself the following objectives: to improve the educational results of immigrant pupils; to improve the multi-ethnic school climate and the understanding in schools that the educational results of immigrant pupils are first and foremost an educational problem and not a question of pupils' shortcomings. By choosing short, direct lines of communication between teachers and parents, teachers have the opportunity to become acquainted with the parents' perspective on problems in their children's school careers and the bottlenecks in communication with the school. Likewise, it gives teachers an opportunity to get to know what the parents want and to develop a sensitivity to possible differences in perspective on the upbringing of the children and their school careers. Cultural diversity is taken very seriously in this project. Teachers are not only expected to be knowledgeable about cultural differences but to have an open mind and be sensitive to different perceptions of intervention deployed by the school in the education and upbringing of the children. Willingness to make the necessary changes in the schools' normal working methods is crucial.

We could find no models in the Netherlands with the objective of creating new forms of cooperation between schools and parents from immigrant and non-immigrant backgrounds, with a view to the realisation of an interculturalised school.

In conclusion, the new initiatives on intercultural communication in the classroom and between school and parents provide practical remedies for avoiding culturalism. As such, they offer interesting opportunities for implementing intercultural education in daily school activities. The equal involvement of all participants, ethnic minorities included, in the process of communication is not to be found in the initiatives. One exception is a recent project in which all teachers and parents are cooperating to improve pupils' achievements at school and adapt the standard procedures of the school to the cultural diversity of parents and children. The initiatives emphasise the promotion and improvement of communication between different ethnic-cultural groups; interculturalisation is not an issue. They can be situated in a liberal approach to intercultural education.

Conclusion

Recent immigration in West-European societies presents a challenging problem in terms of fostering social cohesion. As schools have traditionally had an integrative function, it is their task to create bonds between people in the newly developed multicultural societies. West-European countries have developed a range of educational intervention strategies to perform this new task; one is the promotion of intercultural education.

After describing new initiatives in the area of intercultural education in the Netherlands we were forced to conclude that, although the initiatives offered interesting ways of avoiding culturalism, little time was spent on the interculturalisation of the school and on equally involving all participants, immigrants included, in the process of communication. This current picture of intercultural communication in schools is compatible with the liberal, individualised form of multiculturalism that is dominant in Dutch government policy on minorities.

An instrumental, individualised form of multiculturalism which is primarily aimed at improving the position of immigrants may overshoot its target. From a communication theory angle, concentrating on the perspective of immigrants and the reflection of that perspective in the processes of intercultural communication on an individual, institutional and social level are an important condition for achieving the goal. This may require a new form of multiculturalism which can, in theory, result from a process of struggle and negotiation on cultural and ethnic differences in the context of an ethnically-heterogeneous school and society. The Dutch education system has virtually no experience with this form of multiculturalism, a form in which immigrants are really provided with the confidence of 'belonging' in Dutch society.

Intercultural education is not only a pedagogical issue but a political one too. For the analysis of intercultural education it is important to take the complex environment of national culture and educational, immigration and multicultural policies into consideration. It might be interesting to trace the differences and similarities between European countries at the level of current practice in schools in relation to their approach to intercultural education and multiculturalism. In the area of intercultural education and social cohesion comparative research is very promising. Cross-national fundamental research is needed to arrive at a better understanding of the interrelationship between education, ethnicity, equality and social cohesion. This understanding is not only needed at the level of the nation

state but also at a united European level in the light of world economics and a global obligation to cooperate with each other (Auernheimer, 1997).

References

Auernheimer, G. (1997). Interkulturelle Pädagogik. In: Bernhard, A./Rothermel, L. (eds.), *Handbuch Kritische Pädagogik.* Weinheim: Deutscher Studien Verlag, pp. 344-356.

Banks, J. A./McGee Banks, C. A. (eds.) (1995). *Handbook of Research on Multicultural Education*: New York: Macmillan.

Chen, G.-M./Starosta, W. J. (1996). Intercultural Communication Competence. A Synthesis. In: *Communication Yearbook*, pp. 353-383. London: Sage.

Fase, W. (1994). *Ethnic Divisions in Western European Education.* Münster, New York: Waxmann.

Figuera, P. (1995). Multicultural Education in the United Kingdom: Historical Development and Current Status. In: Banks/McGee Banks.

Glastra, F. (1994). *De begrensde verbeelding. Interetnische verhoudingen in educatieve en voorlichtingsfilms.* [The finite image. Inter-ethnic relationships in educative and informative films.] Leiden: DSWO Press.

Gudykunst, W. B./Kim, Y. Y. (1992). *Communicating with Strangers. An Approach to Intercultural Communication.* New York: McGraw-Hill.

Gutmann, A. (ed.) (1994). *Multiculturalism: Examining the Politics of Recognition.* New York: Princeton University Press.

Hoff, G. R. (1995). Multicultural Education in Germany: Historical Development and Current Status. In: Banks/McGee Banks.

Jaarboek Minderheden [Minorities Yearbook] (1996). Houten/Zaventum/Lelystad: Bohn Stafleu Van Loghum/Koninklijke Vermande.

Landis, D./Rabi, S. (eds.) 1996. *Handbook of Intercultural Training.* London: Sage.

Leeman, Y. (1997). 'Young Together: Youth, Ethnicity and Education.' *European Journal of Intercultural Studies.* Oxford: Carfax, vol. 8, no. 1, 37-51.

Leeman, Y. (1998). Education for the Multi-ethnic Society. In: C. Wulf (ed.), Education for the 21st Century. *Commonalities and Diversities.* Münster: Waxmann, pp. 213-227.

Leeman, Y./Leiprecht, R. (1998). 'Wenn neue Herangehensweisen auf gängige Vorstellungen stossen … Unterricht zu Rassismus und multikultureller Gesellschaft in den Niederlanden.' *Zeitschrift für internationale erziehungs- und sozialwissenschaftliche Forschung.* 15, 1, 43-71. Köln, Wien: Böhlau.

Leeman, Y./Saharso, S. (1997). Racism in the Netherlands: The Challenge for Youth Policy and Youth Work. In: Hazekamp, J. L./Popple, K. (eds.), *Racism in Europe. A Challenge for Youth Policy and Youth Work.* London: UCL Press, pp. 39-64.

Leeman, Y./van Veen, A. (1997). *Interculturele communicatie in het onderwijs*. [Intercultural communication in education.] Amsterdam: Het Spinhuis.

Peshkin, A. (1992). The Relationship between Culture and Curriculum. A Many Fitting Thing. In: *Handbook of Research on Curriculum*. New York: AERA.

Shadid, W. (1994). *Beeldvorming. De verborgen dimensie bij interculturele communicatie*. Tilburg: Tilburg University Press.

Slavin, R. E. (1995). Cooperative Learning and Intergroup Relations. In: Banks/McGee Banks.

Slavin, R. E. (1996). *Education for all*. Lisse: Zwets & Zeitlinger.

Sleeter, C. E. (1995). An Analysis of the Critiques of Multicultural Education. In: Banks/McGee Banks.

van der Zwaard, J. (1993). *El Mizan. Wijkverpleegkundigen over de opvoeding in allochtone huishoudens*. [Health visitors on the upbringing of children in immigrant households.] Amsterdam: SUA.

53

Thea Peetsma, Erim Wagenaar, Ewoud de Kat

School Motivation, Future Time Perspective and Well-Being of High School Pupils in Segregated and Integrated Schools in the Netherlands and the Role of Ethnic Self-Description

Introduction

A growing number of pupils in Dutch secondary schools is of foreign parentage. Their parents' home countries are very diverse, as is their educational background. This group includes the children born to labour migrants from Mediterranean countries who at the present moment are most likely to be from the second or third generation, and as such, will have had the benefit of attending Dutch primary schools. Also, there are the children of people who have emigrated from former Dutch colonies like Surinam and the Dutch Antilles; the children of recent newcomers representing a range of social backgrounds from all over the world; and an increasing number of children whose origins are an ethnic mix.

The participation of this group in secondary education is improving, even though they tend to be over-represented in the less academic streams; the girls in particular seem to have taken giant steps towards achieving typical Western levels of emancipation and education. Nonetheless, a relatively high percentage of these pupils are failures at school and this sometimes continues into their early adult life. In the case of young male Moroccans living in the Netherlands, roughly one third has no secondary school qualifications, is unemployed and associates with anti-social or criminal members of the peer group. These figures apply to unmarried people under 25 years of age. For the corresponding Dutch population the number would be somewhere between 5 and 10% (de Hon, 1998).

The Dutch Constitution has pledged for the last 150 years that: *Education is an object of permanent concern to the Government ... therefore its concern is now focused sharply on the school careers of these groups.* For secondary school pupils, as well as for younger pupils, levels of achieve-

54

ment in second language acquisition play an important role in this governmental concern, but social and psychological factors play a major role as well: how can we keep these youngsters in school, which school situations (dominantly white, black or multiracial) are favourable for their school results, well-being in school, motivation, and professional prospects?

In this chapter differences between pupils' motivation, time perspective and well-being in different school situations (integrated, segregated 'white' and segregated 'black') will be analysed for both migrant and indigenous pupils.

Pupils' Motivation, Future Time Perspective and Well-Being

Several studies have shown that pupils' motivation and well-being are important factors in their school careers: pupils who feel at ease in the social and pedagogical climate of their school, and pupils who have a strong motivation to learn and get a diploma at a level best suited to them, are generally more successful than pupils lacking these characteristics. Therefore it is not surprising that schools that have taken these findings as their pedagogical credo, like the Magnet schools in the USA, are showing promising results. In these schools, motivation to learn is stimulated by offering the pupils more freedom to follow their own interests; by giving them the opportunity to participate in project work, extracurricular activities, and personal counselling; and by maintaining high moral standards in the school. Usually these schools are located in urban areas populated by lower socioeconomic groups; the school population is predominantly black or of mixed parentage, with a smaller number of white pupils. All pupils seem to profit from this kind of education (New York State Magnet Schools, 1985).

An important part of what constitutes motivation can be expressed by the concept of future time perspective. This is generally described as a conceptualisation of a specific future lifestyle, represented by something like a professional career or specific social relations, viewed in the long term. Perspective refers here to the representation of certain events or objects in the near, or more distant, future. It can be characterised in terms of 'extension' and 'valence' (see a.o. Gjesme, 1975; Lens, 1986; Winnubst, 1975). Extension refers to the degree of remoteness of the time represented. The significance of 'extension' (extension in time) may differ from one subject to another. For pupils 'the time after finishing school' and 'the current school year' seem to be meaningful time measurements. The va-

55

lence, or relevance, of the 'future time perspective' variable indicates the value of a certain objective in the future.

In our studies, the concept of future time perspective is interpreted as a variant of the concept of 'attitude', with its three intrinsic components: affection, cognition and behaviour (Rosenberg/Hovland, 1960). Future time perspective is regarded as an attitude towards a certain object viewed in time (Stoudhard/Peetsma, 1999; Peetsma, 2000). Knowledge (cognition), on the one hand, is interpreted as ideas or expectations with regard to the future, and on the other hand as an understanding of social realities. Appreciation (affection) is interpreted as an optimistic or pessimistic approach to a particular item in the future, and also as a positive or negative appreciation of that particular item. In the context of future time perspective, 'behaviour' (defined as an attitude component) is seen first and foremost as 'behavioural intention'.

As indicated before, scientific literature emphasises the motivational character of future time perspective (see a.o. Lens, 1986; Lens/Decruyenaere, 1991; Nuttin, 1980). The expectation being that future time perspective is a predictor for investment in school. If we just take the cognitive aspect of future time perspective, we can describe this as a kind of adjusted instrumental approach to school for the purposes of a projected professional career later on (Peetsma, 1992). This attributed instrumentality to school for the purposes of a later professional career can also work as a predictor for a pupil's investment in school, but it was expected, and indeed found, to be a less robust predictor for school investment than was future time perspective.

The concept of school investment refers to concrete behavioural manifestations, the way pupils carry out a series of tasks oriented towards achieving good school results which may possibly be useful in their future career. Behaviour consists of successive steps, which have implications for goals in the future (Raynor, 1981; Raynor/Entin, 1983). School investment is operationalized as the impulse (onset), and intensity and perseverance (duration) shown by way of three kinds of behaviour, namely, going to school, working on a certain subject, and doing the accompanying homework (Roede, 1989).

In their research on well-being and motivation in four countries (Peetsma/Hascher/Roede, 2000) pupils' well-being proved to be a predictor of their investment in school, as well as more traditional motivational variables. So, pupils' well-being seems not only important as such, but it can be important in relation to pupils' motivation as well.

56

With respect to the differences in the way well-being is experienced between indigenous and migrant pupils at school, not only will it be interesting to look at well-being in general, but also at the specific differences in pupils' well-being as reported by either school teachers or classmates.

Motivation, Well-Being and School Situation

Many studies have reported different success rates for black and white pupils in segregated ('white' or 'black') and integrated ('white and black') schools. Advocates of Magnet schools generally claim that integrated schools give better results; others have found that while integrated schools work best for white pupils, segregated-black schools work better for black pupils (Patchen, 1982). However, Ogbu (1992) feels the issue is too complicated to yield mono-dimensional answers as several cultural factors have to be taken into account, the most important being minority status, a complex concept in itself. For black pupils from high status minority groups, white schools may be useful instruments in their educational career; for low status pupils these same schools may have a negative effect on motivation, well-being and school success. Therefore segregated schools may have more to offer in terms of a positive educational climate for low status pupils.

Ethnic Identity, Motivation, Well-Being and School Situation

Ethnic identity is another important topic in school career studies. Vollebergh/Huiberts (1997) found that in white Dutch schools, immigrant pupils reported more emotional problems than indigenous pupils do; in integrated schools the difference was less pronounced. The authors analyse the relationships between emotional well-being and ethnic identity, or acculturation, in immigrant pupils. Their claim is that ethnic identity is a multidimensional phenomenon, some parts correlating with well-being, others not. Much more research is needed before the concept can be clearly defined.

Relationships between ethnic identity and psychological well-being are complex: on the one hand, a strong ethnic identity through its relation to self- esteem is seen to be an effective coping strategy for people living in another country, on the other hand, it may be an impediment to integration

into the new culture (Nesdale/Rooney/Smith, 1997). Patterns seem to be different for adults and adolescents, and for first, second or third generations of immigrants. Generally speaking, ethnic identity is more important for older than for younger people, and for short-term migrants more than for later generations. Ethnic stigmatisation or racial oppression is also of influence: both ethnic identity and self-esteem are dependent on the degree to which people feel accepted by their host country. Much of the American literature on ethnic identity centres around the topic of racial conflict (see Trueba et al., 1997).

An interesting topic in the discussion on the ethnic identity of pupils from minority groups centres around the concept of ethnic self-description or self-attribution: the way people describe themselves. What ethnicity does a white child, of say Turkish-Dutch parentage, born in the Netherlands with a good command of both the Turkish and Dutch languages and of Islamic religion attribute to himself? Does he feel Turkish, Dutch, or maybe both? And in what way do these self-descriptions influence these pupils' school careers? This is an issue which concerns Vollebergh/Huiberts (1997) as well.

In predominantly mono-ethnic situations, like a white school, people are more likely to see themselves in mono-ethnic terms, in different circumstances, let's say attending a mixed school, pupils emphasise their mixed origins (Phinney/Alipura, 1996). In two interesting experiments involving a total of almost 250 multi-ethnic and about 1000 mono-ethnic pupils, these authors found that pupils who see themselves as multi-ethnic, i.e. of mixed ethnic origin, do not differ from mono-ethnic pupils in measurements of self-esteem or general well-being; in some cases this goes even further in that they differ in a positive sense in their attitudes towards other ethnic groups. The authors' conclusion is that 'mixed' groups of pupils might contribute favourably to the social climate in the school, as well as in society at large: it might be that they function as a bridge between groups and promote appreciation of diversity and reduction of intergroup conflict. In this book Leeman analyses Dutch research on multi-cultural education in schools which are aiming to achieve the same goal: an improvement in social cohesion between pupils of different ethnic groups.

Kinket/Verkuyten (1997) found that Turkish children in the Netherlands tend to indicate a positive ethnic self-evaluation in heterogeneous classes, whilst Dutch children in predominantly Dutch classes do not refer to their ethnicity.

Here we will analyse the relations between ethnic self-description by secondary school pupils, their psychological well-being in school, motivation for attending school, socio-cultural background, and school factors like the ethnic composition of the school population. We expect to find a better motivation and well-being experienced at school for pupils who describe themselves as Dutch in comparison to those who describe themselves as representatives of their family's home country. We also expect to find differences in several aspects of pupils' future time perspectives, and in parental and friends' attitudes, as well as their own attitude, towards schooling. Sex, age and social class differences will also be analysed.

Summarising, in this chapter we shall answer questions on:

1. differences between pupils' motivation and well-being in three school situations (integrated, segregated 'white' and segregated 'black') for migrant and indigenous pupils;
2. relations between pupils' motivation and well-being and their socio-cultural background and school situation, controlled for age, sex and socio-economic status;
3. differences in pupils' motivation and well-being between migrant pupils who describe themselves as Dutch, and pupils who describe themselves as a representative of the home country of their family.

Method

The research questions will be answered in two parts. In the first study question 1 and 2 will be answered and in the second study question 3.

Respondents in the First Study

Respondents in the first study, on differences in integrated and segregated schools, are pupils from the third form (aged 14-15) of 17 secondary schools where more than 67% of the school population was of indigenous origin (called 'segregated white schools'), where more than 67% of the school population was formed by migrant pupils ('segregated black schools') and schools with an integrated school population: a total of 665 pupils in all (322 boys, 339 girls and 4 pupils whose sex was not recorded). The schools are in regions where a relatively large number of mi-

grants live and where there are many pupils from low socio-economic backgrounds.

There are four streams in Dutch secondary education and all the schools taking part in this study are representatives of the third stream, MAVO (intermediate general education), the lowest level but one, if measured in terms of the intellectual abilities of the pupils. The number of pupils per school location was: 386 (58%) from a 'white' school, 143 (21,5%) from an 'integrated' school and 136 (20,5%) from a 'black' school. There were no substantial differences between the schools in terms of the pupils' age and gender.

The number of migrant pupils in the study alternates according to how 'migrant' is defined. In this article we will take the parents' country of birth to be the criterion for terming a pupil 'migrant' or not. Working with this definition there were 268 migrant pupils and 385 indigenous pupils (the ethnic origins of 12 pupils were not recorded).

Respondents in the Second Study

Using three groups of pupils, we tested the hypothesis that there would be differences between migrant pupils who described themselves as indigenous members of the population rather than migrants. The first was a group of 275 migrant pupils (127 boys and 147 girls) from the third forms of 17 MAVO secondary schools (intermediate general education), aged 13-18 (mean = 15 years of age). The criterion for being accorded the status of migrant for this group of pupils was their parents' country of birth. The pupils came from regions with a mixed population. Data were gathered in the school year 1995-1996.

The second was a group of 1493 pupils (744 boys and 745 girls), aged 12-18 (mean = 15 years of age), representing the four types of secondary education in the Netherlands: lower vocational education; intermediate general education; higher general education; pre-university education. The criterion for being accorded the status of migrant for this group of pupils was father's country of birth. This information was accumulated in the year 1994.

The third was a group of 591 pupils (288 boys and 302 girls), aged 12-18 (mean = 15 years of age), representing the four types of secondary education in the Netherlands. The criterion for being a migrant here was the nationality of the pupil. These data were gathered in the year 1994.

These last two groups are part of a large survey by NIBUD (Dutch Institute for Budget Research). The survey was reweighted to allow for school type, school sector, region, and school level based on national and statistical information.

Instruments

Pupils in the first study and pupils in the first group in the second study filled in written questionnaires on the following subjects:

motivational variables:
- future time perspective on school and professional career in the short and in the long term
- attributed instrumentality to school for a later career
- future time perspective on personal development in the long term
- investment in school and in homework

well-being:
- general well-being at school
- well-being at school with classmates
- well-being at school with teachers

social-cultural background:
- parents' attributed importance and interest in pupils' school career
- friends' attributed importance and interest in pupils' school career

In the second and third group of migrant pupils from all four types of secondary schools in the Netherlands the following scales are used:

motivational variables:
- future time perspective on school and professional career in the long term
- investment in school and in homework
- truancy expressed in hours a week

well-being:
- general well-being at school

From these pupils we have collated information on ethnic self-description and age, sex and social-economic status.

Measuring the Quality of the Instruments

The instruments are taken from prior research, where good internal consistencies have been found for the scales. Here, Cronbach's alpha varies from .65 to .84. Only, the scale 'future time perspective on school and professional career in the long term' has a lower consistency here (.57) than was to be found in earlier studies.

As far as the motivation instruments are concerned, different validity studies showed a good measurement quality (Roede, 1989; Peetsma, 1992; Stoudhard/Peetsma, 1999).

Results

The following abbreviations have been used in the tables:

motivational variables:
f.t.l. = future time perspective on school and professional career in the long term
f.t.s. = future time perspective on school and professional career in the short term
i.s.t. = attributed instrumentality to school
f.t.p. = future time perspective on personal development in the long term
i.s.g. = investment in school in general
i.h.g. = investment in homework in general

well-being:
w.b.s. = well-being at school
w.b.t. = well-being at school with teachers
w.b.c. = well-being at school with classmates

social-cultural background:
int.p.s. = parents' attributed interest in pupils' school career
imp.p.s. = parents' attributed importance in pupils' school career
int.f.s. = friends' attributed interest in pupils' school career
imp.f.s. = friends' attributed importance in pupils' school career

Differences between Pupils in Three School Situations

Using an analysis of variance in tables 1 and 2, we find differences between pupils' motivation and well-being in the three different school situations. In general, the black segregated situation gives the best results in terms of motivation. Second best seems to be the integrated situation; on future time perspective on personal development, investment in school in general, and investment in homework in general, we do not find a significant difference between the integrated and segregated black school situation.

The integrated school situation gives the best results with respect to pupils' well-being.

It is interesting to see that black schools are good schools especially with respect to motivation, whilst the white school comes out worst. This tallies with the opinion of many teachers and other practitioners, while most lay people are convinced that the opposite is true.

Table 1 Differences between pupils in integrated and segregated school situations on motivational scales (n = 665)

scales	segr. white mean	segr. white sd	integr. mean	integr. sd	segr. black mean	segr. black sd	F	prob.
f.t.l.	23.39	3.39	23.87	3.38	25.03	3.54	11.37	.00
f.t.s.	21.17	4.65	22.58	4.81	24.42	4.78	24.57	.00
i.s.t.	15.66	3.79	15.73	4.10	16.93	4.07	5.59	.00
f.t.p.	21.46	4.38	22.71	4.69	22.88	4.68	7.23	.00
i.s.g.	24.37	4,93	26.52	4.22	27.66	3.95	29.73	.00
i.h.g.	23.95	5.34	24.95	5.32	26.39	4.69	11.21	.00

Table 2 Differences between pupils in integrated and segregated school situations on well-being (n = 665)

scales	segr. white mean	segr. white sd	integr. mean	integr. sd	segr. black mean	segr. black sd	F	prob.
w.b.l.	16.21	3.55	18.11	3.84	16.33	4.20	13.83	.00
w.b.s.	16.31	3.92	18.47	3.28	15.90	4.15	19.74	.00
w.b.c.	11.46	3.67	20.74	3.11	20.53	3.29	9.30	.00

Differences between Migrant Pupils and Indigenous Pupils
in the Three School Situations

The differences between migrant and indigenous pupils in the three school situations have been analysed using t-tests.

In the integrated school situation the only difference we can see between migrant and indigenous pupils is to be found in the pupils' well-being with classmates. Migrant pupils experience a higher level of well-being with classmates than indigenous pupils in this situation. No differences were found in motivation nor in either of the two types of well-being measurements.

In the segregated white school situation, the only differences found were in pupils' future time perspectives with respect to school and professional career (short and long term). The differences found between migrant and indigenous pupils were: migrant pupils have more positive future time perspectives on school and professional career (short and long term) than indigenous pupils do. No differences were recorded on pupils' well-being and on the other motivation scales.

In the segregated black school situation the only differences we can see between migrant and indigenous pupils' motivation or well-being are on pupils' future time perspectives, on school and professional career (short and long term), and on the attributed instrumentality to school for a later career: migrant pupils have more positive future time perspectives on school and professional career (short and long term), and attribute more instrumentality to school for later life than indigenous pupils do.

We must bear in mind here that we only have a very small number of indigenous pupils (about 10) in segregated black schools. These may be a relatively atypical sample of the indigenous population, as many indigenous parents with a positive attitude towards schooling would prefer mixed or white schools for their children.

We see that migrant pupils in both segregated school situations have more positive future time perspectives than indigenous pupils in these situations. This is not the case with the resulting investment in school. More investment in school could be expected because pupils' time perspective is known to be a predictor of school investment.

Differences between Migrant Pupils in Different School Situations

Differences in motivation and well-being between migrant pupils in different school situations have been analysed with an analysis of variance (tables 3 and 4).

Table 3 Differences in motivation between migrant pupils in different school situations

scales	segr. White mean	segr. white s.d.	integr. mean	integr. s.d.	segr. black mean	segr. black s.d.	F	prob.
F.T.L.	24.17	3.15	24.21	3.52	25.40	3.36	4.34	0.01
F.T.S.	22.23	4.61	23.18	5.01	24.96	4.45	8.82	0.00
I.S.T.	15.81	4.25	16.10	3.75	17.24	4.02	3.51	0.03
F.T.P.	21.81	3.66	22.82	4.78	23.11	4.47	2.19	0.11
I.S.G.	24.75	5.06	26.72	4.22	27.97	3.89	12.78	0.00
I.H.G.	24.39	4.53	25.30	5.38	26.64	4.49	5.60	0.00

Migrant pupils' motivation and well-being differ according to the situation, except for future time perspective on personal development (identity). Usually, the segregated black school situation seems the most motivating situation, resulting in more investment in the school and in homework on the part of migrant pupils. The migrant pupils generally feel best in an integrated school situation, both in relation to their teachers and their classmates.

Table 4 Differences in well-being between migrant pupils in different school situations

scales	Segr. White mean	segr. white s.d.	integr. mean	integr. s.d.	segr. black mean	segr. black s.d.	F	prob.
W.B.S	16.07	4.59	18.27	3.38	15.88	4.21	7.82	0.00
W.B.T	16.18	3.88	17.86	3.93	16.33	4.20	3.86	0.02
W.B.C	19.36	3.46	21.38	2.79	20.57	3.37	7.09	0.00

Differences between Indigenous Pupils in Different School Situations

Differences in motivation and well-being between indigenous pupils in different school situations have been analysed with an analysis of variance (tables 5 and 6).

Table 5 *Differences in motivation between indigenous pupils in different school situations*

scales	segr. white mean	segr. white s.d.	integr. mean	integr. s.d.	segr. black mean	segr. black s.d.	F	prob.
f.t.l.	23.17	3.43	23.78	3.12	22.33	2.83	1.32	0.27
f.t.s.	20.87	4.61	22.42	4.27	20.11	4.34	3.70	0.03
i.s.r.	15.63	3.62	15.52	4.36	14.11	3.98	0.71	0.49
f.t.p.	21.36	4.55	22.89	4.50	22.56	1.94	3.58	0.03
i.s.g.	24.30	4.87	26.63	4.06	26.11	2.93	7.54	0.00
i.s.h.	23.93	5.46	24.86	5.24	26.38	4.75	1.55	0.21

Table 6 **Differences in well-being between indigenous pupils in different school situations**

scales	segr. White mean	segr. White s.d.	integr. Mean	integr. s.d.	segr. black mean	segr. black s.d.	F	prob.
w.b.s.	16.46	3.68	18.79	3.19	16.22	4.12	12.12	0.00
w.b.t.	16.26	3.42	18.59	3.60	16.22	5.04	13.04	0.00
w.b.c.	19.51	3.73	20.18	3.33	20.33	2.65	1.14	0.32

Indigenous pupils' motivation differs in three of the six measurements of motivation: future time perspective on school and professional career in the short term, future time perspective on personal development, and pupils' investment in school in general. In all these cases, the integrated situation seems the most motivating situation for indigenous pupils.

Indigenous pupils' well-being differs in two of the three measurements for this aspect: well-being in school in general, and well-being in school with teachers. Here, the integrated school situation offers the most promising results.

Differences between Pupils' Motivation and Well-Being with Respect to Background Variables (age, sex and socio-economic status)

We explored the relation between the variables future time perspectives on school and professional career in the short and long term, future time perspective on personal development in the long term, perceived instrumentality of the school, investment and well-being, using the following background variables: age, sex, socio-economic status.

Age did not correlate with the motivational variables mentioned nor with well-being.

Differences in socio-economic status on motivational variables as well as on well-being have been analysed by means of an analysis of variance. No differences in terms of socio-economic status were found.

Using a t-test, we analysed the difference between girls and boys on the motivational and well-being variables. Girls have a more positive future time perspective concerning their personal development (identity), invest more in school as well as in their homework, and: their well-being at school shows higher scores than for boys. Girls' ratings of well-being with their teachers is also higher than that of boys.

Relations between Pupils' Motivation and Well-Being and their Socio-Cultural Background and School Situation

Analyses of relations between pupils' motivation and well-being and their socio-cultural background, as well as of their school situation, were made for the complete group of pupils, and for migrant and indigenous pupils separately. In the MANOVA's, 'school situation' was used as a factor to predict the pupils' motivation and well-being; the measurements of pupils' socio-cultural backgrounds were used as covariates.

In the analyses of migrant and indigenous pupils together, we found a 38.4% explained variance in pupils' motivation and well-being, only with the covariate 'socio-cultural background of pupils' (parents' and friends' attributed importance and interest in pupils' school career). After this, the school situation explains an extra 20.2% variance in pupils' motivation and well-being.

For one motivational variable, future time perspective on personal development, and for one well-being variable, well-being in school with classmates, the school situation (either integrated or segregated) no longer

made any difference. For the other motivational variables, the segregated black school situation was favourite, whereas for both the other well-being variables the integrated school situation was the most favoured.

In the separate analyses of the migrant pupils we found a 47.1% variance in pupils' motivation and well-being, explained by the covariate pupils' socio-cultural background (parents' and friends' attributed importance and interest in pupils' school career). Socio-cultural background seems to be especially important in the case of migrant pupils. After the covariates, the school situation explains an extra 14% variance in migrant pupils' motivation and well-being.

For three motivational variables, attributed instrumentality to school for a later career, future time perspective on personal development, and pupils' investment in homework, the school situation (either integrated or segregated) no longer made a difference. For the other motivational variables, the segregated black school situation was favourite, whereas if all three well-being variables are taken into consideration, the integrated school situation was the most popular.

In the analyses of the indigenous pupils we found a 38.5% explained variance in pupils' motivation and well-being, by the covariate pupils' socio-cultural background (parents' and friends' attributed importance and interest in pupils' school careers). The socio-cultural background seemed to be less important in the case of indigenous pupils if compared to migrant pupils. After the covariates, the school situation explains an extra 14.5% variance in indigenous pupils' motivation and well-being.

For four of the six motivational variables – future time perspective on school and professional career in the long term, attributed instrumentality to school for a later career, future time perspective on personal development, and pupils' investment in homework – the school situation (either integrated or segregated) no longer made any difference.

In the case of future time perspective on school and professional career in the short term, as well as in the case of pupils' investment in school, the integrated school situation still proved to be favourite. Also, for one well-being variable, well-being in school with classmates, the school situation (either integrated or segregated) no longer made any difference. For the other two well-being variables, the integrated school situation came out best.

The results of our study show that pupils' socio-cultural background (parents' and friends' attributed importance in pupils' school career), and not social-economic status (which is probably not so varied among these

pupils), can be a very good predictor of pupils' motivation and well-being in all school situations. This is even more true of migrant pupils than of indigenous pupils.

Differences between Migrant Pupils Describing Themselves as being Dutch or as not being Dutch

In order to answer the third research question, the scores of migrant pupils describing themselves as Dutch, or describing themselves as not Dutch, or as being both, have been analysed on possible differences in:

* future time perspective on school and professional career short term and long-term
* adjusted instrumentality to school for a later career
* future time perspective on personal development in the long-term
* investment in school and in homework
* truancy in hours a week
* well-being at school in general, with classmates and well-being at school with teachers
* parents' adjusted importance and interest to pupils' school career
* friends' adjusted importance and interest to pupils' school career

Analyses of variance were used to compare three subgroups of pupils in the first group: pupils from migrant families describing themselves as Dutch (n=55), pupils from migrant families describing themselves as both Dutch and as representatives of their families' home country (n=43), and pupils from migrant families describing themselves solely as representatives of their families' home country (n=177).

For the second group, analyses of variance were also used to compare the subgroups: pupils from migrant families describing themselves as Dutch (n= 608) and pupils from migrant families describing themselves as representatives of their home country (n=854).

For the third group, analyses of variance were also used to compare the subgroups: pupils from migrant families describing themselves as Dutch (n=144) and pupils from migrant families describing themselves as representatives of their home country (n= 443).

The results of all these analyses of variance only show a significant difference on the measurement on well-being with teachers (p=0.00). Migrant

pupils describing themselves as representatives of their home country score the lowest on well-being with their teachers (mean = 16.06). Migrant pupils describing themselves as both Dutch and as representative of their families' home country score highest on this scale (mean = 18.07). Migrant pupils describing themselves as Dutch score in between (mean = 17.73). The differences between the three groups are all significant. This is the only result which supports the expected outcome. As predicted, the migrant pupils describing themselves as non-Dutch experience the lowest level of well-being with their teachers. The hypothesis is not supported by the migrant pupils describing themselves as Dutch, as they experience lower levels of well-being with their teachers than migrant pupils describing themselves as both Dutch and representatives of their families' home country.

We must therefore conclude that this result only partly confirms our expectation.

No differences in the motivational field have been found. The migrant pupils describing themselves as Dutch do not have better future perspectives on school and professional career or on personal development, do not invest more in school, do not play truant less often than migrant pupils describing themselves as not Dutch.

The migrant groups do not differ in psycho-social aspects which may influence pupils' motivation and well-being in school, like their parents' attributed importance and interest in pupils' school career.

Conclusions and Discussion

The results of the two studies lead us to the following conclusions and discussion:

Motivation, time perspective, well-being, and school situation

In general, pupils' motivation and well-being rates higher in an integrated or a black segregated situation than it does in a segregated white situation. This seems to be the case for both migrant and indigenous pupils.

With respect to pupils' motivation, the black segregated school offers the most positive results for migrant pupils, whereas indigenous pupils are better motivated in an integrated school.

The fact that pupils' motivation is higher for migrant pupils in the segregated black school situation contradicts the findings in the literature on Magnet Schools. However, the results are more in line with Patchen (1982) and possibly Ogbu (1992), although a comparison between American and Dutch findings has its snags due to the huge differences between the two countries.

With respect to well-being, the integrated school situation promises to be the best. Migrant pupils and indigenous pupils record the highest score on well-being in an integrated school situation. These results tally with the literature on Magnet Schools.

Motivation, time perspective, well-being and ethnic identity

Ethnic self description turned out to be a factor related to the well-being of migrant pupils, but only in their relationships with teachers: pupils who describe themselves as both Dutch and foreign feel better with their teachers than either the 'Dutch' or the 'foreign' migrant pupils. This finding would seem to be in keeping with Phinney/Leper (1996) who concluded that people of mixed origins can have a positive intermediate function between different ethnic groups. Of course the term 'mixed origins' is not completely the same as the binary ethnic self-description measurement used in our study, so we cannot be more definite about the link between their study and ours. The American ethnic situation is rather different from the Dutch one, which lowers the validity of a comparison between the two groups: racial conflict may be less of a problem in this country, although ethnically-related problems like underemployment do exist.

In the motivational field and in that of well-being in general and with classmates, ethnic self description proved to have no influence. The results do not bear out our hypothesis; more research is very definitely needed here.

Socio-cultural background

In this study we used the concept of socio-cultural background (parents' and friends' attributed importance in pupils' school career) as well as that of socio-economic status (ses), because the latter is still generally low for immigrant groups, whereas socio-cultural background is a more heterogeneous and therefore more interesting factor, which does not completely

71

coincide with socio-economic status. No differences in socio-economic status were revealed between the groups in this study.

We have seen that pupils' socio-cultural background might be a better predictor of their motivation and their well-being than their school situation. This is even more true when predicting migrant pupils' motivation and well-being rather than that of indigenous pupils. Educationally speaking, this can of course pose a problem as these factors are not easily influenced by the educational system. A positive, welcoming attitude towards (migrant) parents and serious efforts to make the importance of school for their children's' future in the Netherlands clear to them, would seem to be a useful investments for all schools.

Especially interesting here is the finding that school seems to be more important for 'black' girls than for 'black' boys. Girls show a more positive future time perspective in their personal development (identity), invest more of their energy in school and homework, whilst at the same time their well-being in schools and that experienced with their teachers is higher than it is for boys. Of course this is a very recent development, as until a few years ago most parents did not consider school to be a very important factor in these girls' lives. It seems as if girls from migrant families have made giant strides forward if we compare their lives to those of their mothers' and grandmothers', and they are very aware of the value of education.

Finally, a warning that these results cannot be transferred easily to other schools, for instance schools higher up on the educational ladder. Our first study was implemented in one of the four types of secondary schools in the Netherlands: MAVO (intermediate general education). We are not sure whether these results can also be applied to higher types of secondary schools.

Pupils with problems at school have often left before the third form (the year of measurement in this research). After leaving the MAVO, they either become an early school-leaver or a pupil at a different type of school, usually at the lowest level of secondary education (VBO: lower vocational education). Of course, their scores on the motivational scales would be a lot lower than the values we found. Relatively speaking, more migrant pupils leave school early or become VBO pupils than do indigenous pupils (Jaarboek Minderheden, 1996). So in this respect we must bear in mind that the pupils in our study are probably not entirely representative of the general migrant population.

Moreover the situation is continuously changing: migrant youngsters adapt more easily to their new country than most of the older migrants do, and they soon feel less of an 'immigrant' than their parents. For second and third generation pupils, the Netherlands is their home country right from the start.

We can conclude that there is still a lot of research to be done on the subject dealt with in our study: the influence of either integrated or segregated school situations on pupils' motivation and well-being, and the effects of ethnic self-description on these factors.

References

Broeder, P./Extra, G. (1998). *Language, Ethnicity and Education: Case Studies of Immigrant Minority Groups and Immigrant Minority Languages*. Clevedon, Multilingual Matters.

Gjesme, T. (1975). 'Slope of Gradients for Performance as a Function of Achievement Motives, Goal Distance in Time and Future-Time Orientation.' *Journal of Psychology, 91*, 143-160.

de Hon, M. (1998). *Botsen of mengen van culturen? Marokkaanse opvoeding in Nederland* [Culture crash or culture mix? Moroccan parenting in the Netherlands]. Amsterdam: Universiteit van Amsterdam – Pedagogische Wetenschappen.

Jaarboek Minderheden [Minorities Yearbook] (1996). Houten/Zaventum/Lelystad: Bohn Stafleu van Loghum/Koninklijke Vermande.

Kinket, B./Verkuyten, M. (1997). 'Levels of Ethnic Self-Identification and Social Context.' *Social Psychology Quarterly*, 60, 4, 338-354.

Lens, W. (1986). Future Time Perspective: A Cognitive-Motivational Concept, in: D. R. Brown/J. Veroff (eds.), *Frontiers of motivational psychology*. New York: Springer Verlag.

Lens, W./Decruyenaere, M. (1991). 'Motivation and Demotivation in Secondary Education: Student Characteristics.' *Learning and Instruction*, 1, 145-159.

Nesdale, D./Rooney, R./Smith, L. (1997). 'Migrant Ethnic Identity and Psychological Distress.' *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 28, 5, 569-588.

New York State Magnet Schools Research Study Final Report (1985). New York.

Nuttin, J. R. (1980). *Theorie de la motivation humaine* [A theory of human motivation]. Paris: Presses Universitaire de France.

Ogbu, J. U. (1992). 'Understanding Cultural Diversity and Learning.' *Education Researcher*, 21, 8, 5-14.

Patchen, M. (1982). *Black-White Contacts in Schools; its Social and Academic Effects.* Indiana, West Lafayette: Purdue University Press.

Peetsma, T. T. D. (1992). *Toekomst als motor? Toekomstperspectieven van leerlingen in het voortgezet onderwijs en hun inzet voor school* [The future as an incentive? Secondary school pupils' perspectives concerning their future and their personal investment in school] (dissertation). Amsterdam: SCO – Universiteit van Amsterdam.

Peetsma, T. T. D. (2000). 'Future Time Perspective as a Predictor of School Investment.' *Scandinavian Journal of Educational Research,* 44 (2), 179-194.

Peetsma, T. T. D./Hascher, T./Roede, E. (2000). *Relations between Students' Well-being and Motivation.* Paper presented at the International Conference on Motivation of the Workshop on Achievement and Task Motivation (WATM) and the EARLI-SIG 'Motivation and Emotion' in Leuven, May, 12-15, 2000.

Phinney, J. S./Alipuria, L. L. (1996). 'At the Interface of Cultures: Multiethnic and Multiracial High School and College Students.' *Journal of social psychology,* 136, 2, 139-158.

Raynor, J. O. (1981). Future Orientation and Achievement Motivation: Toward a Theory of Personality Functioning and Change, in: G. d'Ydewalle/W. Lens (eds.), *Cognition in Human Motivation and Learning.* Leuven & Hillsdale, NJ: Leuven University Press & Erlbaum.

Raynor, J. O./Entin, E. E. (1983). 'The Function of Future Orientation as a Determinant of Human Behavior in Step-Path Theory of Action.' *International Journal of Psychology,* 18, 463-487.

Roede, E. (1989). *Explaining Student Investment. An Investigation of High School Students' Retrospective Causal Accounts of their Investment in School* (dissertation). Amsterdam: SCO – Universiteit van Amsterdam.

Rosenberg, M. J./Hovland, C. I. (1960). Cognitive, Affective, and Behavioral Components of Attitudes, in: C. I. Hovland/M. J. Rosenberg (eds.), *Attitude Organisation and Change.* New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press.

Stouthard, M. E. A./Peetsma, T. T. D. (1999). 'Future Time Perspective: Analysis of a Facet-Designed Questionnaire.' *European Journal of Psychological Assessment,* 15 (2), 99-105.

Trueba, E./Takaki, R./Munoz, R./Nieto, S./Anderson, M. L./Sommer, D. (1997). 'Ethnicity and Education: What Difference does Difference make?' *Harvard Educational Review,* 67 (2), 169-187.

Vollebergh, W. A. M./Huiberts, A. M. (1997). 'Stress and Ethnic Identity in Ethnic Minority Youth in the Netherlands.' *Social Behaviour and Personality,* 25 (3), 249-258.

Winnubst, J. A. M. (1975). *Het westerse tijdssyndroom; conceptuele integratie en eerste aanzet tot constructvalidatie van een reeks molaire tijdsvariabelen in de psychologie* [The western time syndrome; conceptual integration and a first attempt at construct validation of a series of molar time variables in psychology]. Nijmegen: Stichting Studentenpers Nijmegen.

Jagdish Gundara

The Context of European Unification and British Devolution: Research Issues for Curriculum, Knowledge and History

There are complex processes of societal and institutional changes taking place in the European Union and in Britain. The consolidation of the European Union faces the danger of becoming a 'Fortress Europe' and has vast implications for the historically and contemporaneously diverse populations. In Britain there is also processes of devolution of political, social and educational institutions. This sets in motion possibilities of greater social and educational inequalities. This paper is an attempt to examine the curricular implications within Europe and Britain of these immense and sometimes contradictory transformations.

(a) Eurocentric Knowledge and Curriculum

The issues of knowledge, curriculum and history teaching are critical to the way in which Europe constructs itself, during the current period of unification. Inclusions and exclusions of knowledge have implications for the future of ethnic conflict or peace and stability within the European Union and the member states. As an example this paper will examine issues of Eurocentric curriculum to illustrate the notions of centrism which are prevalent in most states within the Union.

Knowledge systems confront dual challenges as European integration takes shape. On the one hand Europe confronts a Eurocentric tradition in many domains of knowledge. These hegemonic understandings are informed by the imperialism of Europe. As Edward Said writes:

Without significant exception the universalising discourses of modern Europe and the United States assume the silence, willing or otherwise, of the non-European world.

There is incorporation; there is inclusion; there is direct rule; there is coercion. But there is only infrequently an acknowledgement that the colonised people should be heard from, their ideas known.[1]

As a result of the imperial enterprise not only is Europe in the world but the world is in Europe. This interpenetration of cultures and civilisations has universal implications and needs to be analysed at the broadest possible level. Ostensibly this has profound implications for the transfer of knowledge. Yet, discourses from the colonised peripheries and subordinated nationalities are still treated as being marginal in most contexts.

Martin Bernal indicated how in the 18th and 19th centuries Europeans[2] developed a historiography which denied the earlier understanding that the Greeks in the Classical and Hellenistic periods had learnt as a result of colonisation and interaction between Egyptians, Phoenicians and Greeks. Part of the reason for this new historiography has been that with the rise of racism and anti-Semitism in Europe, the European Romantics and racists wanted to distance Greece from the Egyptians and Phoenicians and construct it as the pure childhood of Europe. It was unacceptable from their perspective that the Europeans would have developed any learning and understandings from the Africans or the Semites.

The notion of a northern European culture separated from the world south of the Mediterranean is largely a mythical construction. The contributions to knowledge in the ancient period from this immediate region include Mesopotamian astronomy, the Egyptian calendar and Greek mathematics, enriched by the Arabs. As Samir Amin states:

The Opposition Greece = the West/Egypt, Mesopotamia, Persia = the East is itself a later artificial construct of Eurocentrism. For the boundary in the region separates the backward North African and European West from the advanced East; and the geographic unities constituting Europe, Africa and Asia have no importance on the level of the history of civilisation, even if Eurocentrism in its reading of the past is projected onto the past the modern North-South line of demarcation passing through the Mediterranean.[3]

The debate about how and where 'Zivilisation' arose is an interesting one for educationalists and students, but it is only a part of a wider concern with the intellectual straitjacket that Eurocentric and other centric education

1   E. Said (1993). *Culture and Imperialism*. London: Chatto & Windus.
2   M. Bernal (1987). *Black Athena. The Afro-Asiatic Roots of Classical Civilisation*, Vol. 1. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press.
3   S. Amin (1989). *Eurocentrism*. London: Zed Books, p. 24.

systems can become. In this sense it is always necessary to consider ways in which the curriculum, both formal and informal, can be modified or changed. As long as history is studied from the perspective of one or another narrowly nationalist claim to truth, rather than from one or another paradigm of historiography, education remains trapped in the tramlines of nationalist tautology. And within this questions of racism, xenophobia and ethnicisms have propagandistic but not educative value. In teaching and devising of the curriculum therefore educationalists need to consider several alternative definitions of knowledge before planning courses, research or other interventions.

The dominant-marginal perspective in educational discourses needs to be constantly challenged and often redrawn. The issues being presented here are historically significant and of the gravest importance for the future of education as well as the political and social structures of nations in the European Union, and require a combination of pedagogical patience and persistence. There has to be a constant and fundamental reappraisal of the histories and national identities into which we have all been inducted with such care. The answer does not lie in trying to establish either a liberal or a 'back-to-basics' curriculum founded in centric, nationalist and empire-based intercultural milieu which has done so much to contribute to our present predicament.

For most European education systems the challenge is to engage in a wide ranging establishment of connections with other cultures and civilisations which are part of the fabric of contemporary and substantive realities for young people.

It is a question of disentangling, and identifying the operations and structures of those discourses which help to sustain the present relations of intellectual power and subordination in European societies. Eurocentrism is of particular significance in relation to knowledge, since it has an implicit theory of European and world history. It is also a global political project with far reaching universal ramifications. From this perspective the so called western thought and philosophy emerges from Greece and is based on 'rational principles' while the 'Orient' does not move beyond 'Metaphysics'.[4] The curricular question is how the education systems can help to liberate universalism from the limits of Eurocentrism? The current habits of thought within some education systems inhibit such a development and this tends to reinforce notions of a fortress mentality with the

4   Ibid., p. 91.

Union and within each member state. This mentality exists not only in Europe but has its equivalents in other civilisations. Another pronounced problem is the way in which Islam has become constructed as Arabic-centric and become constructed as 'the other' in Europe.

This in its wake has led to violence in some states and has raised issues of religious bigotry in addition to the ones of racism. The role of particularistic curriculum in worsening inter-group tensions cannot be underestimated.

To reinstate 'this voice' of the disenfranchised would require a great deal of delicacy, diplomacy and sophistication, particularly if the desired changes are not to be relegated to the margins of academic life. Reactive, rhetorical and rebellious responses in curricular terms are not only inadequate but counter-productive.

(b) Art History

One could refer for instance, to one curricular area: art history. In order to teach art history western dominance also needs to be displaced in knowledge terms, because it has succeeded in suppressing the past and artistic history as part and parcel of human knowledge. As an example of one particular discipline art history is not located in any one civilisation. It is multifaceted and multifocal in its origins and developments, which are unfortunately not allowed to surface by academic neo-colonialism. In the eighteenth century the discipline had a multicultural out-look which needs to be reinstated by art historians. Indeed art historians would be reclaiming a territory which became ethnocentric in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.[5]

As dominance of Europe over other civilisations became entrenched, collecting became formalised as part of ethnology. Ethnographic Museums were opened (Copenhagen 1841; Berlin 1856; Leiden 1864; Cambridge/Mass. 1866; Dresden 1876 and Paris 1878) where utensils, implements and sculptures from Polynesia, Melanesia, New Zealand, North and South America, and Africa were displayed. This was done so that visitors could determine, as Edward Tylor of the Department of Anthropology at Oxford put it, 'the relation of the mental condition of savages to that of the civilised man'. To fit these arts into the canon of art appreciation, a new category, 'primitive art', was created.

---

5   C. Fyfe/J. Gundara (forthcoming), Intercultural Visual Literacy and Arts History, in R. Mason/D. Boughton (eds.), *Beyond Multicultural Art Education: International Perspectives*. London.

The great international exhibitions of the nineteenth century displayed the cultures of the world with a similar assumption. The Crystal Palace Exhibition of 1851 was supposed to exhibit the collective output of humanity. In describing the Indian exhibits, the catalogue stated that while some techniques had started in India they have matured in Europe. To the 'primitive art' category there has now been added the 'ethnic arts' for the work of the present. Such categorisation obviously excludes the Europeans as having an 'ethnicity'. In attempting to reinstate bodies of knowledge into the mainstream curriculum some difficult questions are raised, including ones about aesthetics and of understanding.

Issues of this type need to be examined across the curriculum to as certain substantive questions about exclusion, which have clearly nothing to do with political correctness. One of the issues presented here is how to develop an artistic aesthetic which will not be constructed from a very narrow reading.

In the study of art history the question of developing an appropriate intercultural, intellectual perspective and the negotiation of an appropriate aesthetic is an issue of priority. Otherwise, students would reject texts and artifacts which are unfamiliar and with which they cannot establish a connection.

If the education system attempts to become universalistic, such a project would necessitate staff development of teaching staff embarking on such a project. Yet paradoxically, all centrisms need to be challenged to establish more inclusive and universalistic knowledge. Such initiatives would not replace the learning of the significant with the study of the trivial but broaden and enhance our understanding of what is significant. In the context of the European Union such a process has the impact of avoiding the development of a 'Fortress Europe'.

(c) Devolution and History

The current political devolution has been preceded by the devolved systems of schooling. This devolution of educational systems in the context of market economies has been analysed by Geoff Whitty et al.[6] and will not be analysed in this paper. However, because of important issues of educa-

6   G. Whitty/S. Power/D. Halpin (1998). *Devolution and Choice in Education: The School, the State and the Market*. Buckingham: Open University.

tional inequality this paper examines in parallel a set of curricular issues. The teaching of history in schools in England created controversy when the National Curriculum was discussed in 1988/9 by government appointed working parties. At the present time Scotland and Wales have elected their own assemblies while the process is somewhat delayed in Northern Ireland. In May 1999 a new sense of Northern Irish, Scottish, Welsh and English identities informed by different historical pasts is likely to emerge. These histories can have a very narrow nationalistic interpretation or a broader and inclusive understanding. Archaeologists like Simon James have been criticised for suggesting that Celtic identities are a 'recent invention' during the 18th century.[7] How recent or ancient are the specific or broader identities like that of being British? Will the history teaching of children in schools lay foundations to build notions of inclusive identities through histories of these islands or will they be exclusive of 'the other'?

This paper will examine general issues in relation to historical distortions and their consequences for inter-group relations. It will draw on the problems confronting many states which are in the process of constructing purer imagined pasts with dire consequences for the safety of the states and peoples within it.

All children have a right to know and understand their own personal 'story'. This is an important enough issue because when children do not have access to their parents, family or community history they may become obsessed by it. Young people not only need access to these stories, but also need to be able to read them critically. This entails young people being able to analyse critically historical information, facts and documents. These historiographic skills would be invaluable to young people in evaluating 'stories' and 'histories'.

Members of societies generally think that their understanding of the history of their own and other societies corresponds to the reality of events which have taken place. Yet the norm is that we generally have notions based on falsified histories. Part of the problem lies in the way in which descriptions of events by participants is by definition partial. As historians become more removed from historical events or periods their narrative becomes more removed from historical realities. It is, however, possible to

---

7   S. James (1999). *The Atlantic Celtic: Ancient People or Modern Invention.* London: British Museum Press. Issues confronting the English are discussed by Paxman, J. (1998), *A Portrait of a People.* London: Michael Joseph; constitutional issues are discussed in Hazell Robert (ed.) (1999), *Constitutional Futures: A History for the Next Ten Years.* Oxford: Clarendon Press.

devise narratives accurately and to remove excessive levels of ethnocentrism. Since devolved societies are located in time and place the experiences of those who are part of these societies have socially centred views of the world. At one level they have notions of centrism based on their nationality or ethnic community, or as a group defined by its culture. At a supra-national or regional level such cultural entities may traverse a number of states (Pan-Scottish, Pan-Irish or Pan-Welsh). At a macro-intercontinental level such ethnocentrism through diasporas includes other dimensions of religious, linguistic and ethnic identities, diversities or an overarching notion of being Irish, Scottish or Welsh at the international and the inter-state levels. Yet the curriculum not only needs to dwell on knowledge in the devolved entities, their diasporic dimensions, but also on the regional transformations of unification at the European level. The diversities within a devolved polity, the larger state (e.g. Britain) and the European Union present a different set of challenges for developing more inclusive basis of knowledge in the curriculum.

While ethno-centrism may focus on culture it can be distinguished from racism, which is largely dependent on the attribution of biological heredity and the cultural peculiarities of a group which has highly distinctive physical features. Ethnocentrism as a phenomenon may have an older history and precede racism because racism became more pronounced in the eighteenth century. The subsequent rise of nationalism has complicated matters further. Political organisation and the use of force have provided the ultimate sanction, especially if the nation has been able to define its territory and those who belong to it or are excluded from it. At the level of internationalism and international relations it is the nation (however defined) which is largely accepted as an actor.

The nation uses political and educational institutions to normalise internal group relations. This process of normalisation is capable of being used very narrowly as the Nazi German state was able to demonstrate. Ordinary Germans and those who worked in state institutions internalised rules of exclusion of the Jews and the Gypsies. Education systems legitimised the most appalling events as normal and ordinary people accepted these authoritarian rules. The role of the educational processes to legitimise these actions and to accept gossip as fact cannot be under-estimated. Authoritarian systems can generally by-pass the critical functions of education. The best defence for an educational process with a critical edge lies within democratic schools and systems, where people do not have to obey rules without questioning them. Omissions and distortions of history play a

major role in allowing gossip or stereotypes to become compounded. The presentation of many local or sub-national histories by their absence, especially their pre-modern national past is an important element in the construction of the exclusions of groups as peoples without a history or a past. The use of similar exclusions by dominant national groups of non-dominant communities exacerbates the problems of mutual recognition and shared values as has been the case in many countries. It is in the development of these shared values of citizenship that the real curricular challenge lies.

Those who plan history curricula face a very complicated task. On the one hand they need to engage with the identities of groups like the English, Irish, Welsh, Scottish, black and Asian. On the other hand within the state education systems they need to develop a coherent and inclusive story of and for the nation. The question, therefore, for curriculum designers is what aspect of histories to select and on what principles to make that selection. This is an especially important issue for younger children and the teaching of history in schools.

The question for the history curricula in the devolved polity may include: firstly, what criteria is being used to choose which story(ies) needs to be told. Secondly, what constitutes a nation and how each devolved part of Britain would like to tell the story(ies), so that friendships, intercultural understandings and inclusiveness rather than antipathy, conflict and exclusions are stressed. These notions of being English or British may be chosen during certain periods to highlight such a perspective by a selection of topics and periods analysed as was done for instance, in Nazi Germany and communist Russia.

To develop more universal understandings, the underlying historical hypotheses and the implicit theories of writers need to be unpicked. An epistemological and methodological break could lead to developing more widely acceptable histories which not only include written sources but also the oral understandings of certain groups.[8] Since school level understandings of history vary so vastly not only between countries but also within countries, and the impact of stereotypes, re-voicing and re-imaging the invisible and subordinated groups do merit attention. The development of critical understandings of teachers, the development of appropriate teaching materials and textbooks based on new research and developmental work deserve immediate attention. Issues which may need analysis can

---

8   R. Preiswerk/D. Perrot (1978). *Ethnocentrism and History*. New York, Lagos: Nok Publishers, pp. 11-29.

include the highlighting of subordinated groups whether women or other nationalities whose struggles have been ignored or excluded. In a democracy it is not only this history of the great which need to be studied but also of the ordinary majority of peoples' lives and their struggles to achieve equity. These histories of struggle and attempts to gain equality need to be learnt by all children. The focus ought not to be women's history for women and ethnic history for ethnics.

Preiswerk/Perrot have carried out a critical analysis of 30 textbooks used in Europe, Africa and Asia and this has formed a basis for their own analysis. They conclude:

In short, it is not enough to recognise in ethnocentrism a factor which distorts images on the level of social knowledge, but to see on the level of the specialist's knowledge, the fundamental epistemological problems of plausibility of the epistemic subject.[9]

This work can be used as a basis to develop other initiatives which after critically analysing historical texts can also help develop more inclusive texts in societies with complex histories.

More generally, the usage of terms like 'tradition' or 'modernisation' as applied to the study of history tend to have a parochialism and a linearity. Subordinated nationalities and civilisations in many contexts are constructed as traditional while the dominant is seen as the acme of modernity. Such notions detract from the development of a more universalised or global approach to understanding history. Liberating the notion of the modern from the Eurocentric or the dominant straitjacket can help with developing notions of modernity being universalised.

The encounters of the local and the global in economic and cultural terms provides further clues to notions of the development of markets as well as the resistance, retrenchment and development of siege communities. There are also cultural syncretisms which have taken place as a result of Afro-Asian-European interactions or the Greco-Indian connections. As Raymond Grew writes the development of a global history can be a product of our own time which 'offers some historical insight into contemporary concerns and therefore into the past as well. And it will do so while substituting multicultural, global analysis for the heroic, national narratives on which our discipline was founded.[10]

---

9 Ibid., p. 240.

10 R. Grew (1983). On Prospect of Global History, in Bruce Mazlish/Ralph Buultjens (eds.), *Conceptualising Global History*, Boulder/Col.: Westview Press.

(d) Disarming History and Devolution

There are no easy ways of disarming history for subordinated groups or nationalities because most assumptions also lead to counter assumptions and arguments. The more the world becomes democratised the more possible it is for ordinary men, women and children to be involved in the institutions which sustain nations. One of the major institutions which sustains some nations is war. Greater democratisation and media coverage in the context of inequalities at global levels means that the hierarchies based on caste, ethnicity, race, gender and class become exacerbated. The status of certain subordinated groups becomes more apparent. Given the diasporic dimensions of some of these identities the sites and levels of conflict, violence and even wars become more widespread.

The notion that people would accept race, religion and class inequalities as ascribed positions and know their place in society has been questioned. This questioning increasingly leads to conflict within a nation if the inequalities are not redressed. Such scenarios of a divided global world have opened up conflict to include women and children. War is no longer a male preserve.

It is also difficult to disarm history because war may not arise purely out of ignorance and parochialism which can be corrected by an inclusive history or education. The complexity of issues in Northern Ireland are an example of this. Sometimes it is those who have co-existed closely for centuries who turn against each other. Teaching the 'correct' version of history cannot disarm such a long legacy of wrongs which need to be righted. In situations like these, complex and delicate political solutions are required. Never histories can emerge from the political solutions as in the case of Northern Ireland which are being put in place, but such examples are very few in number and take time to root. If enlightened tolerance is to emerge through education and peaceful co-existence, then political solutions need to precede such developments. The Council of Europe is leading a drive to reform history in the former Soviet Union. The texts would not be triumphalist, polemical or vindictive but more neutral, realistic, and 'free from ideological and political stereotypes'.[11] Military issues would be 'dealt with' but not with undue emphasis. The Tbilisi Initiative is

---

11 P. Reeves, Best of Enemies Rewrite History of Hate, *The Independent on Sunday*, 4
    October 1998. The Tbilisi Initiative of the Council of Europe has relevance in trying
    to develop similar school histories in Asia.

focusing on the history of the Caucasus and Georgia, Armenia, Russia and Azberijan are part of this project.

In addition to the formal armies which are disciplined and are part of giant fighting machines which mobilise symbols of God, the 'fatherland' or the 'working class' there are now more undisciplined, sometimes younger armed groups who can engage in war. Such young soldiers use 'pseudo-scholarship' to construct imagined nations based on Volkish ideology, using Wehrmachts' ethnic and spiritual images, but these need to be challenged. The development of a 'multi-perspectivity' similar to the Caucasus Project would help obviate some of these exclusive ideas of nations.

The use of symbols of various kinds have been used to transform the undisciplined into a disciplined fighting force. The use of the Marseillaise to provide a national anthem and a marching beat has been used as a model by other national armed forces. The use of heraldry, flags and anthems carry deep meanings in national contexts because fights can ennoble in death through patriotic acts for the state. Symbols like the eagle, lion, swords and crescents make nations and their citizens who fight for it feared and respected. These symbols strengthen the religion of nationalism[12] and in some nations notions of the 'flag and the faith' the cult of the flag does not remain secular but acquires more narrowly nationalistic meaning.

Hence disarming history would require complicated measures and as Ehrenreich states, the advance of war related enterprises of the twentieth century has also brought human resistance to war:

The passions we bring to war can be brought just as well to struggle against war. There is a place for courage and solidarity and self-sacrifice other than in the service of this peculiarly bloody institution, this inhuman 'meme', a place for them in the struggle to shake our links free of it.[13]

Disarming of history would amongst other things require the de-mystification of the fictive pasts of nations. Where these pasts are based on 'ethnised' histories and revenge needs to be exacted then constructions of acceptable histories are more complicated.

The role of education systems to construct notions of an imagined and glorious history which excludes neighbours is largely based on curricular fictions by re-inventing pasts.

---

12 B. Ehrenreich (1997), *Blood Rites: Origins and History of the Passions of War.* New York: Metropolitan Books, pp. 204-224.

13 Ibid., p. 240.

(e) Textbooks, Maps and Monuments

Teaching materials and textbooks are important in removing stereotypes and triumphalist pasts. It is not only the content, but also the design and illustrations which need to be appropriate for diverse classrooms in Britain which require attention. However, historical misrepresentations especially in textbooks are very difficult to correct because of vested political interests.

The issue is particularly difficult because governments or dominant groups tend to stress singular national identities. People largely have more than one identity which does not detract from their national loyalties or citizenship within the state. The complex issue for curriculum planners is how to devise a basis of knowledge which legitimates notions of confederal local communities at devolved levels of the polity and broader and more inclusive notions of the polities at large. The important issue is the task of legitimising the notions of multiple identities as being normal and not unpatriotic and disloyal to the state.

Educationalists need to explore ways of giving force to these heterogeneous identities. Yet many groups are perceived to be non-indigenous and immigrant groups, therefore, not to belong. Such exclusions have the potential of threatening the stability and peace in diverse and complex communities.

The challenge posed to historical textbooks is enormous and their hegemonic views require a concerted effort, including curricular initiatives, to re-legitimate the broad social diversities in Britain. While schools stress the uses of literacy, its abuses need focusing on. The role of appropriate teaching materials and general textbooks to aid learning can help obviate some tensions and conflicts in many countries.

Historical knowledge and textbooks are one of the aspects of educational work which require attention, but even in the teaching of subjects like geography the way maps are used can exacerbate communal, ethnic and racial conflicts.[14] Military conquest and political revolutions have led to the changes of names by the new occupiers.

Most of our monuments are also based on victories of one nationality over another in war. There ought to be ways of celebrating historical events differently than is the norm in displaying triumphalism in public

---

14 M. Monmoie (1995). *Drawing The Line: Tales of Maps and Cartocontroversy.* New York: Henry Hoff.

86

spaces and squares. Monuments like Nelson's column in Trafalgar Square are just one example of such monuments.

In the case of India Emperor Ashoka (272-242 BC) built an Empire across the length and breadth of India. His message on the columns that were built was very different from that of other conquerors. It was a declaration of non-violence and adherence to the teachings of Buddha. On one column it was stated that he had been moved to remorse, and that he felt 'profound sorrow and regret because the conquest of a people previously unconquered involved slaughter, death and deportation'. He had learnt from Buddha that 'moral conquest was the only true conquest'. So, while the Hellenistic Empire had been established through military conquest, Ashoka sent missionaries to all the Hellenistic rulers in the west to preach Buddha's pacific doctrine, 'to where the Greek King Antiochos dwells and beyond the Antiochos to where dwell the four kings severally named Ptolemy, Antigonous, Magas and Alexander'.[15] Hence the route of trade and conquest also became a means of disseminating peaceful doctrines which could prove a less aggressive way to determine the course of history.

The modern state may try to project complex messages but the education systems largely fail to reconcile the territorial, religious and linguistically based diversities and project a coherent and cohesive picture, which a complex and diverse society is supposed to accept.

Educators in central governments and curriculum planners in educational systems produce curricula and textbooks which homogenise, centralise these diversities for fear that the state systems would fragment. Yet, the real danger is that the centralisation and homogenisation of educational policies, historical pasts and institutions can lead to greater levels of disintegrative tendencies. In the context of a devolved Britain a closer cooperation of curriculum planners in the devolved nations is necessitated to obviate the rise of xenophobia, chauvinism and racism which would exacerbate conflict and lead to violence. Obviously the situation is different in other contexts, but educators and political forces have to try to deal with these questions in a more considered, rational and sustained manner. The modern secular and complex education systems are failing to address the needs of local identities, modernisation and progressive national needs. The new global and marketisation forces complicate their role and no easy solutions can be offered.

---

15 A. Vincent (1901). *Ashoka*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, p. 131.

Teaching of history in Britain includes complex issues of the identities of the British peoples. Do Scots, Welsh and English constitute nationalities or ethnicities? Or are they both? What of those who are referred to as ethnic groups: Indians, Pakistanis, Bangladeshis, Nigerians and Jamaicans? They in fact represent nationalities, because each one of the nations from which these groups have migrated have many ethnic groups.

Arising from the definitional issue is the question of how are the histories of peoples of these Islands to be represented. Should each group have its own history only to be taught and learnt by that particular group? Or are there both different and common, separate and shared historical pasts which need to be constituted in such a way that they will enable young people to understand the complex stories of the peoples of those islands?

An enormous amount of research has been done on the histories of black peoples in Britain.[16] These researches at one level help to illustrate that black presence in Britain dates back to the Roman times. Since these historical presences have a long pedigree they are of interest to all children at school. These histories therefore are part and parcel of histories that all children in all schools in these islands need to understand and like histories of Wales, Scotland and England do not pertain to only the specific nationalities.

Hence, the re-examination of histories within each member state and within the European Union have major implications for developing confederal local communities with common and shared values at the local levels as well as developing inclusive notions within the larger state based on friendship, not enmity and exclusion. At the other end of the continuum at European Union level this process may help to avoid the development of a Fortress Europe which excludes connections with the wider world. Such a perspective ignores the fact that not only is Europe in the world but the world is in Europe.

---

16 Flyer, P. (1984). *Stayig Power: The History of Black People in Britain*. London: Pluto; Visram, R. (1986). *Ayahs, Lascars and Princess*. London: Pluto, to be republished as a revised and expanded new edition: *A Long Presence: Asians in Britain 1600-1947*. Pluto: forthcoming 2000. For children see Visram, R. (1995). *A History of Asian Community in Britain*. London: Wayland, and *Indians in Britain*. London 1987: Batsford.

Dieter Lenzen

Education for Social Integration
in a Europe of Minorities

1.

Our sister faculty in Amsterdam has picked a topic for this year's congress which could hardly be more European: upbringing, education and social integration. Even a layman in questions of education understands immediately that Europe can only manage its great task of integration according to the contracts of Maastricht, if the sectors involved in upbringing and education make a definite contribution. In doing this – as the lay understanding can tell us – the main issue is not only solving problems of national integration, but rather, it is in equal measure dealing with problems that have arisen due to numerous differentiation processes during previous decades. These processes have also taken place in different sectors within individual European nations: I am talking about cultural, religious, generational, social class-specific and many more. The results of that differentiation, which the many minorities – ethnic as well as other types – have brought to our attention, necessitate – and this brings us near to the title of the congress – social integration. In other words: the topic of this conference in Amsterdam, and hence my own contribution today, have premises which are quite grave.

I am inclined at this point to hold on for a moment and ask: what are these premises? It seems to me that at least three conditions lay at the heart of the formulation of the themes in my lecture and I want to test these three conditions within my lecture. In addition, these conditions roughly indicate the organisation of my contribution today:

1) The first condition can be expressed by the phrase: *Social integration in Europe should take place.* This is not a scientific sentence; rather, it is a socio-political challenge, which seems obvious according to the dictates of common sense. From a scientific standpoint, however, we are required to test how this challenge is actually justified. Under what societal

conditions is social integration called for? Which expectations are tied to the success of social integration? What exactly should be integrated?

2) In contrast to the first, the second question is not normative, but empirical. It goes: *Social integration is feasible.* Is it possible that an issue can be seen as a political necessity, but cannot hold its own in the scientific-academic realm? What are the actual expectations that are tied to the aim of social integration? Can their fulfilment be rationally assumed? In order to answer these questions, one has to delve into the history of the sociological construct 'social integration' and into the question – under which historical conditions did the construct come into being. Do these conditions still exist today? We have to want to know what the contemporary state of the theory is in this question. And we have to ask ourselves, whether a sociological description of contemporary conditions exists in which social integration takes place. This is necessary in order to be able to decide whether up-bringing and education can make a contribution to the realisation of social integration. Because this is precisely what the third premise is:

3) *Upbringing and education can make a contribution to social integration.* This assumption does not go without saying and I myself am extremely sceptical about whether a targeted pedagogical influence can actually promote social integration. I am not sceptical because I disbelieve that social integration is possible; far more, I am sceptical for a theoretical reason: the assumption that social integration can be promoted through education supposes that individuals can bring about social integration causally. For one influential part of today's sociology, namely System Theory derived from Parsons and Luhmann, this assertion would be meaningless. According to their approach, one must ask instead which dynamic is characteristic of a system in which social integration occurs. Sociologists from the Enlightenment to the Marxist traditions who orient themselves on theories of action see the issue in a different way. At the conclusion of my lecture – and I tell you this now in order to act as a prophylactic against disappointment – I won't leave you with the confidence that one can solve the integration problem by neatly rolling up those pedagogical sleeves. Perhaps you will think at the end: that is typical German scepticism. But at least in that case we will be dealing with a new integration problem, namely the integration of the continental and the Atlantic theoretical traditions, between, so to speak, scepticism and pragmatism. If, at the very least, we can move forward a little bit in this, we would have made, at the very least, a scientific contribution to European integration, and this is certainly one of the reasons for our cooperative work in the triangle: London, Amsterdam and Berlin.

That being said, I will turn back to my first premise, which is expressed as follows: *Social integration in Europe should take place.*

The Republic of Austria, which is one of the member states of the European Union, is currently in the process of an election campaign for the Europe-election. On one of the social democratic party's election posters the following sentence appears next to the portrait of the Austrian prime minister: 'I am proud of a strong Austria in great Europe.' This sentence is not only irritating because it advertises a party that was once known for having an internationalist program; it is even more irritating because it shows the prime minister of a land that has joined the union striking a nationalistic tone. This stance, which unfortunately is not exclusive to Austrian Social Democrats, mirrors what is perhaps the gravest problem of social integration in Europe, the problem of the *integration of nation states.* Only at first glance does this appear to be a macropolitical problem.

In point of fact, the basis of the difficulty of national integration does lay in the partially nationalistic attitude of the individual societies – when, for instance, German citizens demand that Great Britain be thrown out of the Union due to its management of the cattle epidemic or when Britain demands to leave the Union due to its treatment under the agricultural ministers. Based on this and other examples, it becomes clear that Europe has a basic dis-integration problem. Here, the fact that the Maastricht contracts regulated business, currency and security questions first and foremost without taking into consideration one of the most important conditions for social integration – the mentality of the European citizen, as it is expressed in culture, religion and upbringing, in other words, in the sector of norms and values – comes back to haunt them.

Dis-integration is meanwhile observable not only among the citizens of the European Union, but also within the European nations as *an integration problem of ethnic, in particular non-European, religious or cultural minorities.* The danger of dis-integration is not seen primarily here as the danger of European dis-integration, but rather as a problem of societal dis-integration within each nation. For the former colonial powers, the problem is largely about people from those former colonies, integration problems in many European countries centre on believers of the Islamic religion and, in a series of individual countries, specific regional integration problems exist such as the conflict in Northern Ireland, the separatist tendencies among the Basques, Corsicans, Flemish, southern Tyrolese and, for the last few years, the immigrants of German nationality who come from Eastern Europe or the citizens in the accessed area of the former GDR.

The list is not exhausted with these geopolitically generated integration problems. Within the European societies, there exists a larger phenomenon of dis-integration, which is defined using categories other than political, religious or cultural ones. We are dealing here with two further groups – one, whose dis-integration status results either from *physical characteristics or is specific to social status.* I count disabilities, gender and age to the first group. Special integration problems can result from each of these characteristics, with numerous variations depending on, for instance, different disabilities or from different ages which impede integration, such as youth or old age. Characteristics which are counted to the second group are created first and foremost through social acts: unemployment, homelessness, poverty, substance dependency, etc.

In summation, we are dealing primarily with four types of social dis-integration:

– social dis-integration due to national disposition,
– social dis-integration due to ethnic, religious and cultural bonds,
– social dis-integration due to physical characteristics,
– social dis-integration due to characteristics that stem from social status.

It is not difficult to recognise that the first two types of social dis-integration are different from the last two. The first two are denoted by mental dispositions, and they in particular could affect the European integration process. The second two are denoted by objective physical or social circumstances, which can also lead to specific mental dispositions. They tend to be perceived less as obstacles to European or national integration, but rather far more as disturbance factors for social integration within a society. If a society allots significant resources in manpower and financial investment to aiding integration, one can reasonably speculate that, at least from a political vantage point, dis-integration is considered potentially destabilising, unless of course one is naive enough to believe that politicians act out of humanistic considerations.

Let's consider the first group of integration problems which are due to mental dispositions created by ethnic, religious or cultural ties – the destabilising phenomena can be identified with relative clarity: 'intolerance of others or simply "being different", tendencies to isolation and the insistence on absoluteness, dogmatism and the appeal to the selective and abstract establishment of norms, the tendency to use force against renegades and outsiders, emphasis on voluntary collectives, hierarchy of "the initi-

ated", hostility towards enlightenment and sexuality.'[1] The appearance of such behaviours is understood as the result of a fundamentalism often motivated by religion, which is, by the way, in no way unique to Islam. One important source of modern fundamentalism is namely Christianity itself, which now feels its existence being threatened. The same behaviours have manifested themselves often within this religion, as in the chiliastic movements of the Middle Ages, in the crusades and the poverty movements during the same period and well up until the Hutterers, the Amish and the American sects at the beginning of the 20th century who called themselves fundamentalists.[2]

The psycho-sociology of fundamentalism is too complicated for me to sufficiently explain here in a few sentences. The fundamentalist movement seems to tend to take root in times during which a society loses its tightness, in which an overall view of society is missing and the number of options increases noticeably. The close of the Middle Ages was in this respect without doubt a time in which the Christian religion lost its status as self-evident as Europeans were forced to acknowledge non-European cultures. In a similar way, the descendants of the religious American immigrants felt threatened by the development that caused the USA to give up its isolation upon entering in the First World War. And it is in this same way that an Arabic expert on Islam, Bassam Tibi, characterises the situation of that religious culture. He writes: 'The contemporary political revolt of Islam is aimed against the globalization that comes from the West and it is a revolt against European modernity and the ordering of the world that stems from it.'[3]

This assessment makes it clear that dis-integration threatens European integration not only through the ahistorical, mental nationalism of parts of its traditional population, but also through the circles of the recently immigrated non-Europeans. Sensitivity to this occurrence is less widespread in Germany, although one would be apt to assume the opposites due to the outcry over hostility towards foreigners. Actually, this problem appears to affect France much more, where, for instance, leftist intellectuals such as

1   D. Goetze, Fundamentalismus, Chiliasmus, Revitalisierungsbewegungen: Neue Handlungsmuster im Weltsystem? In: H. Reimann (ed.), *Transkulturelle Kommunikation und Weltgesellschaft*, Opladen 1992, pp. 44-65.

2   Cf. the twelve volume text A. C. Dixon/R. A. Torrey (eds.), *The Fundamentals: The Testimony to the Truth*.

3   B. Tibi, 'Europäische Moderne – Islamischer Fundamentalismus. Zwischen Globalisierung und kultureller Fragmentation.' *Universitas* 47, 1992, p. 18.

Alain Finkielkraut demand as an ultimatum to defend European values against Islam.[4] In contrast, in Germany – due to reasons that can be historically understood – appeasing remarks preside when, for example, it was postulated on June 4, 1990 that religion classes should include the 'Explanation of Ludwigsburg's' encouragement of European Muslims, which stated: 'The acceptance of German citizenship by the foreign Muslims is the only way to turn Islam into a religion of natives and to ensure that it has same legal rights and receives the same handling as the Christian church and the other religious communities.'[5]

With such mistaken fronts – Arabic intellectuals who warn of Islam's global aims, Christian pedagogues who demand that European values be relativised – blaming a possible European dis-integration on particular people is not longer very clear. For this reason, there is also no longer a point in searching for causalities that would explain who is to blame for the failure of European integration and would capture them and then either convert them or silence them. Such an understanding would take integration to be a term for describing actions, namely the act of integration. When we, however, talk about the integration of Europe, of a society, nation or culture, we mean *a state of affairs*, namely the state of integration of a system with borders that are clearly indicated to the outside and with elements on the inside which are connected.

Talcott Parsons was of the opinion that the borders of a system are defined through normative elements. He explained the manifestation of fundamentalism as a rebellion against the transformation of a system in which a narrow system of values expands to a general one, thus tending to endanger a particular group. Fundamentalism is then a rebellion against every value and system expansion.[6] It is precisely this intention that exists in the case of European integration. The national societal systems are supposed to be expanded in the direction of Europe according to the will of Europe-politicians. (When – and this is noted only on the side – the Austrian chancellor promises a strong Austria in Europe, then he communicates with his voters in a paradoxical manner, because integration and par-

---

4   Cf. A. Finkielkraut, *Die Niederlage des Denkens*, Hamburg 1989; D. Lenzen, Multikulturalität als Monokultur. In: Ortwin Schäffer (ed.), *Das Fremde. Erfahrungsmöglichkeiten zwischen Faszination und Bedrohung*, Opladen 1991, pp. 147-157.

5   L. Hagemann, 'Zwischen Modernität und Identität. Fundamentalistische Tendenzen im Islam.' *Religionsunterricht an höheren Schulen* 37, no. 3, 1994, p. 165.

6   Cf. T. Parsons, *Evolutionary and Comparative Perspectives*, Englewood Cliffs 1966, p. 23.

ticularity are mutually exclusive. The German and French governments' appeasing manner of speaking for years about a 'Europe of Fatherlands or of regions' is also a self – if not foreign – deception: a sectoral European integration cannot exist. The system of values has also expanded long ago, even over the borders of Europe. The international law is, for example, primarily European law.)

I assert one more time: to talk about European integration is to talk about the (desired) state of a system, not about actions of integration. No one can integrate a nation or a religious community or a regional culture through actions. Since the borders of the system are set by normative elements, that means by communication about values, the definition of a societal system such as the European one is only meaningful if one can assume that this system is characterised by joint habits of communication about values that lie at its roots. Whoever talks about system integration, talks about his observations of an existing system. If one observes the societal system 'Europe' in this way, then one can say, that it is more dis-integrated than integrated. Even so, it is possible to observe a growing economic integration and perhaps also a political-administrative one. But they are accompanied by a growing cultural dis-integration, because basically, the European conceptions of values, in spite of their globalization, are falling apart internally. Many Europeans no longer feel a need to follow them – and the example of Yugoslavia demonstrates this. If we illuminate the consequences of this consideration for the first premise, it means: it is futile to ask, whether Europe should be socially integrated or not, since no one can 'make' it happen. We can wish that it takes place. Probably it would be possible to find environmental conditions – meaning, conditions in the system's surroundings – under which it could happen. However, how the national systems would deal with this environment and finally how the minds of the individual citizens would react, is a matter that is nearly impossible to prognosticate.

We have to ask now, whether this information also holds true for the other type of integration, which is actually about integration in the sense of social action. I have differentiated between the necessity of integration due to physical and due to social characteristics. This differentiation is not necessary for the question of social integration, as is easy to demonstrate: dis-integration due to physical conditions and to physical disabilities is in the end a social dis-integration, since the otherness of the body leads to social connections or isolation. This holds true to a much greater degree for dis-integration due to gender – if, for instance, women seem to be closed out

of particular societal functions because of their sex or if old people or youth close themselves out of functions or are closed out by others.

When we say that members of such societal groups, to which those who are dis-integrated for what are primarily social reasons such as unemployment, etc. have been added, should be integrated, the motivation is at first glance another than the one that motivates us to consider the systemic integration of Europe. It seems as if the reason for the integration of those groups is improving the conditions of living for those people. It is very possible, particularly amongst good-willed pedagogues, that there are many examples of social integration taking place for the sake of the people affected. It is impossible to make one empirical sentence, however, from this assertion: motives are the basis of intentions to act. This is something one cannot observe. Only statements about intentions are observable. Observable is communication. If it was postulated that social integration of minorities who are, for various reasons, underprivileged should exist so that these people lead a better life, then we could not ask scientifically whether this is truly the intention of the people who take up integrative measures. But we can ask which function social integration has for the objects of integration as well as for the society, and we can ask, what the function of contributions to communication such as 'integration happens so that underprivileged are situated better' have. If more is known about all of that, then the political answer to whether these individuals should be socially integrated is closer.

At first glance, we are under the impression that integration is always the desired goal of dis-integrated people. Nevertheless, when we consider the self-isolation of youth as a component of the youth moratorium, we see immediately that the opposite also can be the case. The attempt to integrate youth smoothly into the society would rob them of the possibility of transition into the new phase of adult life. It is similar for the elderly. They by no means always experience social dis-integration as a tribulation. Integration, in fact, can be very frustrating for old people, for example, if they are supposed to share in a society's system of values, despite the fact that they barely find these values acceptable and had no part in their creation. Or we can take disabled people: currently, we tend to support fully measures for integrated education of the disabled. In so doing, we overlook the fact that the original motivation for this integration was not benevolence, but rather empty public registers which made the funding for extra educational institutions difficult. Even if the social integration of disabled people was celebrated by many sides, there are objections on the side of those

who are themselves affected which should be taken seriously, for instance, the Cripple Movement, whose members insist on being at least in part explicitly dis-integrated. For this reason, I emphasise: social integration of underprivileged groups does not automatically have a function that aids those affected.

One arrives at a similar conclusion when one inquires as to the function of the social integration of these groups for the entire societal system, whether it be the national or the European one. The fear that a large number of such dis-integrated sections of the population would endanger the stability of the system, as they did in the 1920s, has not yet been realised, although we have to assume that 30 to 50 percent of the population in the European member states count to dis-integrated societal groups in this sense. One of the reasons for this lays in the fact that dis-integration is no longer considered a stigma; quite the opposite, it is a feature of one's identity: a considerable part of European individuals create their self-identity from the notion that they are individuals because certain of their characteristics cause them to be dis-integrated and therefore identifiable. On this matter, the underprivileged aren't any different from the privileged, although the latter pursue a cultural rather than an economic dis-integration by, for instance, choosing a sport to play, activities in their free time, ways to dress, habits of consumption, etc.

In short: *The reality of social dis-integration among groupings within a society does not result in systemic dis-integration.*

In light of this fact, it becomes even more urgent to ask what function a societal communication serves which doesn't tire of promoting social integration. We can simplify the question: why is social integration unremittingly promoted even though its opposite, social dis-integration, is neither dysfunctional for the societal groupings nor for the entire societal system? Formulated provocatively: the problem of a homeless person lies not in his being an outlaw, but rather in his being hungry and freezing, and the problem of an AIDS infected drug addict is not that he is socially shunned because others fear infection, but that he must soon die. Could it be that the function (not the intention!) of the communicative promotion of social integration is to release the societal system of the task of changing the material conditions which dis-integrate the underprivileged in the very first place? Here, it becomes clear that, contrary to my original assumption, it is necessary to distinguish the characteristics which lead to a person's dis-integration: Whereas for a paraplegic, considering his unchangeable condition, social integration can be functional, it would have a devastating ef-

fect on an unemployed person if the society would content itself with inte-grating him through social pedagogy and did not otherwise provide him with a job, but instead used the fact of his unemployment to legitimate the creation of new jobs in the social service sector.

As I sum up my test of the first premise, I realise that we have to dif-ferentiate between integration as the state of being of a societal system and integration as a social act which integrates people in a society. We have to differentiate similarly between a systemic integration and a social one.[7] Furthermore, we have to realise that the speech about European integration is a speech about systemic integration, which can only be observed, not created. Accordingly, the question about whether systemic integration in Europe is desirable is one that can be supported strongly, but there can be nothing scientific said about the production of this integration. Because: values cannot be made. The speech about integration of underprivileged groupings in the European nations, on the other hand, is one that refers to integration as a social act of integration. It is by all means useful to talk about integration measures for such groupings. This integration is, how-ever, clearly functional neither for all of the underprivileged groupings nor for the entire societal system of a nation or of Europe. The communicative promotion can even be dysfunctional if it ends up working as a palliative. One, then, can subscribe to the premise 'social integration in Europe should be' only in a very limited way if one considers it as a condition for peda-gogical action, because we have, either, to be certain that integration – in the sense of systemic integration – cannot be made at all, or, we must put in question the until-now assumed functionality of integration – in the sense of social integration of groupings. Nevertheless: There is a definite func-tionality in the social integration of societal groupings which have certain unchangeable characteristics and the integration of the system Europe is highly desirable, although there is scepticism as to whether it is feasible.

2.

Do we have to resign, then, give up societal plans for integration and leave it all up to the whim of history? I don't think so. I think that the question

---

7   Lockwood suggested this approach. Cf. D. Lockwood, Social Integration and System Integration, in G.K. Zollschau/W. Hirsch (eds.), *Explorations in Social Change*, Boston 1964, pp. 244-257.

which the soon-to-be-tested second premise contains, whether social integration is feasible, can be tentatively affirmed if it is reformulated: Namely, if one asks whether social integration is possible, then one can examine the conditions under which social integration takes place and then consider whether these conditions can be manipulated, and if so, whether pedagogy can assist.

The history of the theory of social integration can be followed from long before Emile Durkheim. However, the introduction of a constitutive element of social integration – normative integration – is bound up with his name. It is true that Durkheim differentiates between 'organic integration' through division of labor and 'mechanical integration', yet both forms are connected with each other through the term 'solidarity', which itself is an important normative concept. Solidarity can be seen in the case of the division of labor in that people must depend on each other in their trade relations, although, and here Durkheim reverts to Comte, it is in this case primarily an economic medium of integration.[8] The mechanical form of integration results from the passionate reaction of the collective against a crime, as is demonstrated in the punishment chosen.[9] It can be said that Talcott Parsons generalised this approach. He recognised a social system as being socially integrated when standards existed for evaluating and selecting actions to which, in the case of a conflict, concrete actions would be subject.[10] Parsons described the 'institutional integration of motivation' in his generalisation of Durkheim as follows: 'Every society, as a prerequisite of its functioning, presume some integration of the interest of units with those of the society.'[11]

None of the integration theoreticians, including Max Weber, has ever begun with the notion that a socially integrated society in this sense empirically exists or has ever existed.[12] Their theoretical endeavors are far more descriptions of the conditions for the possibility of social integration.

---

8 Cf. E. Durkheim, *Über soziale Arbeitsteilung. Studie über die Organisation höherer Gesellschaften*, Frankfurt/M. 1996.

9 Ibid., p. 118 ff.

10 Cf. T Parsons, *Aktor, Situation und normative Muster. Ein Essay zur Theorie sozialen Handelns*. Frankfurt/M. 1994.

11 T. Parsons, *Sociological Theory and Modern Society*. New York, London 1967, p. 15.

12 Cf. M. Schmid, Werte und Soziale Integration. In: *Wertepluralismus und Wertewandel heute. Eine interdisziplinäre Veranstaltung zur 10-Jahres-Feier der Universität Augsburg*, Munich 1982, p. 22.

Every existing society, then, is integrated, at the very least in its tendencies. In those societies which are highly integrated, massive problems actually amass, as Luhmann demonstrated using conflicts: 'Highly interdependent [or integrated, D.L.] systems become necessarily thoughtless in respect to their environment because it is determined in advance in which way they use material and information. ... For conflicts that means ... on the level of action: being open to almost all of the possibilities of disadvantaging, forcing, damaging, in as far as they only follow the conflict pattern and do not go too strongly against personal interests.'[13] – Those who loudly and clearly demand social integration should keep their eyes on this system dynamic because it may possibly lead to a strengthening of the system, which is not at all desirable.

For Luhmann, social norms have lost the integrative status they had for Parsons. This is not only a theory modification; rather, there is also plenty of empirical support for the idea that in a hypermodern society at the end of the 20th century, integration occurs less through shared norms and more through a system dynamic in which a highly differentiated society stabilises its systems through the autopoietical process of further differentiating. These systems can defend their own stability by dealing with their respective environments in a specific way. This necessitates a medium of communication which helps, to put it very simply, to define the borders of the system. The system of science, for instance, defines its system borders with the aid of the medium of truth.[14] With the help of this medium's primary binary code – 'truth – untruth' – the system can observe whether a particular operation belongs to the system or not. Accordingly, a sentence such as this one by Shakespeare: 'Life's but a walking shadow', is not a scientific sentence because it does not conform at all to the binary opposition 'true – untrue'. This form of coding is a highly significant characteristic of modern society.[15]

This characteristic naturally also holds for a societal system such as 'Europe' or every national societal system inside of Europe. Their systemic integration is defined for the most part through codes that enable decisions about the affiliations of system operations. We see clearly what it is that has changed compared to the conceptions of Durkheim and Parsons: affiliation with a system no longer refers to the affiliation of indi-

---

13 N. Luhmann, *Soziale Systeme. Grundriß einer allgemeinen Theorie*, Frankfurt/M. 1988, p. 533 f.

14 Cf. N. Luhmann, *Die Wissenschaft der Gesellschaft*, Frankfurt/M. 1990, p. 203.

15 Ibid., p. 204.

viduals, but rather to the affiliation of operations to which statements also belong. It, then, cannot be said whether a homeless person or a physically disabled person, whether a Russian emigrate or Austria, is 'affiliated' with the societal system of Europe or with any national societal system. Instead, affiliation is defined based on whether the completed actions of individuals can be understood to be affiliated with the system's operations. This is once again very easy to show using the example of the scientific system: The question is not whether, for instance, Dieter Lenzen is affiliated with the scientific system, but rather whether his sentences can be judged as operations in this system. In relation to the four problem groups of social disintegration which I have already identified, this means: The homeless person is not dis-integrated, but certain actions (which he undertakes because he is homeless, for example, urinating in the entrance of a church) are judged as actions which are not affiliated with the systems of German, Dutch, English, etc. civic society. It is comparable to defining a statement, such as that of age in a person suffering from Alzheimer's disease, as not being affiliated with the system, or to identifying violent Kurdish asylum seekers or even the 'un-European' behaviour of a government as being foreign to the system.

Once again: In the hypermodern period, it holds that neither people, nor collectives, nor institutions can be socially integrated or disintegrated; rather, only the actions of people, collectives and institutions can be such, and only those actions for which it can be determined, whether they are operations of a particular system. – For the question of our second premise, this reformulation of the integration problem has far-reaching consequences: namely, we no longer have to ask ourselves whether people, collectives or institutions can be socially integrated, but instead whether their actions are so subject to influence that they can be judged as being part of a particular societal system. We see very clearly with this reformulation that our question approaches the realm of education. In order to shed light on the question of influence, one has to ask first which conditions must be filled in order to define the particular operation of a person, a collective or an institution as affiliated with a system. I see the following conditions:

– The European societal system requires at least one code which it can use to decide whether an operation is affiliated to the system or not.
– The participants of the European societal system require a common system of symbols in which this system code can be communicated.

101

- The participants of the system must be prepared to refrain from those options that they now have which are not affiliated with the operations licensed by the system code.
- The pressure that is produced by the system's environment must be perceived so that a system code comes into existence which can be communicated through a shared system of symbols and in which participants in the system are prepared to refrain from some options.
- In order to put the environmental pressure to productive use, it is necessary for the system to be self-reflexive.

These conditions are necessary, but they are not sufficient. Numerous others are described in the literature, for example, the existence of an intermediary authority[16], in which I will not delve any further because, by their nature, they cannot be influenced by education. Whether the conditions that I have named can be influenced by education, however, has not yet been shown. If one looks more closely at these five conditions, then we do have to agree in any case that intentional actions of individuals are suited to the creation of media of communication, systems of symbols and habits of awareness. This is at least the basic assumption of every optimistic take on influence. With that, we would have to theoretically change from a discourse about the functioning of systems to one about theories of action. Numerous fundamental considerations can be voiced against this, however, which all centre around the question of whether individuals even can be in the position to steer system dynamics or whether this hope was not given up with the dialectic of enlightenment. Since this discussion cannot be carried on here, I will formulate all of the thoughts to which I will refer in the testing of the third premise with the fundamental reservation that they can only be valid if an action theoretical reformulation of the functioning of systems is permissible in the first place. For this reason, I also won't make any recommendations for pedagogical action in the third part of my speech, but rather will formulate it more or less as follows: If one agrees that individuals can intentionally influence system dynamics, then the following measures are needed to ensure the fulfilment of the five conditions which are necessary to be able to pronounce operations of people, collectives or institutions as affiliated. – I strongly wish that you do not consider this theoretical hypercomplexity to be exaggerated – there is

---

16 Cf. H. Willke, 'Zum Problem der Integration komplexer Sozialsysteme: Ein theoretisches Konzept.' *Kölner Zeitschrift für Soziologie und Sozialpsychologie* 30, 1978, pp. 28-52.

an important reason for it, particularly for German pedagogues and educationalists: in this century, Germany has undergone four major educational efforts which were justified by such aims as socially integrating the nation, bettering the folk or the society, and which took on the form of the authoritarian school in the German monarchy, the form of the budding dreams of educational reform during the Weimar Republic and the form of centralised state education during Hitler's fascism and Soviet socialism. Each of these attempts ended either in a catastrophe or, at very least, in a historical joke. In no case did these enormous educational projects achieve what they promised. So it is perhaps understandable when I show the negative experiences in the context of Europe, that it is necessary to work rigorously on theoretical terms.

3.

I have reformulated the question of whether upbringing and education can contribute to realising social integration in Europe into one that asks which conditions must be filled in order to be able to define the operation of a person, a collective or an institution as affiliated with a system. Now I want to ask in this third section whether these conditions could be established through pedagogical influences. I will now examine these five conditions in reverse order because we have to begin with the last since it is also the most general. It is as follows:

In order to put the environmental pressure to productive use, it is necessary for the system to be self-reflexive. Stated more precisely: the societal system (for example, that of Europe, a nation or even a partial system) should not consider itself to be an independent system, rather it must understand that it creates an environment for other systems out of which, in turn, follow restrictions for its own operations. These restrictions should, then, be included in the control mechanisms of its own system.[17] This can also be said simply: The participants of a societal system in Europe have to understand, that they are not alone in the world, but that they have to organise their operations so as not to be a constant threat to other societal systems outside of their nations, or simply to other societies.

Using a microsociological standard, something similar holds true for the societal integration of dis-integrated actions: In other words, it is fun-

---

17 Ibid., p. 237.

damentally possible that all interests, goals or values which are bound to the old system can be disposed of. A social integration without losses is not possible. A *modus vivendi* must be found, and that requires compromises. Compromises hurt the self-confidence and, in addition, they are bound up with uncertainty about whether the integration will actually be beneficial. The participants of a system have to realise fully that, if they want social integration, it is not possible to spare the system some loss of identity. The same holds true for the actions that need to be integrated. In big cities such as Berlin, exactly this course of events can be observed: the integration of Turkish migrant children in the German school system causes some losses for the German school system, for example, by way of extra costs for additional German lessons or for the prevention of vandalism to materials or by way of the spread of ethnically variable attitudes towards violence among children who are not Turkish. On the other side, integrated Turkish girls, for example, lose a part of their sexual identity when they are forced to take part in coeducational sport classes, to go without head coverings, and so forth. At the same time, it is often questionable what exactly the prospective benefit for the societal system is when foreigners end up being thought of more as the cause of additional costs than, for example, as guarantors of the generational contract.

If one now asks what contribution upbringing and education can make to the establishment of this type of system reflexivity among participants of the system, then it will be immediately clear that we are talking here about a type of influencing task. The task is to make it understood that social integration brings with it losses on both sides, that benefits are uncertain, but that under certain conditions, the risk should be taken anyway provided that the prospective benefit is large enough. Entirely unfitting are pedagogical strategies of appeal by professional pedagogical do-gooders who claim to have always known that integration is in every case better for those who are integrated no matter how high the costs for them and for the societal system are. For the field of education, this means firstly that reflexive knowledge[18] should be produced about the relationship between the costs and the prospective benefits of integration, whether it be according to national or European standards, so that the 'whether' and 'how' of integration can be rationally decided. It is irrational for the field of education to ask only about the 'how' and not about the 'whether' of the integration of

---

18 Cf. my initial thought to this theme in D. Lenzen, *Handlung und Reflexion. Vom pädagogischen Theoriedefizit zur reflexiven Erziehungswissenschaft*, Weinheim/ Basel 1996.

actions and it can end up destabilising the system. Attention must also be given to the educational question: Which system costs are caused by the integration of the actions of socially dis-integrated individuals and which costs are caused by their non-integration? That means that the pedagogical influence must touch the issue of the positive or negative sanctioning of actions. To demonstrate on the example already given: we can define the violent act of a pupil with behavioural problems as not being affiliated with our system. As a general rule, we, in fact, won't want to integrate this action. The talk about integrating pupils with behaviour problems overlooks the fact that it is not possible to integrate individuals, and, in respect to violence and certainly to many other actions as well, integration does not conform to the system. The educational question is then: which actions of particular societal groupings (disabled, homeless, religious organisations, national politicians, etc.) belong to our system and which do not? There are certainly cases in which the answer is that integration should be avoided, in other words, that for the sake of the integration of the societal system, a separation of minorities[19] or an integration[20] within the minorities themselves is more suitable. In so doing, actions that are not affiliated with the entire system would be allowed under particular circumstances inside the subsystem so that neither the identity of the entire system nor that of the subsystem would be endangered. This strategy of integration through differentiation seems to be a specific manifestation of late modernity.

We have now tested what contribution upbringing and education as well as the field of education can make to the self-reflexivity of the societal system. In doing this, I have had to limit myself to brief references. This test supported a further condition which we now have to examine. It goes: *The pressure that is produced by the system's environment must be taken seriously so that ... the participants in the system are prepared to refrain from some options.* Thinking about social integration has always implied that there is a necessity for social integration. That means that there must already be pressure from the environment on a societal system such that the system is prepared to reach to measures for integration. We assume, for one, that the necessity of integration in a particular case has been tested and pronounced existent because the environmental pressure

19 Cf. H. Häußermann, 'Die Stadt und die Stadtsoziologie. Urbane Lebensweise und die Integration des Fremden.' *Berliner Journal für Soziologie* 5 (1), 1995, pp. 89-98.

20 Cf. G. Elwert, 'Probleme der Ausländerintegration. Gesellschaftliche Integration durch Binnenintegration?' *Kölner Zeitschrift für Soziologie und Sozialpsychologie* 34, 1982, pp. 717-731.

(for example, from the Maastricht contracts or from the threat of violence by minorities) makes an intervention necessary. But that doesn't yet mean that the participants of a system accept this pressure – they could, for example, even be unaware of it. The structure of modern society is often denoted by constraints that are invisible to the average participant of the system. The current budget trouble in the public registers in most European countries is a good example of this. The need to save, for example, in the social sector, meets with a total lack of understanding in many of those affected, who have been accustomed to security until now.

In the same way, many of the participants of the societal system do not want to see for what integration measures are supposed to be good. One fine example is the vehemence with which German parents of 'normal' fought against the integration of the disabled. They were afraid that the level of lessons would sink and, with it, the secure chances of their children in life, or, they were generally afraid of a diffuse 'infection' through the otherness of the disabled. They were not in a state to perceive the environmental pressure that led to the necessity of this integration. The necessity consisted, namely, in the loss of funds for special schools. That such special, highly differentiated pedagogical care existed in the first place, however, was in no way thanks to humanistic considerations, but instead to the work of powerful professional politicians who, in the seventies, wanted to prove, with the help of supposed educational truths, the necessity of the dis-integration of the disabled. But the founding of the highly specialised school system for the disabled was, in fact, at the very least also a result of a system dynamic of public institutions which were programmed from the start for proliferation. In order to avoid conflicts between the state and pedagogical academics, it was agreed to 'bribe' the pedagogues through the creation of highly specialised jobs. We see in this that the tasks of the upbringing and educational system must go far beyond actual upbringing and education. They also include the 'education' of parents by training them to perceive necessary integration which, in this case, can only be understood if it is known that, historically, the issue with the disabled is actually one of re-integration. This is a task of enlightenment for which educational knowledge and, in this case, historical pedagogy must prepare itself. Because – the question is not only whether the integration of the disabled is useful or not, but rather how their non-integration developed historically. Only when this is known can one test whether the historical conditions under which dis-integration began still exist. I also consider this to be the task of the field of

106

education that understands itself to be reflexive and that must accomplish more than an empirical analysis of the effects of integration.

Only when the environmental pressure, as it has just been described, is perceived adequately will the condition exist under which *the participants of the system are prepared to refrain from those options that they have had until now, but which are not affiliated with the operations licensed through the system code.* To produce such a willingness through upbringing and education is probably one of the most difficult tasks. Once again: system integration and social integration always are bound up with the loss of options for action. Thus, the European unification means, for one, that farmers must reduce their production and exports; the integration of actions of ethnic minorities which are motivated by fundamentalism would threaten the legal system if, for instance, revenge were to replace the notion of rehabilitation of criminals. The integration of an action such as the consumption of hard drugs endangers the system's understanding of humans since the system now considers its participants to be autonomous subjects and not chemically confused organisms; and the integration of the evidently meaningless statements of the mentally disabled becomes critical for the continued existence of the system if the demand for meaningful statements is given up fundamentally. I think that it is becoming clear that the acceptance of a behaviour different from the one licensed in a system is threatening for the system's participants because every time the system integrates a different quality, its borders and its self-definition change. Because the self-definition of the participants is defined along with that of the system, every re-definition of the system is necessarily a re-definition of every participant's system of consciousness. This event is called learning. In this case, it is called more precisely: Learning that some of my current possibilities of action may be limited if a particular social integration has taken place. We see immediately that our usual pedagogical measures play a very different role here: in the best case, they can make it plausible to participants in the system that they should support social integration out of moral considerations. However, in a society that is increasingly marked by political correctness, participants publicly voice their agreement with this humanistic expectation and then set fire to a home for foreigners in secret at night. The upbringing and educational institutions fail here because they have no methods ready with which to help people learn to refrain from certain options of action. In a world that no longer holds common moral standards, it is simply not enough to morally legitimise such restraint. In any case, a clear-headed, rational calculation of the costs and benefits of inte-

gration without humanistic ideology does have potential. Only with this approach is there still a chance to achieve inner consent for a loss of options. In so doing, new minorities will certainly appear who do not consent with particular integration measures. These groups themselves will become an integration problem for the newly created system.

The fact that consent to losing options is often refused results in large part because the possibility of benefiting from integration is not comprehended. Why is this? *The participants of the European (and every other) societal system require a common system of symbols.* This is the condition needed to be able to communicate the benefits and losses of integration in the first place. Beneath the macro-sociological European processes, nothing else is effective: the participants of a subsystem such as a school class which includes the children of foreigners do not only have language problems with one another, but also problems with the system of symbols in the most general way. A simple example explains this: There are studies comparing how much space people need between them and others in order to feel comfortable which verify that this amount varies significantly between cultures and that show a North-South gradient. In other words: a northern European interprets the physical contact that a southern European considers natural, for example, in an elevator or in the subway, as sexual harassment because of the system of symbols he has in regards to the body. We see clearly: Even if we in Europe had in the English language a common verbal system of symbols because we had taken the necessary educational measures, we would still be miles apart in regards to having such a system of symbols in the realm of non-verbal communication. We also know much too little about non-verbal communication to make the appropriate education possible: this is helped little by a call to tolerance, because such systems of symbols lay beneath the level of consciousness. From this fact, one could deduce that upbringing and education must concern themselves much more pronouncedly with processes of 'aisthesis' or perception so that processes of body language can become conscious in the same way as the operations of the English language.

This is, in any case, a necessary state for the main condition that must be filled in order to be able to define a particular operation of a person, collective or an institution as being affiliated with the European societal system. *The European societal system, as I formulated in the first condition, requires, namely, at least one code with which to decide, whether an operation is affiliated with the system or not.* This condition is the most difficult to fulfil. Until now, namely, we have always assumed that the

possibility of integration is a question of self reflexivity, of the ability to perceive, of the willingness to refrain from options or of the system of symbols. But the question is, in fact, much more dramatic: Does a system code exist, through which the European societal system can be defined? One may want to affirm this for the old Europe of the modern era and point to a European system of values which is bound to the works of Dante, Descartes, Erasmus, Hume, Kant, Comenius and Kierkegaard, to name just a few. One may have been able to say that this European system code consisted of the binary pair of freedom and justice.[21] But does the conception that freedom should be maximised under conditions of adequate justice, that freedom should be limited if it undercuts a certain amount of justice, does that conception still hold for Europe?

I don't know. Ascertaining whether this communication code still lies at the basis of the system operation of the European societal system is an empirical question.[22] Meanwhile, it seems certain to me that only a fraction of the participants in the European societal system know this communication code and judge operations according to it. It is much more probable that utilitarian considerations of the sort expressed by the Austrian chancellor are the norm with which system operations in Europe are judged. It is apparent that the question: 'Does the European integration do anything for me, my collective, my nation?' dominates over the question: 'Does the European integration facilitate a balanced relationship between freedom and justice?' Why should the Europeans act differently in relation to the European integration than the parents of non-disabled children, who stood up vehemently for the integration of the disabled in that moment when they found out that special privileges would be granted to their non-disabled children?

Can one – now this would be the biggest question for upbringing and education – influence the establishment of a European system code? I don't think that this is possible simply through targeted measures in school and in the classroom. Such a code is much too abstract to be converted effectively into something cognitive. In addition, it is not the teacher who can produce the system code for Europe, rather, it is the system itself which develops its code through its participants' communication. Thus, we are the ones who produce this code through our operations, not through our

---

21 I think that freedom takes on the character of a (loosely connected) medium and justice of a (strictly connected) form.

22 This question does not have to do with the issue of whether freedom and justice actually do reign in Europe.

declarations. If we think about that here in Amsterdam today, then we are already on the path to aiding in the establishment of a European system code. This path will be very long. I am happy, my dear Dutch, English and German colleagues, that we want to go socially integrated on this path, which means, very simply, that we want to go a little way together.

II

Values in Education

Geoff Whitty

Making Sense of Educational Transformations:
A Vulture's Eye View

As some of you know, the chair that I held until recently here at the Institute of Education is named after the eminent Hungarian social theorist and sociologist of knowledge, Karl Mannheim. He left Hungary for Heidelberg in 1918 and became Professor of Sociology at Frankfurt in 1930. He moved to England from Germany in the 1933 (staying briefly in Amsterdam on the way) and worked in exile as a lecturer at the London School of Economics. He took up British citizenship and was eventually appointed to the Chair of Education at the Institute of Education in 1946, but unfortunately died a year later.

Sir Fred Clarke, who was the Director of the Institute of Education at that time and a previous holder of Mannheim's Chair, had argued the case for a professor versed in sociological aspects of education in the following terms:

The case for a professorship to work in terms of the sociological approach may be related to the uneasy awareness, now so widespread and yet so ill-defined, that great changes in the social order and the inter-play of social forces are already in progress – and that educational theory and educational policy that take no account of these will be not only blind but positively harmful. (Sir Fred Clarke, Director, Institute of Education, 18 March 1943)

Karl Mannheim himself went so far as to say that '*No* educational activity or research is adequate in the present stage of consciousness unless it is conceived in terms of a sociology of education' (Mannheim/Stewart, 1962, p. 159). While I would not necessarily go that far, I do think there are important reasons why all educational researchers should take account of the broader context and the wider social theories that can help to 'make sense' of that context. This is not to say that everyone needs to study everything, but we do all need to keep the 'bigger picture' in mind. This is what is behind the title of my presentation.

A graphic, though perhaps unfortunate, metaphor for the position I want to take is a 'vulture's eye view' of education and it is particularly relevant to our attempts in this conference to make sense of 'transformations'. Apparently a vulture is always able to keep the background landscape in view while enlarging its object of immediate interest. However, I suspect the metaphor of educational research as vulture is not a particularly good marketing device for our trade as educational researchers. Furthermore the analogy does not quite capture the significance of the notion of the 'bigger picture'. The bigger picture is not just tout there in the background. As Britain's leading contemporary social theorist, Anthony Giddens (1994, p. 95) says of globalisation, it is not something that takes place beyond the local, it 'is an "in here" matter, which affects, or rather is dialectically related to, even the most intimate aspects of our lives.' It also applies to attempts to understand the experience of schooling and lifelong learning, which is also infused with aspects of the bigger picture.

Making these sorts of connections involves understanding the intersection between biography and history, between identity and structure, and between personal troubles and public issues – what C. Wright Mills (1961) termed the exercise of the 'sociological imagination'. For Mills, the exercise of the sociological imagination was certainly not a feature of the work of all sociologists nor was it necessarily restricted to signed-up members of that profession. But, in my view, it is certainly a feature of good educational research, whether or not it is undertaken by sociologists.

So, what relevance do sociologists like Mannheim and Mills or even a contemporary social theorist like Giddens have for us in this conference? My argument is that understanding transformations of societies, transformations of educational policies, and transformations of identities – and the connections between them – requires the exercise of the sociological imagination, even if we do not choose to call it that. Martyn Hammersley (1996) has recently argued that explicit sociologising about education is now less necessary than it used to be because something like Giddens' 'double hermeneutic' (Giddens 1984) has taken a sociological way of thinking about the world into the common-sense of other educators and educational researchers. But even in the context of Ulrich Beck's supposed 'reflexive modernisation' (Beck et al. 1994), I see little evidence of the sociological imagination being exercised liberally in contemporary institutional and political life. It is not much in evidence in whole swathes of politics and education in Britain where research that is not empiricist or instrumental is under severe attack for being irrelevant and self-serving.

Yet, for a proper understanding of the nature of what is happening in education, the vulture's eye view is essential and the more cynical amongst us might feel that is exactly why our politicians prefer us to take a more myopic approach to our research.

Thus, in my opinion, the argument for taking the wider view in the study of education is at least as strong as it was when Clarke was arguing the case for Mannheim's appointment over fifty years ago. There is a similar widespread sense today that significant but ill-defined changes in the nature of the social order are in progress. Chris Shilling has put it as follows:

Modernity brought with it a period of rapid change and the promise of control. In contrast, high modernity is a 'runaway world' which is apparently out of control ... The consequences of high modernity ... throw into question whether education systems have the capacity either to be fully controlled, or to accomplish planned social change with any degree of accuracy (Shilling, 1993, p. 108).

Though this echoes Mannheim's own fears for the future, Mannheim himself had a now unfashionable faith in what he called 'planning for freedom'. However, it is at least arguable that, after the experience of deregulation and political hostility to planning under Margaret Thatcher in this country, Mannheim's ideas about the damaging effects of atomisation and a *laissez-faire* society now have considerably more pertinence than they did then – though I am not sure whether New Labour would agree with that. But Madeleine Arnot (1998) from Cambridge, who has been involved in an EU-funded citizenship education project, has suggested that it is salutary to re-read Mannheim in the current context of 'heightened individualism and atomism in society'. Campbell Stewart (who was a student of Mannheim here and developed his writings on the sociology of education into a book: Mannheim/Stewart 1962) mused before his death last year about what Mannheim's reaction might have been to Mrs Thatcher's notion that 'there is no such thing as society' (*Woman's Own,* 31 October 1987). There would certainly be some poetic justice in Mannheim's ideas becoming relevant at the end of the Thatcherite era, since his views were one of the main targets of Frederik Hayek's *Road to Serfdom,* which hurt Mannheim badly at the time of its publication in 1944 and which later became one of the key texts of the New Right revolution (Hayek 1944).

More directly pertinent to my theme today, perhaps, is Campbell Stewart's (1967) remark about educational research that 'before long we

shall need again to call on the kind of perspective which Karl Mannheim could command and which for the moment we seem to be too committed [to other priorities] to realise we have lost' (p.37). Stewart was particularly concerned about empiricism in the sociology of education in the 1960s, but if empiricism is not quite such a problem in sociology of education now, it certainly is in educational research generally, at least in Britain. As part of the concerted attack on educational research, from both New Right and government critics of the liberal educational establishment, the argument now being put forward is that the only sort of educational research that is of any value is experimental research, based on the medical model of Randomised Control Trials (RCTs). Now I have no objection whatsoever to RCTs being part of the portfolio of educational research methods, and indeed we have some specialists within that field here at the Institute, but to define them as the only worthwhile form of educational research is to trivialise educational research. Not only is it made to appear that research is of value only if it speaks directly to policy makers and practitioners, but this stance also implies that policy makers and practitioners are just interested in knowing *what* works and not *why*.

Today, just as in the days of Mannheim, too much education policy and a great deal of contemporary educational research has lost sight of Clarke's important insight that education policy needs to be informed by a sensitivity to the nature of the wider society. Mannheim (1951) himself was concerned about 'a tendency in democracies to discuss problems of organisation rather than ideas/techniques rather than aims' (p. 199). This is certainly true of many of the research divisions of government departments – and perhaps understandably so. Hut universities do not have to follow the same path. However implicated universities may also have become in the instrumental rationality of the state, if they are not to be the places to explore the relationship between education and the wider social order, it is difficult to see where that work will be done on a sustained and systematic basis. Although the production of knowledge increasingly takes place in a whole variety of sites (Gibbons et al. 1994), there are some forms of knowledge production which are in danger of not taking place anywhere, since most of the other sites concerned with education are under even more pressure than we are in universities to come up with 'quick-fix' solutions to immediate technical problems.

Clearly, I am basing my remarks largely on recent experience in the UK. I understand that nothing quite like this is yet happening in the rest of Europe. However, even some work that might seem a long way away from

RCTs can have similar dangers. Some classroom ethnographies, policy evaluations, classroom action research and life histories, even where they identify themselves as critical, also fail to take account of the 'bigger picture'. And school effectiveness and school improvement research, which is strong at the Institute of Education and, I believe, also in Amsterdam, has often been among the worst offenders. Our colleague Gerald Grace has argued the importance of the 'bigger picture' on the grounds that too many education reformers have been guilty of 'producing naive school-centred solutions with no sense of the structural, the political and the historical as constraints' (Grace 1984, p. xii).

Too much educational research, as well as education policy, remains stubbornly decontextualised. For example, the Australian Lawrence Angus (1993) criticises much of the school effectiveness research for failing 'to explore the relationship of specific practices to wider social and cultural constructions and political and economic interests' (p. 335). Thus, he says, the apparent message of some of the work 'that all children can succeed at school provided teachers have expectations, test them regularly, etc., shifts attention away from the nature of knowledge, the culture of schooling and, most importantly, the question of for whom and in whose interests schools are to be effective' (p. 342). Richard Hatcher (1996) sees such work as downplaying the significance of social class, with similar consequences.

Certainly, the more optimistic versions of work in this genre tend to exaggerate the extent to which local agency can challenge structural inequalities. For example, today, some of the school effectiveness and school improvement literature glosses over the fact that one conclusion to be drawn from a reading of its own bible of the pioneering *Fifteen Thousand Hours* research (Rutter et al. 1979) is that, if all schools performed as well as the best schools, the stratification of achievement by social class would be even more stark than it is now. Angus also suggests that a lack of engagement with sociological theory can mean that such work is trapped in 'a logic of common sense which allows it ... to be appropriated into the Right's hegemonic project' (Angus 1993, p. 343). Thus, it sometimes seems that not only neo-liberal rhetoric, but also some forms of educational research, take the discursive repositioning of schools as autonomous self-improving agencies at its face value rather than recognising that, in practice, the atomisation of schooling too often merely allows advantaged schools to maximise their advantages.

I am pleased to say that these criticisms have been accepted by Peter Mortimore, the former Director of the Institute and leading school effec-

tiveness researcher, in a paper we co-authored on the limits and possibilities of school improvement strategies for overcoming the effects of social disadvantage. This was originally written at the time the previous Conservative government was suggesting that all children, including disadvantaged children, would be best served by giving individual schools autonomy and allowing them to compete in the market place of parental choice.

Interestingly, the paper was seen by the media as an attack on the New Labour government – which perhaps shows how little has really changed. Even though New Labour has certainly shown somewhat more of a tendency to intervene in the interests of the disadvantaged, there is no doubt that the present government's so-called 'Third Way' has much more in common with the policies of its Conservative predecessor than with those of Labour's own social democratic past, at least in relation to education.

So how might we understand what is going on here? In the rest of this presentation, I want to draw on my own area of research on education policy to consider how we might understand the transformations that are going on in that field by looking at both the detail and the bigger picture. My most recent book (Whitty et al. 1998) examines policies of school autonomy and parental choice in Australia, New Zealand, the USA and Sweden, as well as England and Wales – countries which have had varied political regimes. Marketisation policies have also become popular in countries with histories as different as Chile and China. So there is clearly something happening in education that is bigger than local fashion, even if some of the extreme versions of neo-liberalism have not yet penetrated the education system of continental Western Europe. As I understand it, such influences have been limited in Germany, at least in the old Länder. In the Netherlands, the long-standing commitment to choice has a rather different provenance, though even there the rhetoric of choice is taking on new meanings. Andy Green, Alison Wolf and Tom Leney have rightly warned us (in their recent book on convergence and divergence in European education policy, Green et al. 1999) against thinking that all countries, even in the European Union, have responded in the same way to globalising and regionalising trends.

Even so, there are some broad trends in many parts of the world, despite local differences of emphasis and a few exceptions. In seeking to understand the similarities between policies, a range of explanations can be invoked. At one end of the continuum are those that highlight the role of policy-carriers, and at the other end are theories of globalisation and postmodernity. Of course, these various explanations may not be mutually ex-

clusive, but each emphasises a different locus of change which may have important implications for the possibility of generating potential alternatives to current policies. So I shall now say a few words about each.

One form of explanation is that ideas developed in one context have been copied in another. To some extent, neo-liberal policies have been actively fostered by international organisations, for example by the IMF and the World Bank in Latin America and Eastern Europe (Arnove 1996), while informal modes of transmission are also common (Whitty/Edwards 1998). There is certainly evidence to suggest that, when education policy-makers formulate proposed reforms, they look to other countries for inspiration and justification. Tony Edwards and I have discussed this in relation to Britain and the USA in a recent paper (Whitty/Edwards 1998). But while policy-borrowing has clearly been a factor in the move towards choice within devolved systems of schooling, it only begs more questions about what gives these particular policies such widespread appeal across different countries and different political parties at this time.

Some observers suggest that the reforms can be better understood in terms of the transportation of changing modes of regulation from the sphere of production into other areas, such as schooling and welfare services. They point to a correspondence between the establishment of differentiated markets in welfare and the wider shift in the economy away from Fordism towards a post-Fordist mode of accumulation (Jessop et al. 1987, p. 109). Stephen Ball (1990), for example, has claimed to see in new forms of schooling a move away from the 'Fordist' school towards a 'post-Fordist' one – the educational equivalent of flexible specialisation driven by the imperatives of differentiated consumption replacing the old assembly-line world of mass production. These 'post-Fordist schools' are designed 'not only to produce the post-Fordist, multi-skilled, innovative worker but to behave in post-Fordist ways themselves; moving away from mass production and mass markets to niche markets and "flexible specialisation" ... a post-Fordist mind-set is thus having implications in schools for management styles, curriculum, pedagogy and assessment' (Kenway 1993, p. 115).

Jane Kenway (1993) goes further and regards the rapid rise of the market form in education as something much more significant than post-Fordism; she therefore terms it a 'postmodern' phenomenon, associated with processes of globalisation accentuating the global and the local at the expense of the national. Part of the appeal of the recent education reforms may also lie in their declared intention to encourage the growth of different types of school, responsive to needs of particular communities and interest

119

groups. They may seem to connect to the aspirations of groups who found little to identify with in the 'grand narratives' associated with modernist national or class-based schooling. In this sense, the reforms might be viewed as a rejection of all totalising narratives and their replacement by 'a set of cultural projects united [only] by a self-proclaimed commitment to heterogeneity, fragmentation and difference' (Boyne/Rattansi 1990, p. 9). In other words, support for schools run on a variety of principles (or local narratives) could reflect a broader shift from the assumptions of modernity to those of postmodernity.

However, there are various problems with these 'new times' theses. They are not only 'notoriously vague' (Hickox 1995) but, in my view, they also tend to exaggerate the extent to which we have moved to a new regime of accumulation. The more optimistic versions also exaggerate the benefits of the changes. In practice, they often produce increased social polarisation and hierarchy rather than the diversity and choice that is celebrated in the rhetoric. Neo-Fordism may therefore be a more appropriate term than post-Fordism (Allen 1992), while Giddens' concept of 'high modernity' probably captures the combination of change and continuity rather better than that of 'postmodernity' (Giddens 1991). Indeed, new cultural forms and more flexible modes of capital accumulation may be shifts in surface appearance, rather than signs of the emergence of some entirely new post-capitalist society (Harvey 1989).

To that extent, the reforms may be better seen as new ways of dealing with the vagaries of capitalism. The new arrangements for managing education and other public services can be seen as new ways of tackling the problems of accumulation and legitimation facing the state in a situation where the traditional 'welfare state' is no longer deemed viable (Dale 1989). It is thus possible to argue that the current move towards school decentralisation arises from the state's inability convincingly to present public education as a means of promoting a more equitable society and redistributing real opportunities. Such a position is taken by Manfred Weiss (1993) in Germany who suggests that devolution is the latest in a series of strategies used by the state to legitimate its policies and practices. He suggests that policies of school autonomy and parent empowerment leave conflict to be dealt with at lower levels of the system, with the higher administrative structures appearing uninvolved and, therefore, above reproach. They are an effective strategy for 'shifting the blame'. The failure of individual schools to flourish as 'stand alone' institutions can be attributed to poor leadership or teaching quality. Similarly, unequal educational

achievement among students can be explained through poor parenting – either through failing to exercise the new entitlement to choose effectively, or failing to engage with schools as active partners and participants.

It seems clear that, although the extent of any underlying social changes can easily be exaggerated by various 'post-ist' forms of analysis, both the discourse and the contexts of political struggles in and around education *have* been significantly altered by recent reforms. Not only have changes in the nature of the state influenced the reforms in education, the reforms in education are themselves beginning to change the way we think about the role of the state and what we expect of it.

At one level, the new policies foster the idea that responsibility for education and welfare, beyond the minimum required for public safety, is to be defined largely as a matter for individuals and families. Not only is the scope of the state narrowed, but civil society becomes increasingly defined in market terms. As many of the responsibilities adopted by the state during the post second world war period begin to be devolved to a marketised version of civil society, consumer rights increasingly come to prevail over citizen rights.

Yet, while some aspects of education have been 'privatised' not so much in the strictly economic sense as in the ideological sense of transferring them to the private decision-making sphere, others have become a matter of state mandate rather than local democratic debate. Despite the rhetoric about 'rolling back' or 'hollowing out' the state, certain aspects of state intervention have been maintained, or indeed strengthened. The strong state is a minimalist one in many respects but a more powerful and even authoritarian one in others.

Particularly helpful in understanding how the state remains strong while appearing to devolve power to individuals and autonomous institutions competing in the market is Neave's (1988) account of the shift from the 'bureaucratic state' to the 'evaluative state'. This entails 'a rationalisation and wholesale redistribution of functions between centre and periphery such that the centre maintains overall strategic control through fewer, but more precise, policy levers, contained in overall "mission statements", the setting of system goals and the operationalisation of criteria relating to "output quality" ' (p. 11). Rather than leading to a withering away of the state, the state withdraws 'from the murky plain of overwhelming detail, the better to take refuge in the clear and commanding heights of strategic "profiling" ' (p. 12). In Britain, this has brought about the emergence of new intermediary bodies – trusts, agencies and quangos – which are di-

121

rectly appointed by and responsible to government ministers rather than being under local democratic control. Such agencies are often headed by a new breed of government appointees who tend to have a higher public profile than conventional state bureaucrats and who have had a significant role in setting new political agendas through close contacts with the media.

The evaluative state also requires significant changes to be made at the institutional level. Schools and colleges have to develop new modes of response which require new structures and patterns of authority. In particular, it seems to encourage strong goal-oriented leadership at the institutional level, involving a shift from the traditional collegial model to the business model of the 'chief executive' and 'senior management team', involving a change in the habitus of school management. Education is increasingly framed as a commodity and education policy becomes the means by which it can be more efficiently and effectively regulated and distributed in relation to an overriding concern with economic objectives, so that the market becomes the ascendant metaphor and there is a clear permeation of business values and vocabulary into educational discourse (Marginson 1993).

In Australia, Simon Marginson (1993) claims that this emphasis on economic objectives entails a distancing of education from social and cultural domains. In practice, however, there is often another component to current policies that needs to be taken into consideration. In many countries there has been a coalition of neo-liberal advocates of market forces and neo-conservative proponents of a return to 'traditional' values (Gamble 1983). Where neo-conservatives are strong, they expect the education system to foster particular values, especially amongst those whose adherence to them is considered suspect. The criteria of evaluation employed are thus not only those of economic rationalism but also those of cultural preferences. This is particularly the case where there is perceived to be a threat to national identity and hegemonic values either from globalisation or from supposed 'enemies within', who are sometimes seen to include 'bureau-professionals' and members of the 'liberal educational establishment', as well as newcomers.

For example, British governments have 'actually increased their claims to knowledge and authority over the education system whilst promoting a theoretical and superficial movement towards consumer sovereignty' (McKenzie 1993). This central regulation of the curriculum is not only geared towards standardising performance criteria in order to facilitate professional accountability and consumer choice within the education market-

place, it is also about trying to maintain or create national identities. Underlying the formulation of the English National Curriculum has been a consistent requirement that schools concentrate on British history, British geography and 'classic' English literature. During its development, the neo-conservative Hillgate Group (1987) expressed concern about pressure for a multicultural curriculum and argued for 'the traditional values of western societies' underlying British culture which 'must not be sacrificed for the sake of a misguided relativism, or out of a misplaced concern for those who might not yet be aware of its strengths and weaknesses' (p. 4). But devolution, even to state-funded Islamic schools, is seen as acceptable, so long as all children are provided with 'the knowledge and understanding necessary for the full enjoyment and enhancement of British society'.

Thus, although some theories of globalisation hold that the national state is becoming less important on economic (Reich 1991), political (Held 1989) and cultural (Robertson 1991) grounds, at the present time there is little to support postmodernist predictions of the decline of the role of the state in education, at least in relation to the compulsory phase of provision. While this phenomenon of a strengthened state alongside policies of devolution and choice is particularly evident in Britain, similar trends can be identified in many countries (Gordon 1995; Apple; 1996, Arnove 1996). Even if we concede that there has been a reduction in the profile of the nation state as an international entity and a convergence of policy approaches, there is nothing to suggest that it has yet conceded its grip on areas of internal regulation. Globalisation does not negate the national state but does require it to respond.

This also means that the particular national responses to globalisation and the situation confronting modern nation states are not inevitable. Current policies are not simply explicable as irresistible outcomes of macrosocial change. The particular combination of policies found in Britain, the USA and New Zealand, for example, has been more heavily influenced than those in much of continental Europe by the interpretations of such changes offered by the New Right. Furthermore, we should remember that neither enhanced choice nor school autonomy is necessarily linked to a conservative agenda and that such measures have, in other circumstances, sometimes been part of a more progressive package of policies. Indeed, in New Zealand and Australia, some of the reforms actually originated in a different tradition, but have subsequently been incorporated and transformed by a rightist agenda. So, while we should not underestimate the significance of those changes which are evoked – but inadequately charac-

123

terised – by terms such as post-Fordism and postmodernity, we should not assume that the policy responses that are currently fashionable are the most appropriate ones. In many countries, the political left was rather slow in recognising the significance of the changes and thus allowed the right to take the initiative. This, in turn, has had serious consequences for the direction in which reform has gone and consequences for the particular forms of subjectivity which they encourage. But it has also generated some potential contradictions that may be exploited by those seeking an alternative agenda.

I now want to say a little about some of the tensions within current developments – tensions between the state and the market, the national and the global, and between the overt and the hidden curricula of schooling, since these are particularly relevant to transformations of identities. For example, the emphasis on competition and choice in some of the reforms has brought with it an associated 'hidden curriculum' of marketisation. Ball (1994) claims that 'insofar as students are influenced and affected by their institutional environment, then the system of morality "taught" by schools is increasingly well accommodated to the values complex of the enterprise culture' (p. 146). Old values of community, co-operation, individual need and equal worth, which Ball claims underlay public systems of comprehensive education, are being replaced by values that celebrate individualism, competition, performativity and differentiation. These values and dispositions are not made visible and explicit, but emanate from the changing social context and permeate the education system in myriad ways.

In some cases, the messages of the market and the preferences of governments complement each other. In other instances, however, market forces may contradict, or even undermine, the 'old-fashioned' values and sense of nationhood that governments ostensibly seek to foster. This contradiction may reflect more than the ideological distance between neo-conservatism and neo-liberalism. It could represent the tension between attempting to maintain a stable and strategic centre in an increasingly fragmented and atomised context. The market, as Marquand (1995) reminds us, is subversive – it 'uproots communities, disrupts families, mocks faiths and erodes the ties of place and history'.

To some extent the potential subversion of the market is contained through strong regulatory measures on the part of nation states. But neo-conservative agendas may be increasingly compromised by the growing presence of corporate interests in the classroom. Whereas the school cur-

124

riculum has traditionally transcended – indeed actively distanced itself from – the world of commerce (see Wiener 1981), the growth of self-managing schools and the promotion of market forces within education is forging a new intimacy between these two domains. In England, schools have been given clearance to sell space for advertising and there has been a proliferation of commercially sponsored curriculum materials. This has provoked various responses. Those on the left are concerned that curriculum materials portray a partial, and inaccurate, account of business interests. For this connection, Molnar (1996) quotes a study guide on banking, which defines 'free enterprise' as the symbol of 'a nation which is healthy and treats its citizens fairly'. One international survey of corporate products in the classroom found that 'the biggest polluters of the environment – the chemical, steel, and paper industries – were the biggest producers of environmental education material' (Harty 1994, p. 97). Neo-conservatives, on the other hand, are critical of the cultural threat of what is sometimes called 'McDonaldisation'. There are fears that schools will develop 'an anti-intellectual emphasis' and 'a consumptionist drive to purchase status goods'. Indeed, Harty alleges that the permeation of multinationals 'contributes to a standardised global culture of material gratification ... [which will] impinge on the cultural integrity of whole nations' (Harty 1994, pp. 98 f.). For this scenario, far from encouraging students to appreciate the particularities of their regional or national inheritance, schooling becomes implicated in the training of desires, rendering subjects open to the seduction of ever-changing consumption patterns and the politics of lifestyling.

Thus, there are often contrasting messages coming from the overt and the hidden curricula. While, at the level of direct transmissions, students are meant to be taught the neo-conservative values of the 'cultural restorationists' (Ball 1990), the context in which they are taught may undermine these canons. The content of the lessons may emphasise heritage and tradition, but the form of their transmission is becoming increasingly commodified within the new education marketplace.

This tension is discussed in a paper by an eminent previous holder of the Karl Mannheim Chair, Basil Bernstein (1997). He argues that the increasing deregulation of the economic field and the increasing regulation of what he terms the symbolic field are generating new forms of educational identity in contrast to both the 'retrospective' identity of old conservatism and the 'therapeutic' identity associated with the child-centred progressivism that was evident in England and the USA in the 1960s and 1970s. An emergent 'decentred market' identity embodies the principles of

125

neo-liberalism. It has no intrinsic properties, and its form is dependent only upon the exchange value determined by the market and is therefore infinitely variable and unstable. A 'prospective' pedagogic identity, on the other hand, attempts to 'recentre' identity through selectively incorporating elements of old conservatism. It engages with contemporary change, but draws upon the stabilising traditions of the past as a counterbalance to the instability of the market. While a decentered market pedagogy might be seen to foster 'new' global subjects, a prospective pedagogy seeks to reconstruct 'old' national subjects, albeit selectively in response to the pressures of the new economic and social climate. Thus, there may be a renewed emphasis in the overt curriculum on 'imagined communities' of the past at the same time as real collectivities are being atomised in a culture of individual and institutional competition.

This suggests that, inasmuch as the current wave of reforms marks a response by nation states to deal with the fundamental, and increasingly apparent, social and economic crises by which they are beleaguered – both from within and without – devolution can provide only a temporary solution. As Weiss (1993) argues, the conflicts and disparities within the education system are too deep-seated to be resolved by simply shifting the blame down the line. As the processes of polarisation become sharper and the failure of local initiatives more transparent, the structural limitations of the new educational policies will be re-exposed. In this context, Green (1996) argues that even the current degree of responsibility taken by national governments for public education may not be enough 'as the social atomisation induced by global market penetration becomes increasingly dysfunctional. With the decline of socially integrating institutions and the consequent atrophy of collective social ties, education may soon again be called upon to stitch together the fraying social fabric' (p. 59). While the demise of some forms of national solidarity may be long overdue, the general atrophy of collective ties and consequent loss of notions of citizenship which Green predicts must surely be cause for concern. The issue then becomes one of establishing how education might best help reconstruct the social fabric and new conceptions of citizenship and who shall influence its design. The impact of the developments discussed above on coming generations may only be a matter of conjecture at this stage, but it does seem clear that the very structures of education systems and their associated styles of educational decision-making impinge upon modes of social solidarity and forms of political consciousness and representation.

Finally I we have to consider what is the role of agency in educational transformations, particularly when much of what I have been saying has been concerned with structural issues. What, in particular might be the role of researchers? Most of what I have said so far would fit Stephen Ball's (1997) category of studies *of* educational policy rather than studies *for* policy. Or, perhaps in Gerald Grace's (1984) terms, it would appear to be an exercise in policy scholarship rather than policy science. I have certainly argued that work that recognises the bigger picture is to be preferred to the narrow instrumentality of much official activity in our field, but I am *not* arguing for an ivory tower or blue skies approach to research and I do not claim that our work should be isolated from policy and practice. Indeed, my own view is that policy scholarship and policy science are not as distinct as is sometimes suggested by people like Grace.

So, what can this sort of analysis do *for* policy? If rampant marketisation has not produced the benefits claimed by its advocates, how might we develop new and more genuinely inclusive collectivities for the future? Are there alternative prospective identities that we might want to foster through both the overt and hidden curricula of schooling? If so, we just cannot afford to ignore the bigger picture, when whatever we as educationists may propose in terms of transforming classrooms or curricula is set in the context of the wider landscape, which has important implications for strategies of intervention as well as strategies of research. As we have seen, members of New Right networks helped to spread neo-liberal policies around the globe during the 1980s and 1990s (Whitty/Edwards 1998). It is equally important that those who contemplate alternative responses to global developments share and develop their ideas and experiences with like-minded people throughout the world, while recognising that specific policies and practices must be grounded in the history and culture of particular national and local contexts. In doing so, we must always keep in sight – like the vulture – both the detail and the bigger picture.

References

Allen, I. (1992). Post-industrialism and post-Fordism. In: S. Hall/D. Held/T. McGrew (eds.), *Modernity and its Futures*. Cambridge, Polity Press.

Angus, L. (1993). 'The Sociology of School Effectiveness.' *British Journal of Sociology of Education* 14(3): 333-345.

Apple, M. W. (1996). *Cultural Politics and Education*. New York, Teachers College Press.

Arnot, M. (1998). Respondent: 'Distressed Worlds': Social Justice through Educational Transformations. In: D. Carlson/M. W. Apple (eds.), *Power/Knowledge/Pedagogy: The Meaning of Democratic Education in Unsettling Times*. Boulder/Col.: Westview Press.

Arnove, R. (1996). *Neo-Liberal Education Policies in Latin America: Arguments in Favour and Against*. Paper presented at the Comparative and International Education Society Conference, Williamsburg, V A, 6-10 March.

Ball, S. J. (1990). *Politics and Policy-Making in Education: Explorations in Policy Sociology*. London, Routledge.

Ball, S. J. (1994). *Education Reform: A Critical and Post-Structural Approach*. Buckingham: Open University Press.

Ball, S. J. (1997). 'Policy, Sociology and Critical Social Research: A Personal View of Recent Education Policy and Policy Research.' *British Educational Research Journal* 23: 257.

Beck, U./A. Giddens et al. (1994). *Reflexive Modernization*. Cambridge, Polity Press.

Bernstein, B. (1997). *Educational Reform and Pedagogic Identities*, Paper presented at the University of Umea.

Boyne, R./Rattansi, A. (eds.). (1990). *Postmodernism and Society*. London: Macmillan.

Dale, R. (1989). *The State and Education Policy*. Milton Keynes, Open University.

Gamble, A. (1983). Thatcherism and Conservative Politics. In: S. Hall/M. Jacques (eds.), *The Politics of Thatcherism*. London: Lawrence and Wishart.

Gibbons, M./Limoges, C. et al. (1994). *The New Production of Knowledge*. London: Sage.

Giddens, A. (1984). *The Constitution of Society*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Giddens, A. (1991). *Modernity and Self-Identity*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Giddens, A. (1994). Living in a Post-Traditional Society. In: U. Heck/A. Giddens/S. Lash (eds.), *Reflexive Modernization*. Cambridge, Polity Press.

Gordon, L. (1995). 'Controlling Education: Agency Theory and the Reformation of New Zealand Schools.' *Educational Policy* 9(1): 55-74.

Grace, G. (1984). *Education and the City: Theory, History and Contemporary Practice*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Green, A. (1996). *Education. Globalization and the Nation State*. Education, Globalization and the Nation-State: Comparative Perspectives, World Congress of Comparative Education Societies, University of Sydney.

Green, A./Wolf, A./Leney, T. (1999). *Convergence and Divergence in European Education and Training*. Bedford Way paper, London, University of London, Institute of Education.

Hammersley, M. (1996). 'Post Mortem or Post Modern? Some Reflections on British Sociology of Education.' *British Journal of Educational Studies* 44(4).

Harty, S. (1994). Pied Piper Revisited. In: D. Bridges/T. H. McLaughlin (eds.), *Education and the Market Place*. London: Falmer Press.

Harvey, D. (1989). *The Condition of Postmodernity: an Enquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Hatcher, R. (1996). The Limitations of the New Social Democratic Agendas. In: R. Hatcher/K. Jones (eds.), *Education after the Conservatives*. Stoke-on-Trent: Trentham Books, 27-58.

Hayek, F. A. (1944). *The Road to Serfdom*. London: Routledge.

Held, D. (1989). The Decline of the Nation State. In: S. Hall/M. Jacques (eds.), *New Times: The Changing Face of Politics in the 1990s*. London: Lawrence and Wishart, 191-204.

Hickox, M. (1995). 'Situating Vocationalism.' *British Journal of Sociology of Education* 16(2): 153-163.

Hillgate Group (1987). *The Reform of British Education*. London: Claridge Press.

Jessop, B./Bonnett, K. et al. (1987). 'Popular Capitalism, Flexible Accumulation and Left Strategy.' *New Left Review* 165: 104-123.

Kenway, J. (1993). 'Marketing Education in the Postmodern Age.' *Journal of Education Policy* 8(1): 105-122.

Mannheim, K. (1951). *Freedom. Power and Democratic Planning*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Mannheim, K./Stewart, W. A. C. (1962). *An Introduction to the Sociology of Education*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Marginson, S. (1993). *Education and Public Policy in Australia*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Marquand, D. (1995). Plagging Fortunes. *The Guardian*, 3 July.

McKenzie, J. (1993). *Education as a Private Problem or a Public Issue? The Process of Excluding 'Education' from the 'Public Sphere'*. Paper presented at the International Conference on the Public Sphere, Manchester, 8-10 January.

Mills, C. Wright (1961). *The Sociological Imagination*. Harmondsworth: Penguin.

Molnar, A. (1996). *Giving Kids the Business: The Commercialization of America's Schools*. Boulder/Col.: Westview Press.

Neave, G. (1988). 'On the Cultivation of Quality, Efficiency and Enterprise: An Overview of Recent Trends in Higher Education in Western Europe, 1968-1988.' *European Journal of Education* 23: 7-23.

Reich, R. (1991). *The Work of Nations: Preparing Ourselves for 21st Century Capitalism*. London: Simon and Schuster.

Robertson, R. (1991). Social Theory, Cultural Relativity and the Problem of Globality. In: A. D. King (ed.), *Culture. Globalization and the World-System*. London, Macmillan.

Rutter, M./Maughan, B. et al. (1979). *Fifteen Thousand Hours: Secondary Schools and Their Effects on Children*. London: Open Books.

129

Stewart, W.A.C. (1967). *Karl Mannheim on Education and Social Thought*. London, George G. Rarrap for the University of London, Institute of Education.

Shilling, C. (1993). 'The Demise of Sociology of Education in Britain?' *British Journal of Sociology of Education* 14(1): 105-112.

Weiss, M. (1993). 'New Guiding Principles in Educational Policy: The Case of Germany.' *Journal of Education Policy* 8(4): 307-320.

Whitty, G./Edwards, T. (1998). 'School Choice Policies in England and the United States: An Explanation of their Origins and Significance.' *Comparative Education* 34(2).

Whitty, G./Power, S. et al. (1998). *Devolution and Choice in Education: The School, the State and the Market*. Buckingham: Open University Press.

Wiener, M.J. (1981). *English Culture and the Decline of the Industrial Spirit 1850-1980*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hugo Röling

Intimacy and Estrangement between Parents and Children in Memories of Childhood in the Netherlands and Flanders 1800-1970

It is maintained in the literature on the history of the family that the quality of middle-class family life changed during the 19th and 20th centuries: the care given by mothers to their children intensified and even though fathers were often absent they were expected to take a greater interest in their children. In general, childhood as a stage in life was considered to be more important than it had been in previous centuries, resulting in a new self-consciousness about the early years of life. One of the corollaries of this development was the rise of a new type of autobiography dealing more extensively with childhood. This new cult of intimacy between parents and children is supported by the evidence presented in many childhood memoirs in which the *Leitmotiv* would seem to be: paradise lost. Children complained if living conditions were poor and security was lacking as they felt they were being deprived of a fundamental right: definitive of what should be expected in the parental home. But even a childhood spent in the most absolute bliss was subject to gradual deterioration and ultimate decline. Let us investigate the various ways in which this inevitable process took place in the Netherlands and Flanders.

In a study entitled, 'Remembering Childhood in Dutch and Flemish Families, 1800-1970', I collected all the autobiographies available in the Dutch language written by men and women born between ±1780 and 1950. Using some 200 detailed descriptions of childhood (supported by hundreds of more accidental reports) as a basis, it should be possible to present a collective biography of Dutch and Flemish children, and to follow changes in the way in which they experienced their younger years. In the following pages I shall attempt to review the parents' role at the early dawn of this new identity.

1. Intimacy, Security, and Trust

When parents are called to mind in early nineteenth-century children's memoirs gratitude, appreciation and admiration compete for pride of place. 'Our youth was happy, for we moved freely under the watchful eyes of our parents who treated us with loving care.'[1] This testimony from a deeply religious family is affirmed in Allard Pierson's rhetorical question: 'Was the remembrance of my youth not the memory of unadulterated enjoyment?'[2] Some years later, the atmosphere in the materialist philosopher J. Moleschott's parental home was no different: 'I acknowledge my thankfulness: in those days I basked in joy and abundance. I grew up with the support of my parents' love. I learned with gusto and had ample opportunity to test my own powers. I could totally immerse myself in the joys of reading, surrounded by the pleasures of the countryside (...).'[3] Parents are the most important people in this kind of paradise, a paradise that was destined to be lost, as pointed out by Carel Scharten, who borrowed the title for the memoirs of his early years from John Milton. But it had been paradise, 'because I remember being in a state of utter goodness and sheer delight, that was my first childhood – being in a state of inviolable happiness. Even serious illnesses could not diminish that happiness. They made it even more profound.' It was paradise because he retained this powerful memory of a feeling of total security in the presence of his parents. 'It's quite early in the morning. My parents are still asleep in their box bed. It is a large, low room with a green, beamed ceiling. (...) It is very quiet in the room. I am sitting up in my bed, which is close to the windows, and I am playing with the purse my mother keeps under her dress. It is full of delights, this shining black purse: a leather purse covered in small glittering stars, and a pencil ...'[4] For Theo Thijssen too his parents were the mainstay of his security. 'All the world was one collection of certainties; all was, as it was, and I knew exactly, how all things were. (...) Yes, the world was solid and reliable in its firmness.'[5] The family as 'a place of security'[6] is a commonplace, but this does not make the fact that it dominated people's memories less sincere: 'My father always kept his distance, but my mother

---

1   G. A. van der Brugghen [*1804], *'t Binnenste naar buiten gekeerd* (1891), pp. 4-5.

2   A. Pierson [*1831], *Intimis* (1861), p. 29.

3   J. Moleschott [*1822], *Voor mijne vrienden* (z.j.), p. 26.

4   Carel Scharten [*1878], *Het verloren paradijs* (1939), pp. 9 and 11.

5   Theo Thijssen [*1879], *In de ochtend van het leven* (1941), pp. 59 and 64.

6   N. Perquin [*1897], *Herinnering en overpeinzing* (1969), p. 14.

was very sweet: with her I was like a chick under the mother hen's wings, I was safe and warm with her, and I loved her dearly, because I was certain that she would protect from everything forever.'[7] A conspicuously modern father for the beginning of this century left his son with a feeling of total security: 'I slept in a small room facing the street. Early in the morning my father got me out of bed. He carried me to the kitchen at the other end of the hall. Father ate his porridge from a big plate and I from a small one. The sun was still low in the sky, it shone through my bedroom into the hall, and up into the kitchen. Millions of particles of dust danced in the golden light. Before father went to the factory, he took me to the large bed in the back room where my mother was sleeping. He tucked me in under the blankets with her and went downstairs. Softly the front door closed behind him. The sound of fathers' footsteps rang hollow through the street.'[8]

In the nineteenth century it was generally instilled into children that childhood was a time of bliss. In Holland this idea was captured in a popular children's rhyme written by Nicolaas Beets, *'How blissful when a boy's shirt hangs around our shoulders'*. The fact that several of those who recorded their memories quoted this rhyme, and expressed their approval of it, demonstrates that many acknowledged this sentiment. The idyll of the large family lived on in Hendrik Burger, later a well-known doctor. 'To us, fate was extraordinarily well-disposed. What sensible love came from above: what diligence and joy of living in this large family! At dinnertime there were at least three grown-ups present in the basement kitchen – father, mother and the "nanny" from Leeuwarden – six brothers and two younger sisters around the elongated round table, and two Frisian maidservants in the kitchen.'[9] Towards the end of the nineteenth century children remember the moments when they realised they were happy more emphatically. Those arbitrary moments, a Sunday-morning, the kitten playing in the garden, father reading his paper. From a nearby church comes the sound of the organ and singing. 'I thought: how can anyone be this happy.'[10] If happiness had been self-evident in the past, mentioning it increased prolifically in the course of the twentieth century. 'So I had a happy youth.'[11] 'We lived in great simplicity and were happy.'[12] 'I had a

7   Louis Couperus [*1863], *Zo ik iéts ben ...* (1974), pp. 11-13.

8   Jo Juda [*1909], *De zon stond nog laag* (1975), p. 5.

9   Hendrik Burger [*1864], *Leeuwarder jeugdherinneringen* (1949), p. 4.

10   Annie Salomons [*1885], *Toen en nu* (1961), p. 15.

11   Sal Tas [*1905], *Wat mij betreft* (1970), p. 9.

12   Bertus Aafjes [*1914], *De sneeuw van weleer* (1987), p. 49.

pleasant youth, I would not know what else I should say about it', Igor Cornelissen writes, but this happiness loses some of its lustre when he adds. 'A happy childhood. I insist on that. I have no accounts to settle'.[13] Laconic platitudes were more typical of working class children from families where the cultivation of emotion had yet to begin. They have a simple strong sound about them. 'I had a good childhood in Lemmer and as a family we enjoyed good health.'[14]

In the course of the twentieth century a growing number of autobiography writers no longer felt the need to praise their parents. The recent appearance of some childhood accounts in which the child erects a monument for his deceased parents signals the conspicuous return of an old theme.[15] Choreographer Rudi van Dantzig demonstrates this when he addresses his mother. 'In your parental home there had been no books, no music, you had not had a room of your own, and being able to continue schooling was out of the question. That only happened when you got work, when your first earnings paid for evening classes. Everything you achieved you did on your own, you altogether changed the course of your lives, the past had to be broken with. Murk [father] made a bookcase, you started playing musical instruments, Kollwitz was hung on the wall, as was Bart van der Leck, and Toorop. You gave up smoking and alcohol and you studied Esperanto: there should be one universal language, people – all humankind – must understand each other. What a generation of idealists, what gigantic steps you wanted to make and *did* make in the end. How much I love you, how much I owe you.'[16]

2. Fathers as Mainstays of Security

The fathers who figure in nineteenth-century autobiographies were considered by their daughters to be quite extraordinary. 'Fortunately, as children, we had no more contact with the nursemaids than the time necessary for them to dress and undress us and our good father took charge of our education; that was more advantageous than any of his sermons. He was, at least for me, father and mother at the same time. The memory of my Mother in those first years of my life is faint, she is relegated almost en-

---

13   Igor Cornelissen [*1935], *Van Zwolle tot Brest-Litowsk* (1983), pp. 53 and 74.

14   Teade Wouda [*1913], *Memoires van –, oud-pistonist, ...* (z.j.), p. 7.

15   Ida de Ridder, Leo Pleysier, Nicolaas Matsier, Mensje van Keulen.

16   Rudi van Dantzig [*1930], *Afgrond* (1996), p. 302.

tirely to the background, and what remains is more or less restricted to an image of her with a baby on her lap or sitting with a clothing basket on the table full of caps and ribbons (...). Father took over the task of keeping us occupied, by telling us stories and by taking us out for walks. He was my all and meant everything to me in those days. I cannot begin to describe how much I loved him.' It should be remembered that in this early nineteenth-century girl's opinion bringing up the children was quite definitely the mothers' task, but she expresses her gratitude for a father who participated far more in his children's education than she considered 'normal' for the 1820's. And above all: 'with my father I experienced and returned his love (...).'[17]

For Anna de Savornin Lohman the warmest memory of her youth was the intimacy between herself and her father, not to be undermined by later disappointments. Her father read to her a great deal: 'Yes, my father read me to sleep.'[18] She cherished a red-letter memory of one particular winter afternoon when she had been allowed to read in her father's study because she had caught a cold. 'O, the unforgettable intimacy of such an afternoon; the light is on, my father is working, I am reading; continuing to read about Brinio and the Batavians until, to my father's astonishment, in just one afternoon I had devoured the entire book he'd been given as a present for the feast of St. Nicholas.'[19] 'I remember my father as being the epitome of what is good and beautiful and sunny during my childhood. – What a delight he took in teasing me!' (...) One of my earliest memories involves the cuckoo clock in the hall. And me, sitting on my fathers' shoulders, being carried downstairs, and, when the little bird popped out, my doubts about its "genuineness" increasing more with every day that passed.'[20] Daughters admired their fathers' appearance in a way sons would seldom have recognised. 'As I remember him from my childhood he had the rare quality of male beauty.'[21]

When sons narrate memories of their fathers in the beginning of the nineteenth century, their purpose is to show gratitude. 'After a simple life he partook of his eternal rest and I, mourning my loss, could only think

---

17 K. Hooijer-Bruins [*1817], *Domineesdochter ... domineesvrouw ...* (1884), pp. 39, 43.

18 Anna de Savornin Lohman [*1868], *Herinneringen* (1909), pp. 10-13.

19 Anna de Savornin Lohman [*1868], *Herinneringen* (1909), pp. 55-56.

20 Anna de Savornin Lohman [*1868], *Herinneringen* (1909), pp. 8-9.

21 Henriëtte Roland Holst-Van der Schalk [*1869], *Het vuur brandde voort* (1949), p. 9.

with the greatest gratitude of that Mighty Power, that had bestowed him on me as my patron saint during the first and second quarters of my life. Let the remembrance of him be sacred to me forever!'[22] Thankfulness is shown as well in those cases where fathers made exacting demands upon their sons. '*My Father* was a man of strength and industry; he was a surgeon in Utrecht; not a man of books, but of practice; strong in body and tireless in his activities. (...) no one was more diligent when it came to taking care of his family; no one could set a better example than him in terms of hard work. Moreover he was a man who was all goodness, straightforward and gentle, unequalled in terms of helpfulness. (...) He was highly skilful, making all kinds of small objects. I never witnessed a single moment of idleness in his entire life (...). In brief: my father made me take a broad view of the world around me and he initiated me into the workings of a thousand things; if anything universal has revealed itself in me, I owe it to him.'[23] Being allowed to sit with my father in his study was a great treat. 'Nevertheless I can say he was my best friend and I knew no stronger feeling of security and bliss than that experienced when sitting there with him. There you can find his portfolios containing prints. I am allowed to chose one, but I must occupy myself with examining its contents slowly and meticulously for a fixed amount of time. There are heavy tomes (...). The volume I take from its case may not be exchanged for another within the next hour.'[24] Even when the son of a basket-maker from Bruges makes an inventory of his father's good and bad points it is gratitude which comes first. 'Besides, I am grateful to my father. He made me work hard and get going early, that's an entry on the debit side, and although it was disagreeable, it has certainly done me a world of good, but on the credit side two things stand out above all else: he could incite a person to defend himself. He had a preference for those boys who had made it on their own, and who could tell a good story.'[25]

Boys have vivid memories of the admiration they felt for their fathers. 'I still imagine my father in his habitual corner. What a handsome man he is! Health and strength, seriousness and a firm will, sincerity and honesty, goodness and brightness can all be read in his countenance.'[26] These sons

22   T. Hooiberg [*1809], *De geschiedenis van een ruim tachtigjarig leven* (1893), p. 97.

23   G. J. Mulder [*1802], *Levensschets* (1881), pp. (10-15 jos).

24   L. C. Schuller tot Peursum [*1847], *Weggevlotene jaren* (1918), p. 36.

25   Achille van Acker [*1898], *Herinneringen. Kinderjaren* (1964), pp. 208-209.

26   F. Haverschmidt [*1835], *Familie en kennissen* ([1879], 1981), p. 43.

record their desire to follow in their fathers' footsteps, but they were far from sure they could ever equal them. 'There was something of an aureole around my father's head and as children we looked up to him in awe. As my mother died when I was still a child, in 1857, I was even more drawn towards my father and my greatest desire from my earliest days onwards was to become like him. This was greatly encouraged by the woman who became my second mother, a friend of my own mother's, who had a consummate admiration for her husband (...).'[27] The implication would seem to be that Ferdinand Domela Nieuwenhuis, the first major socialist leader in Holland, did not consider this to be a healthy state of affairs. The way in which he knocked his revered father from his pedestal is not discussed in his autobiography *From Christian to Anarchist*. The memory of looking up to father with almost incredulous amazement was later attributed to being just a childhood stage he was passing through. 'He was an extremely gifted craftsman. What his eyes saw, his hands made.'[28] Imposing machines, like a car that had been in the garage all winter, obeyed him by starting again after only a few attempts. 'Thank goodness, what a relief. My Father can do everything or almost everything.'[29] 'As a child I envied him: he was good at carpentry, masonry and building.'[30] Father was good at chopping firewood too and he had a way with the fire. 'How strong my father was, and how skilful he was with an axe.'[31]

Sons who had attained far higher positions in society than their fathers held their fathers in great esteem, realising that their fathers had not had the opportunities or chances they had granted their sons, no matter how grudgingly this may have been done in some cases. 'My father was not a fighting character. (...) All the same he succeeded in working himself up from the gutter by way of the printing house owned by the honourable Claas van Gorcum at the Brink, as an errand-boy to begin with, then as a typesetter, until he made it to the position of overseer and corrector with the *Provinciale Drentsche en Asser Courant*' (local newspaper). He never made a mistake in Dutch, though he had hardly received any formal schooling. This father took his son on outings to instil a love of nature into him. 'When we got going together on Sunday mornings, he would some-

27   F. Domela Nieuwenhuis [*1846], *Van christen tot anarchist* (1910), p. 13.

28   Ger Harmsen [*1922], *Herfsttijloos* (1993), pp. 29-30.

29   Agnies Pauw van Wieldrecht [*1927], *Grootmama mogen wij kluiven?* (1992), p. 6.

30   J. M. A. Biesheuvel [*1939], *Biesboek* (1988), p. 15.

31   Nicolaas Matsier [*1945], *Gesloten huis* (1994), p. 33.

times suddenly stop to indicate the splendour of the sun rising over the open fields. "Stop here for a moment lad, and look eastward. Isn't that a view in a million?" '[32] For a Rotterdam worker there was an alternative to the moors and meadows of Drenthe. 'On Sunday mornings we roamed about the harbour. Weather barely permitting, my father and I would go out for a ramble. We were engulfed in the smell of oilskins and coffee, tar and oil, wood and grain, whilst inhaling the smell of far-away shores.' He also took his sons to museums and churches. 'A man, who had received no other formal education than primary school (provided by the ragged school of the 1880s at that!), went to all the museums of the good city of Rotterdam, trailing his boys along with him, and could be just as enthusiastic about the model of a ship from the Golden Age in the Maritime Museum as about the paintings in the old Boymans Museum. A worker, who voted conservative in line with his convictions, a freethinker, who taught his children to defer to the consecrated atmosphere of the Saint Laurens church, a Rotterdam man, in love with his city (...).'[33] The historian J. Presser had mixed feelings about his father because on the one hand 'this man from the slums' was 'absorbed by the idealism of a character like the diamond workers' union leader Henri Polak, whom he deeply venerated and faithfully obeyed, purchasing the books, attending the exhibitions, plays and concerts that he was summoned to',[34] but on the other hand this very same father had tried to prevent him from latching on to this upsurge in cultural interest and making it his profession.

In the course of the twentieth century these somewhat solemn expressions of gratitude take on a softer note; a more personal form of understanding between fathers and sons becomes apparent, related in warmer words. 'Crazy admirable father, who had only attended primary school.'[35] In the nineteenth century more camaraderie becomes evident. 'In my mind's eye I can still see my mother seated at her desk in front of the window looking out in expectation of her husband's arrival at the same time every day. He could be sighted from a long way off in the mirror on the wall outside the house, hurrying home from the exchange or the office. Children, there is papa! And we children always received this news with joy, for we knew a pleasant hour was close at hand, when papa would play all sorts of games with his two sons, doing little conjuring tricks to delight

32   Jan Fabricius [*1871], *Jeugd-herinneringen* ... (1946), p. 15, 171.

33   A. J. Koejemans [*1903], *Van ja tot amen* (1961), p. 14.

34   J. Presser [*1899], *Louter verwachting* (1985), p. 35.

35   Rudi van Dantzig [*1930], *Afgrond* (1996), p. 300.

and amaze them. Or sometimes he would take his violin from the side-board cabinet, to play for us, which we liked even better.'³⁶ The distinction between father and son seemed to dissolve. 'When we roamed through the woods and meadows around Assen together on our Sunday-morning outings, he jumped over the same ditches as I did, and when one of us got a wetting, it was always *he* who had the greatest fun.'³⁷ So many fathers joined in with the carefree play of their children. Coming home from the barracks Scharten, an army officer, 'sometimes danced around the room with me on his arm and sang a song (...) How delightful it was! It never crossed my mind that I understood nothing of the song nor was any attempt made to explain it to me.'³⁸

Fathers could radiate a heart-warming sense of security. 'I know no man as calm and quiet as he was. (...) Our God is still a firm stronghold – my father *was* a firm stronghold like that.'³⁹ Above all, those fathers who got up in the night to comfort a younger brother have been remembered for their hearts of gold. 'The bedstead is squeaking. My little brother is crying loudly. I can follow what is going on: father is picking him up out of his bed and carrying him to the living room in his arms, his bare feet padding along the cold linoleum. There now, there, listen to this! What a soft voice this big, strong, sometimes quick-tempered father has when he sings! What is he going to sing now? Is it going to be "God is Good" or "Darkness is falling, my little rose?" He chooses the latter. (...) O, how delightful it was to hear father sing like that and how utterly safe I felt!'⁴⁰ The mere sound of his presence was sufficient. Young Louis Paul Boon was ill when his father sat up reading with him. 'I can still hear the rustle of the paper, the light touch of his thumb on the edge of the page as he turned it over sluggishly. No, I can't describe what went through my mind then, but it warmed me through and through, such a feeling of security enveloped me with father next to me, that I fell into a beneficial sleep.'⁴¹ Strangely enough, I have not come across a single memory of a mother consoling a child during the night, but I subscribe to the school of thought that believes that this was taken to be an integral part of a mother's job. However, Michel van der Plas writes that his idealised mother had failed to provide

---

36   Pieter Harting [*1812], *Mijne Herinneringen* (1961), p. 14.

37   Jan Fabricius [*1871], *Jeugd-herinneringen ...* (1946), p. 16.

38   Carel Scharten [*1878], *Het verloren paradijs* (1939), pp. 14-15.

39   Bertus Aafjes [*1914], *De sneeuw van weleer* (1987), p. 35.

40   Cor Bruijn [*1883], *Wijd was mijn land* (1961), p. 26.

41   Louis Paul Boon [*1912], *Verscheurd jeugdportret* (1975), p. 25.

this nocturnal consolation. 'For apart from the normal motherly care, she had never shown any tenderness towards us, at least not that was noticeable. For one thing she had never really tucked us in when we went to bed. If I got scared during the night, when I had a sore throat or was running a temperature, it was my father I called out for in the dark. And it was my father who came, bringing a hot drink, a bandage, or an encouraging word.'[42] Travelling by train to spend her holidays at the seaside, Ida de Ridder was seized by a fit of panic caused by the noise of the locomotives. Her father Willem Elsschot calmed her down. 'Then he whispered: "I shall warn you when the engine starts howling again." A moment later: "Put your fingers in your ears now, we are leaving." My confidence in him knew no bounds.'[43] There were fathers who were the very epitome of security, but in the case last mentioned the story is told to demonstrate that in a later stage of life a caring father could still become inaccessible.

3. Unforgettable Mothers

The way in which early nineteenth century sons paid homage to their mothers can only be described as a rhetorical boom, but it is difficult to ascertain with any certainty how genuine these feelings were. It could be ascribed to the eighteenth century resurgence of interest in education, in which the significance of the mother had been highly valued. An early witness, born in 1784, in an evocation of his mother makes it sound like he is commenting on the pedagogical debate taking place at the time: mother did a tremendous job, but she did not overdo it. 'O, thou good Mother! how well you knew how to join together prohibition and enjoyment. – If all Mothers were like that, surely there would not be as many inflexible and intractable people on earth! – Love was the basis of your noble character, but how few people there are, who know *that* love the way you did! – But this love did not degenerate into the unfortunate pampering that so many Mothers are guilty of spoiling their children with.'[44]

In the sons' autobiographies their appreciation of their mothers is a dominant theme, at times almost obsessive and embarrassing. '*My Mother* was the most adorable of all the human beings I have met on earth. She was almost too good for her family: she completely dedicated herself to it,

---

42 Michel van der Plas [*1927], *Onder dak zonder dak* (1985), pp. 129-130.

43 Ida de Ridder [*1918], *Willem Elsschot, mijn vader* (1994), p. 33.

44 H. F. Deel [*1784], *Een Haagsch patriciër* ..., p. 34.

the result being that she allowed herself no time to rest, often no time to sleep. I've never seen a more industrious woman. Furthermore she was always pleasant, happy even, but she also had a serious streak; she was orderly in her activities, in managing time and dealing with objects; she was as clean as a Dutch housewife, so we children learned in no uncertain terms what cleanliness was.' She was too perfect; praise changes to reproach. 'Such is a Mother, who is a *human being*. In one sense the inestimable privilege of having had *such* a Mother has also been the cause of misfortune in my further life, after my separation from her. Her image was, and for me remained, that of the ideal woman, and she still lives on in me as such. Nowhere could I find anyone to match up to her, and that left a void in my heart, like someone in love who has lost the object of his adoration, who wanders about, searches, checks and compares, but who always cries out to himself: "No, it is not *her*." '[45] Mother's devotion is infinite. 'Her entire life (since her husband's death) has been dedicated exclusively to her children. There may be mothers as faithful, but certainly not more faithful, than she was. For her, no other world existed than that of her children. In fact nothing aroused her interest unless it was linked with them in some way.'[46]

The pedestals on which the sons place their mothers are indeed lofty. 'Glad at heart, tender in her glances, she would play and frolic with us, but being deeply religious herself, she taught me to kneel on her lap at an early age, and she was the first to make me read the Scriptures and love them.' This boy, who not surprisingly was later to become a minister of the Dutch Reformed church, had his mother to thank for showing him genuine faith 'all science is in vain if the heart is not cultivated along with it, and the very first condition that must be met in educating the heart is associating with women. My mother, whom I could pour out my heart to, with whom I dared to reveal quite confidently all my fears, hopes, successes and failures, would have been sufficient for me. She was a paragon of true femininity, she was sweetness personified, tender and resigned, thinking of everything and everyone, actively full of confidence, in the centre of life and yet so undemanding that she never actually went looking for happiness.'[47] This solemn wording, spoken almost in awed amazement, would seem to be the only way mothers could be remembered in older autobiographies, but the same sentiment has continued down the years to our own

45   G. J. Mulder [*1802], *Levensschets* ... (1881), pp. (8 and 10 jos).

46   Pieter Harting [*1812], *Mijne Herinneringen* (1961), p. 15.

47   J. J. van Oosterzee [*1817], *Uit mijn levensboek* (1883), pp. 7, 26.

141

times. Ab Visser, born 1913, describes his mother, without the faintest trace of irony, as the one 'who combined all virtues in one person (...) at least in my eyes. At this moment, years after her death, she is still held up in front of me as a symbol of the perfect woman and mother; (...) She was there, that's all (...) as a combination of good qualities, as a buttress holding us all together and as a binding factor. Our family stood and fell with her.'[48]

When sons realised later how much work mothers had done in the household, they almost went as far as to express their remorse. 'How disproportionate the appreciation shown by the child for its mother at *the* time and the appreciation shown when the same child thinks it over *later*, contemplating how much he owes to such a woman from far away!'[49] Nowadays, respect for the sheer bulk of work carried out by their mothers has increased even more, as those boys who were so well taken care of as a matter of course in their youth, are now, as adults, expected to do more household work themselves. 'I wanted to show how appreciative I was for all her domestic work which, as a boy, I had despised in such a highly furtive way.'[50] It took quite a while before the somewhat more personal expressions of appreciation relating to mothers like 'the embodiment of love and gentleness'[51] found their way into boys memories' of their youth. 'My mother was a woman of great affection. Her whole life was devoted to her children. Her distress was sometimes that she could not be there for her children even more.'[52] In this testimony F.M. Wibaut seems to be implying that he thought this was taken too far. 'I loved my mother with all my heart,' the later minister H.M. van Nes writes on a more solemn note: 'And I was fortunately not among the number of clergymen, I hope rarely to be found, of whom it is said that they are not able to preach on the fifth commandment.'[53]

Details of this affection become more intimate at the end of the nineteenth century. 'In the afternoon standing at the window in the front room, she would tell me little tales and draw houses and trees and little men and women to accompany them. (...) The lilting quality of her voice, when she

---

48 Ab Visser [*1913], *De buurt* (1953), pp. 23, 67.

49 J.H. Schaper [*1868], *Een halve eeuw ...* (1933), p. 152.

50 Nicolaas Matsier [*1945], *Gesloten huis* (1994), p. 135.

51 J.L. Pierson [*1854], *Memoires ...* (1926), p. 5.

52 F.M. Wibaut [*1859], *Levensbouw* (1936), p. 9.

53 H.M. van Nes [*1860], *Uit mijn leven* (z.j.), p. 109.

laughed, was the loveliest music of my youth.'⁵⁴ The wording becomes more passionate. 'I loved my mother *very* much and idolised her.'⁵⁵ 'I pondered on my mother intimately, how much I cherished her, how much I worshipped her.'⁵⁶ 'She had the warmth of the sun: cosy, reliable, full of feeling and harmony surrounded you.'⁵⁷ The list of grateful children goes on endlessly. 'Her love was so vast – so strong. My mother was un-sur-pas-sa-ble!'⁵⁸ 'She was a severe but warm-hearted, cheerful mother – a delightful combination – who directed all of her ambition to her husband and children.'⁵⁹

There is one special quality in ideal mothers that is remembered as something magical: mothers can feel the distress of their boys from a distance. 'One evening, while I was still very young, she found me weeping in bed. My sobs were not loud, but she had heard! In the dark she came quietly to my bedstead, took my hand in hers and said: "Just tell me, my boy. Whatever it is, mum will understand." '⁶⁰ The sons were aware of the fact that their mothers saw through them, they knew 'how she perceived all the obscurity in my spirit by bestowing on me a dark-soft look.'⁶¹ Such things had nothing to do with her schooling. 'I have frequently seen my mother altogether over-tired, but never fretful. She did not know much. But she comprehended all that passed through my mind.'⁶² There were even mothers who did not dismiss their sons' fantasies as children's games, but who shared them instead. 'In my mother, who came from a long line of sailors, I found an appreciative ear for my fantasies. No matter how busy she was, she always found time to listen to me. She did it attentively, but she did warn me against immoderately high expectations. Years later when I read Ibsen's *Peer Gynt* and came across the moving scenes between Peer and his mother Ase, in which they escaped reality together, I was deeply moved. I had experienced something similar with my mother. We too escaped reality together.'⁶³

54   Carel Scharten [*1878], *Het verloren paradijs* (1939), p. 14.
55   Jan Ligthart [*1859], *Jeugdherinneringen* (1913), pp. 9-10.
56   Aart van der Leeuw [*1876], *Kinderland* (1914), p. 241.
57   Gerlof Verwey [*1901], *'s Levens avontuur* (1994), pp. 9-10.
58   Siep Adema [*1904], *Wie het geweten heeft* (1994), p. 12.
59   Sal Tas [*1905], *Wat mij betreft* (1970), p. 8.
60   Jan Fabricius [*1871], *Jeugd-herinneringen ...* (1946), p. 18.
61   Aart van der Leeuw [*1876], *Kinderland* (1914), p. 241.
62   J. Verkuyl [*1908], *Gedenken en verwachten* (1983), p. 13.
63   Anthony van Kampen [*1911], *Kijken over de kim* (z.j.), p. 22.

Daughters are noticeably less complimentary about their mothers. It would take too many pages to report my findings on this subject here.

4. The Assumption of a Rift between Parents and Children

Whether their trust in their parents had been complete or not, whether children had felt safe or not, sooner or later they became aware of a distance between these admired, or despised, parents and themselves. This began the moment the children remembered being put off, maybe good-heartedly, but being put off all the same. 'Someday, when I have time, I'll feel sorry for you', was the motto of an otherwise benevolent father,[64] but children were told in a great number of different ways that they did not yet belong to adult society. 'When I proved to be too inquisitive, she would reprove me curtly: "That's not meant for children. You'll understand that later on." '[65] In well-to-do bourgeois circles children were kept at a distance as a matter of course. They were not supposed to interrupt the grown-ups' conversations, but by the end of the nineteenth century this is looked back on as being old-fashioned. It was the grandparents who insisted on it then. 'When my little sister wanted to tell a story: "Ma ... there was ...", Grandma's weary voice would be there like a shot: "Hush, children should be seen and not heard. And take your elbow off the table, Erna ... you should be ashamed of yourself!" '[66] In lower middle-class families talking to children was still uncommon as a boy born at the beginning of this century relates. 'In those days there were few topics concerning inner life and humane intercourse that could be discussed with children. It was not just the taboos. It extended to almost anything in which one person could support another (...). Fearing something might have aroused inner resistance, nothing was said, or this was done in a crude and unintentionally coarse way.'[67]

The well-meant evasion of painful truths concerning the world and adult society were key experiences in the process of losing the paradise of childhood. Carel Scharten tried in vain not be aware of it. He was seven when he visited the historical collection in the well-known prison Gevangenpoort in The Hague. A creepy gentleman in a top hat explained the use

---

64 Cor Bruijn [*1883], *Wijd was mijn land* (1961), p. 93.

65 Camille Huysmans [*1871], *Jeugdherinneringen* (1971), p. 50.

66 Rie Cramer [*1887], *Flitsen* (1966), p. 16.

67 A. C. J. de Vrankrijker [*1907], *Jong leven in een oude dorpskern* (1977), p. 98.

of red-hot irons and all those instruments of torture from bygone days. 'I saw nothing and said nothing. It seemed a dream, terrifying to a degree I had never experienced in my worst nightmare. When we were outside again, I asked aunt Lize: "Auntie, it isn't really true, what the man told us, is it?" I had to repeat my question. "Oh no, my lad!" she retorted, in an artificially gay voice, "not in the least, not in the least!" But in deep dismay I knew that this unthinkable reality about people against people was true.'[68] Even when parents were willing to listen it was impossible for them to answer all the questions children put to them. 'I desired to know, one question followed the other, ceaselessly like the ripples in a quick-flowing creek, (...) "why, why then", as an everlasting refrain. With my mother I learned nothing. I was none the wiser after asking her. She listened seriously, her head somewhat bowed, with a far-away absent expression on her face; and she responded just as seriously from the level of her thoughts. I received the logical explanation, but I could not decipher what these words actually meant, I was facing the unbridgeable gap that separates the child from the adult. With father the case was even more hopeless. He was a man who made his way through life in an uncomplicated, cheerful way, he never searched for cause or consequence; laughingly he would walk next to his questioning son, whom he did not comprehend, gloating over his amusing inquisitiveness, and giving him playful answers full of nonsense.'[69] This complaint of a man born in 1878 is mirrored almost a century later in a boy who still asked too many questions. 'I can ask questions for days (...) What is a miracle, papa? Why can't people explain that? Why can only girls buy children? (...) Why won't you answer my questions? Why are your answers never complete and why am I never satisfied? Why can I never understand you? Why do you talk to me so little? (...) Why do I have to keep quiet all the time? (...) Why shall I understand everything later? How will that happen later?' In his case, getting no answers marks the onset of bitterness. Jan Emiel Daele was overcome by this feeling later on during a trip through the region where his father was born. 'Throughout the ride you do not mention the villages we pass once, not a word on this region you know so well (...) never a thing, perpetual silence, silence that makes me choke, you gazing along the roads and over the fields, absorbed in thought, I dreaming of the beauty and the loveliness of the first girl that ever looked at me (...).'[70]

---

68   Carel Scharten [*1878], *Het verloren paradijs* (1939), pp. 78-79.

69   Aart van der Leeuw [*1876], *Kinderland* (1914), pp. 101-102.

70   Jan Emiel Daele [*1942], *Je onbekende vader ...* (1977), pp. 97-98, 69.

Even loving parents could evoke vague fears. 'There is perhaps nothing I learned so well as a child as being afraid. (...) I was not only afraid of my father, but of my mother too, even though at the same time I was convinced that they both loved me and that I loved them too, maybe more, and more heartily than a child, who is not afraid, loves his parents. As soon as I showed up in the morning in the living room, I was afraid my parents would beat me (...).'[71] There was a consciousness of the conditional character of your faith in your parents (and vice versa). You could not do without them, but what might they do to you? The historian Frits de Jong was tied up in his bed (probably to combat alleged masturbation). He observes somewhat dejectedly: 'From now on I allowed myself to be put into some kind of harness every evening – remarkably without protest (for if I were to oppose my parents, then any hold I might have on the world would be lost).'[72] Parents' unpredictable behaviour scared children off; a cruel joke left a girl with the 'unconscious knowledge that she had been allowed to come into the world with some reluctance.' Her mother had said that there was no more money to feed another mouth and that the family would have to go out begging. 'It was as if I had received a blow to the head (...).' She wept and prayed, but next day it turned out that nothing was the matter. Her mother laughed in her face: ' "Those silly kids would believe anything (...) No, of course not, I only said it for fun." It was a tremendous relief to me, but all the same it left me with a nasty taste in my mouth. Why would she say something like that, if there was no truth in it.'[73]

The feeling of being excluded from the adult world made children keep their distance. 'The adults among whom one lived, shared a good deal of secret knowledge between them, which nobody talked about, and as a consequence you groped around to understand their mysteries. They told you something about the mystery of God, but not the most important things, the mystery of the origin of the children, which they passed off with a joke, the mystery of death, on the one hand stifled in black mud, yet on the other solved in heaven. Thus, surrounded by love, but in essence excluded from the facts, you are left to your own devices.'[74] Was it possible to know your parents, after all? 'A butler "really" knows his master as little as a child "really" knows his parents.'[75] The fact that children took their situation at

71   Adriaan Morriën [*1912], *Het kalfje van de gnoe* (1991), pp. 62-64.

72   Frits de Jong Edz. [*1919], *Herinneringen van een rode jongen* (1989), p. 16.

73   Nel Hoenderdos [*1913], *Kind onder hoeren* (1976), pp. 10, 43-44.

74   Fedde Schurer [*1898], *De beslagen spiegel* (1969), p. 22.

75   Margaretha Ferguson [*1920], *Zeven straten en een park* (1977), pp. 48-49.

home for granted meant that they only discovered the distance between themselves and their parents later on, when they had grown up, and were capable of comparing their backgrounds with other parental homes. It was a painful experience. Willem Oltmans asked himself whether his home had been a home. 'There was no actual living room in "De Horst" not in the true meaning of the word (...) As children we did not just live in separate quarters, we lived in complete isolation from them.'[76] If the question as to whether people generally loved their children in traditional society is considered to be an example of the wrong way of putting the question, the confession of not loving your next of kin demonstrates some distressed consciences in our times. Did I really love my parents, my brother and sister? The historian Dr. L. de Jong did not shrink from answering this question. 'I was full of jealousy towards my brother, I did not truly love my little sister and I did not think much of my father and mother. I write all this with great sorrow.' And his sorrow was the more inconsolable because de Jong blamed himself for not having done more to save them during the second World War.[77]

Children felt they were kept at a distance, but they noticed that the adults often did this inconsistently. Children felt the disregard, but heard the admonitions of the adults amongst themselves that the little ones had to be spared the facts. Jan Spierdijk remembered that during his parents separation nothing had been explained to him, but he could deduce what was going on 'from conversations he never actively listened to, but which he heard, for adults talk in the presence of children as if they are dealing with fools, exclaiming in alarm from time to time "Little children have big ears" after which they would just carry on again.'[78] Children might even realise and agree that information had been withheld from them with the best of intentions, for example after the war, when so many members of the family had been murdered. 'After 1945 we had to live on with the destruction that had been brought about. My parents had enough problems. They did not want to burden me with them. Besides they sincerely believed, the less I knew, the better. Ellen would get along nicely. I felt the same way.'[79]

---

76   Willem Oltmans [*1925], *Memoires 1925-1953* (1985), p. 23.

77   L. de Jong [*1914], *Herinneringen I* (1993), p. 143.

78   Jan Spierdijk [*1919], *Jeugd vol verwachting* (1994), p. 72.

79   Ellen Santen [*1940], *Aan twee minuten heb ik niet genoeg* (1983), p. 50.

5. Children keeping their Parents at a Distance

The feeling of a rift could begin at an early age; one of the first symptoms was the awareness that there were things best not discussed at home. Louis Couperus was nine years old when he went to the colonies. He liked it in the East-Indies, even at school, 'because something struck me at once, that had not been present in Holland; I understood I had to keep quiet about this at home, that I must never talk about it, not even with my mother.' This secret was sexuality. 'I understood I had to pretend complete ignorance of everything I already knew; there were things I did not understand well, though.'[80] Not showing your inner thoughts became something like an *'Inner Emigration'* in the words of the writer Jan Greshoff. It filled him with futile resentment towards all adults. 'As soon as I realised at a cruelly early age that people wanted to instil their opinions into me, even though they did not agree with my character, and that people opposed my views and my natural conduct, I taught myself that there is only one way to hold one's own in a hostile world and incur the least possible damage in spirit and heart in the process. It is a remedy I have applied with more and more skill. Only by sensible hypocrisy, employed with moderation and benevolence, can one make one's existence bearable.'[81] In cases like these the rift between the world the children lived in and home life became a wide gap. 'In general I had already become fully aware of the value of silence during the years we lived in Helvoet. There were a hundred and one things best not discussed at home.'[82] Annie Romein remembers the time when she was not yet ten years old. Isaac Lipschits was nine years old when a baby brother arrived. He was pleased 'to be less at the centre of everybody's attention. I had more freedom and I had to justify myself less often.'[83]

Hence children avoided the parents who had initially excluded them, and at times both sides engaged in these tactics. A parental home where little attention was paid to the children made them look for company elsewhere. 'I followed the same pattern in Harlingen as in Groede: I went to the neighbours.'[84] At a later age boys and girls used their parents' detachedness to hide their dates with the opposite sex and their experiments in courting. 'My father and mother allowed me to go my own way. They knew the

---

80   Louis Couperus [*1863], *Zo ik iéts ben ...* (1974), p. 22.

81   Jan Greshoff [*1888], *Afscheid van Europa* (1969), p. 34.

82   Annie Romein-Verschoor [*1895], *Omzien in verwondering* (1970), p. 33.

83   Isaac Lipschits [*1930], *Onbestelbaar* (1992), p. 20.

84   H. W. F. Stellwag [*1902], *Het verhaal van mijn leven* (1993), p. 16.

boys in question, often they knew the parents as well. They did not stop us cycling together, swimming and going to parties. Without betraying their confidence in me, I was, all the same, rather less naive then they may have thought. What child during adolescence naturally shows what it feels and thinks? It knows, consciously or unconsciously, that its parents are watching the process of maturation with mixed feelings. It tolerates no criticism, no infringement on opinions and way of life, and at the same time it is secretly ashamed and confused by new experiences and desires. We experimented with one another what we thought to be adult behaviour, in the presence of our parents we wore the mask of a childlike nature (...).'[85] But this is more of a description of a full-blown conflict between generations, when the young hide their preoccupations from their parents and often act more childishly than they feel, just to avoid being noticed.

The possibility of dodging parents' attention could be an attractive prospect even at a young age. 'My greatest happiness, a monstrous insane happiness, consisted of not being noticed, of being completely forgotten by my parents, or everyone else, even if only for a few moments which resulted in my not existing for anyone at those moments, or, to put it another way, I would exist only for myself and in my own right.'[86] This cheerful exercise in existential detachment related by Adriaan Morriën is closely linked to Anton van Duinkerken's terrified feeling of being deserted; he remembers coping with this fear by wishing 'not to be dead, but to be something that did not exist at all and that would never have existed', something 'nobody, not even my own mother, would be able to think of, because it wasn't there and had never been there.'[87] In the Morriën's small parental home and amidst van Duinkerken's crowded family this kind of experience had to be an experiment in fantasy. With the well-to-do families children could try to avoid their parents in a more literal way. In the case of Godfried Bomans it was his father he particularly did not want to see. 'I evaded his look, in as much as it was shot in my direction and I avoided as best I could any meeting in the halls and rooms of the house; its gigantic dimensions created ample opportunity for that.'[88]

Parents underestimated their children's inner world, but they, for their part, took great care not to let their parents know what was going on in their minds, and were strengthened in their resolve when they heard their

---

85   Hella S. Haasse [*1918], *Een hand vol achtergrond* ... (1993), p. 62.

86   Adriaan Morriën [*1912], *Het kalfje van de gnoe* (1991), pp. 62-64.

87   Anton van Duinkerken [*1903], *Brabantse herinneringen* (1964), p. 23.

88   Godfried Bomans [*1913], *De man met de witte das* (1971), p. 127.

mother and the neighbour chatting about them. ' "Look at the kid just sitting there, so nice and quiet. He's no trouble, is he?" "No," my mother says, "him, he's as good as gold." I look as non-committal as possible, I can feel a feather-light balloon inside me expanding in a dizzying way. Nevertheless I do hate these kinds of compliments, they make me angry and uncomfortable. (...) If only you knew, I think, what I can see, what I think. What my desires are. I leap up from the curb to carry the shopping upstairs for my mother. "No, don't bother, I can manage." I disgust myself, I am a hypocrite.' Rudi van Dantzig could only value this inhibiting attention at its true worth. At the time he was unhappy at secondary school, too much preoccupied with memories and brooding to be able to give answers to his mother. ' "Do you hate it at school, is that it? If it doesn't work out, you'll just have to leave, Dad will have to see to it." (...) "Rudi, say something, won't you," she says after some time, turning to me a hundred times, always with an imploring quality in her voice.'[89]

6. Absent and Inaccessible Fathers

In studies on the history of the family it is maintained that the absence of fathers in the home was a conspicuous phenomenon in the nineteenth century. In middle class families the separation between home and work became more definite. Fathers became less visible to their children. In many autobiographies this was certainly not the case, but there are penetrating memories of fathers who were chronically absent. Seamen provide us with exemplary scenes of literal absence. 'As a captain on a packet-boat he was sometimes away from home for months and to us children he was an almost legendary figure.' Thus Rie Cramer asked one day: "Does daddy live here too, mummy?" Her father was 'no more than a rare guest, when his ship docked at Tandjong Priok for a short time (...) then, bending over resignedly for a kiss, he said: "Hallow, er, hallow Rie ..." He warded off our enthusiastic embraces with a laugh: "All right ... all right ..." then he had had enough. He always was more or less ill at ease with his offspring, perhaps – so I thought later – towards mama too. "Well, how are things going here?" There was no immediate contact.'[90] Captain Toonder was seldom at home either. 'At that tender age he was in the same category as St. Nicho-

---

89 Rudi van Dantzig [*1930], *Afgrond* (1996), pp. 276, 271-272.
90 Rie Cramer [*1887], *Flitsen* (1966), pp. 26, 34, 38.

las: a mystical figure whose existence you doubt until he shows up in the flesh.'[91] Marten Toonder is one of the autobiographical writers who mentions the lack of contact with his father in the first years of his life as marking the beginning of a disturbed relationship with him for life. But he 'remembered' being driven away from his mother's bed. Sons resent that, as we know only too well. 'Besides I slept in bed with my mother at night, and I still remember how safe and warm it was. Alas, it ended with a shock when I was approximately one year old.' Captain Toonder returned after a long sea voyage. 'He walked me around for a while, talking and singing to me and then without any further ceremony he dumped me in my cot. Of course I started to bawl my eyes out; but no one took any notice and the cot was moved out of the room and put into the side room. It stayed there, things have never been right since. How strange, that a memory can be so strong, even before one can speak.'[92] Adriaan Morriën, also born in 1912, records in the chronicle of his life: 'My father was mobilised at the outbreak of World War I. Being the youngest child I am allowed to sleep with my mother during his absence. When my father comes home on leave, I refuse to fetch him from the station. Fully dressed I hide in my parents' box bed, where after a long search my mother finds me. Throughout my youth I experience the presence of my father in the house as annoying.'[93]

It was a bitter pill to lose contact with a father who buried himself in work after the death of a beloved wife. 'In total dismay after the death of my Mother, my father withdrew into his own silence. The untimely end of a perfectly happy marriage to a wife he adored left him without no support in life but his work. He withdrew into it and there entrenched himself in his solitude.'[94] But among a lively family the gap between father and the rest could seem unbridgeable, he 'appeared to be buoyant. In reality he wasn't. (...) He was gifted, kind-hearted, generous, fond of children, imaginative, inventive, enterprising, not to be subdued or suppressed, and self-centred to such a degree that it made him lonely in the midst of his large family, in spite of all the admiration he received.'[95] The estrangement children experienced from fathers such as these, inaccessible as a consequence of work, was as real as when fathers were actually missing. They were simply too busy; in some cases the children could blame it on

---

91   Marten Toonder [*1912], *Vroeger was de aarde plat* (1992), p. 13.

92   Marten Toonder [*1912], *Vroeger was de aarde plat* (1992), p. 15.

93   Adriaan Morriën [*1912], *Plantage Muidergracht* (1988), p. 369.

94   Leonhard Huizinga [*1906], *Mijn hartje wat wil je nog meer* (1968), p. 27.

95   Elisabeth Keesing [*1911], *Op de muur* (1981), p. 45.

politics. 'As children we suffered because my father was a member of parliament. He was hardly ever at home, and if he was it was quite unusual, there was always someone coming round who needed his assistance, even at dinnertime. Not to mention the telephone that was never silent.'[96] If parliament made such demands, then bringing about a global revolution alongside earning a living was a task which pushed the family entirely into the background. 'He was not at home very often. He was either working, or politically active. Even during the holidays he did not come with us. At home he was absent-minded and silent. When I was a child I said in company one day: "My father is as quiet as a mouse." My remark met with unexpected success. He must have felt quite wretched at times like that. He was engaged in changing the world. I was proud of that.'[97] Fathers work reduced him to a vindictive passer-by. 'Our father was a Sunday-father: on that day only was he in our midst, only then did he share our unimportant lives. (...) the quarrels between us, our petty offences were submitted to him [at dinner], and thus he came to be an almost daily judge, seated at the head of the table, administering justice, handing out penalties. It influenced the image of my father, yes, it spoiled it.' The unexpected discovery of a more human side turned out to be an embarrassing moment for Michel van der Plas, only to be valued later in life. By accident he found a notebook with only one line in his father's handwriting: ' "Must not be as irritable as I have been in the past". I was about eleven years old and I immediately felt extremely guilty.'[98]

Being separated from parents made it even more difficult for children to understand them. 'My father never really knew what to do with us when we were there. That's why we could not muster much enthusiasm if we were to visit him. His nervousness rubbed off on us. He was at a loss with us. As I grew up, I understood that it had been no different when the family had been complete. Above all I remember his teasing, not malicious, but often painful and (...) frightening to us, as children. (...) He was inaccessible. He never discussed his feelings and problems with us.'[99] Even more confusing was the metamorphosis of a beloved father into a shadow you could not get through to. 'I have two totally different pictures of my father in my memory. The first is that of a youngish, cheerful man playing hide-and-seek with us, who carries us around on his back, who teaches me

---

96   L. R. J. Ridder van Rappard [*1906], *Hoe was het ook weer* (1979), p. 32.

97   Ellen Santen [*1940], *Aan twee minuten heb ik niet genoeg* (1983), p. 77.

98   Michel van der Plas [*1927], *Onder dak zonder dak* (1985), pp. 8, 32.

99   Pszisko Jacobs [*1917], *Weerbarstige herinneringen* (1988), p. 50.

to swim and to ride a bicycle. (...) Moreover the affectionate husband who cuddles his wife, tenderly embraces her and who ventures some dance-steps with her, something mother submits to somewhat bashfully, while she looks at the little ones who are watching their parents in astonishment. (...) The other picture I have of my father is of later date and is that of a surly, taciturn man who spends his evenings all alone (...). This is the austere father, whose presence is chilling to his company, "(...) who never laughs, does not participate in conversation and who does not even reply when he is asked something."' When Ida de Ridder was at secondary school this alteration had become irreversible. 'In those years I became estranged from my father to such a degree, that in the end I considered him to be a curiosity, a fixture in our home, with almost nothing human left in him.'[100]

Reaching the conclusion years later that father was a stranger is a grievous experience. 'The relation between my father and his children was a most peculiar one and in fact it was not as it should have been. I can't really say we were afraid of him (except when he was angry or drunk), it was more like a form of timidity, creating an atmosphere between us, as we grew up, as we searched for but did not find each other. That's why a gap opened up between him and some of us, especially when our eyes had been opened and we were able to think for ourselves. This gap has been the cause of a lot of distress, incomprehension, misunderstanding and its corollaries. We did not know him and conversely, we "lead separate lives" and were "complete strangers" to one other.'[101]

7. Inaccessible Mothers

In contrast to the witnesses who have painted pictures of perfect mothers, there are the ever painful memories of children who felt alienated from their mothers. In anxious wonder children asked themselves what kind of person their mother had been. 'She had a curious unconscious loneliness', Nine van der Schaaf decided, though she had some rapport with her mother. 'She was respected and never quarrelled with anyone. (...) She had no noticeable need of a joint emotional life with her next of kin or her fellow men in general, only with me (...) she shared in a friendly way the en-

---

100 Ida de Ridder [*1918], *Willem Elsschot, mijn vader* (1994), pp. 29, 58.

101 Wim Walraven jr. [*1922], *De groote verbittering* (1992), p. 21.

joyable things she experienced when she was walking outside, and spoke of worries now and in the past, and of all kind of things she had lived through mainly before her marriage.'[102] In around 1900 in The Hague, the Brunt sisters looked for support from each other. 'Neither Aty nor I had proper contact with her, she from her side did not make a single move to get to know any of our problems and thoughts or to go deeply into them. Aty and I came much closer to one another at this time and we talked over everything very seriously.'[103]

In agony children wondered why their mother had been so inaccessible. 'The dominant memory of my youth is one of feelings of lack of contact and solitude. The possibilities of salutary communication were present in every respect, physically and materially. Almost everything was permitted. Almost everything was possible. And yet I felt as if I lived without relatives, alone. (...) The distance between my beloved parents and myself seemed to be endless. They were the sole trusted people around me, yet in my feeling my father and my mother remained "strangers" '. Willem Oltmans excuses his mother in particular in a long account with quotes from Alice Miller: she loved me, but could not give love to her children due to her own chilly youth. 'My relation to my mother was utterly ruined in those first years. Anyhow there were moments in which I disowned her from the bottom of my heart. I had the constant feeling of being her prisoner. (...) The more I resisted the situation in an improper, cheeky way, the more punishment or spankings I got. (...) I did not want to be in conflict with my mother. I wanted to feel her arms around me in a very specific way. But I cannot remember any truly sweet moments in my relation to her during those first years in "De Horst".' In his parental home material wealth masked emotional poverty: 'To all appearances we lived in affluence, but in reality we had very little indeed.'[104]

Contact had broken down completely in this case, the capriciousness of a mother who just by just being there spread a feeling of constriction, is more enigmatic. 'I am sure I witnessed no other expression in her face in those years than one of alarm, and thus from earliest youth she made sure that fear and guilt were allies of mine. When my mother was absent, peace

---

102 Nine van der Schaaf [*1882], *In de stroom* (1956), pp. 45-47.

103 Nini Brunt [*1891], *Het huis in de Heemskerckstraat* (1978), p. 17.

104 Willem Oltmans [*1925], *Memoires 1925-1953* (1985), pp. 7-8, 20-21, 24. Despite this sad story, Oltmans insists: 'Let me immediately add to these passages on my youth: *after* reaching maturity I have had a *most* acceptable relationship with my parents' (p. 22).

reigned in the nursery.' Jeanne van Schaik-Willing seems not to have regretted her mother being away. Later her mother who was a violinist used her instrument as a shield between herself and the outside world, including her children. 'At that time she developed the habit, that she would never again drop, of holding her violin under her chin all day long. I cannot remember a single conversation being carried out without her practising her finger exercises and hardly anything occurred without the accompaniment of at least pizzicato plucking. (...) Mother rarely put down her violin. If you needed to ask her something, she played finger exercises and you did not know whether she had heard you for a while, until she moved the violin up and down with her chin by way of an answer'.[105]

A difficult delivery marked the beginning of a disrupted relation between Siegfried van den Bergh and his mother, which was to last a lifetime. 'After my birth she walked with a limp and at times even with crutches. She reproached me for this until the day she died. (...) To the maternity nurse who wanted to lay me in bed with her she yelled: "Drown the monster". That's as straightforward as it gets. It was not until many months later that my father succeeded in making her somewhat change her mind. As years went by she became a little more lenient. There were five other babies after me. They were received more kindly than I was, even if things were not what they should have been. A lack of motherly tenderness was a deficiency we all suffered from.' She had been a real beauty, spoiled as a consequence, and she slowly changed into an unmanageable despot. 'My father always tried to keep her within the bounds of reason. He was sometimes successful at lunch. If not, then Rozet threw her napkin on the floor in fury, frequently throwing the chair down with it, and went back to the conjugal bedroom, trembling and sobbing. She slammed the door. Next mother's intense wailing sounded through the walls, taken by me to be a threat to my person and a assault on my right to live.' The treacherous thing was that at times she was good-tempered like during outings. 'Even mother was relaxed and cheerful. Then for a little while I could sometimes enjoy the feeling that I had a sweet mother just like other children. At home this illusion soon disappeared and I was afraid once again of mother's aggressiveness, that could break loose at any moment. (...) When strangers came to dinner, there was no trace of mother's weird moods. She was a good hostess then.' Van den Bergh accuses his mother in no uncertain terms of 'the unstable life I had at home, where I was spoiled one

---

105 Jeanne van Schaik-Willing [*1895], *Ondanks alles* (1955), pp. 22, 15, 66.

moment with the material possessions I enjoyed by just being part of an affluent family, and where at the next I had to make do without love. I was jealous of some classmates with sweet, tender, warm mothers, who did not mistreat their offspring.' In the end his mother lapsed into paranoia. 'Father was intelligent but weak and he permitted himself to be influenced by his sick wife more and more. To calm her down he gave in to her again and again.' Van den Bergh felt marked by this experience. 'It was due to mother Rozet's violent and aggressive behaviour that from my tender youth I was forced to become accustomed to facing calamities, one could change little with a feeling of distance and fatalism.'[106]

Indeed, the loss of a pillar of security of such importance was a frightening event. Maarten Schakel was twelve years old when his mother collapsed after her brother committed suicide. She was confined to an asylum and her son had to travel a long way on his bike to visit her, arriving much later than expected. 'Mother was sitting there in her black Sunday dress. She had a strange look in her eyes. When I saw her again for the first time it all was too much for me. I burst into tears. At that moment her maternal instinct took over. She took my head, put it in her lap and kissed me passionately. When I left an hour and half later the treacherous strange look had changed. She had found out, that she still had a task in life.'[107] Not everybody was lucky enough to see his mother recover. 'I was born in 1925 and there was another one after me. With the birth of that baby my mother was struck down by depression. My mother had a complete mental breakdown. She was taken away. She was mentally dead. But physically she was still alive, so for my father remarriage was out of the question. So I had no mother. That's not so terribly pathetic. A child finds another mother at once. My father was at a loss.'[108]

8. Conclusion

The self-evident confidence in parents dominates early nineteenth century memories of youth. The discovery of a rift was slowly allowed into the consciousness of those who remembered their growth to maturity. It created a contrast between the feelings of security parents were supposed to,

---

106 S. van den Bergh [*1912], *Kroonprins van Mandelstein* (1979), pp. 34-35, 43-44, 46-47, 52, 58, 272.

107 Maarten W. Schakel [*1917], *Herinneringen in 82 schetsen* (1988), p. 27.

108 Fons Jansen [*1925], *Wat ik zeggen wilde* (1991), p. 364.

but could not, instil into their children. The fact that autobiography writers actually took the trouble to relate their doubts and misgivings in detail can be read as an illustration of a tendency towards more individualism in the process of modernisation. This process appears to be a long-term, slowly expanding development without a clear beginning, let alone an end. The problems of classifying family history, or the history of mentalities in general, into set periods are complex, too complex to propose dividing lines at the moment. The need to describe the moments in which a child realised that it was on its own contrasts with the confirmation of identity in older autobiographical writings, in which the description of family and surroundings, with no mention of the emotional aspects of family relationships, seems to have been the basis of the concept of self. The elements of self-definition have changed, but when, to what extent and why cannot be established at this moment. I hope I have convinced the reader of this paper that the study of autobiographical evidence is essential to the understanding of the modernisation of self.

References

Coe, Richard N. (1984). *When the Grass was Taller. Autobiography and the Experience of Childhood.* New Haven, London: Yale University Press.

Dekker, Rudolf (1995). *Uit de schaduw in't grote licht. Kinderen in egodocumenten van de Gouden Eeuw tot de Romantiek.* Amsterdam: Wereldbibliotheek.

Gay, Peter (1995). *The Bourgeois Experience. Victoria to Freud. IV: The Naked Heart.* New York, London: Norton.

Hardach-Pinke, Irene (1981). *Kinderalltag. Aspekte von Kontinuität und Wandel der Kindheit in autobiographischen Zeugnissen 1700 bis 1900.* Frankfurt/M., New York: Campus.

Hardach-Pinke, Irene/Hardach, Gerd (1978). *Deutsche Kindheiten. Autobiographische Zeugnisse 1700-1900.* Kronberg: Athenäum.

Hans Merkens

The Authoritarian Character Revisited

1. Introduction

Research on the authoritarian character has a large tradition in this century. The concept was originally developed by the Institute of Social Research with the aim to find an explanation for the arising fascism in Germany and other European countries. After that, research was widened and concentrated on the problem of antisemitism in the USA. During the period of the Cold War a further aspect was the aim to find relations between authoritarian character and antidemocratic attitudes and behaviour. A revival of this type of research has been started after the re-unification of Germany and the break down of the former socialist countries. The central assumption of this research has been that youth in the former socialist societies had been educated antidemocratically and therefore would react with authoritarian behaviour in their everyday life. Aggression against foreigners in Hoyerswerda and Rostock, for example, seemed to confirm a hypothesis like that because aggression against foreigners could be seen similarly to antisemitic reactions in the USA and Europe during the fascist period. Lederer et al. (1991) could on the one hand confirm the hypothesis that young people who grew up in the former GDR are more authoritarian than young people who grew up in the BRD. On the other hand they are astonished that the differences between arithmetic means are very small. But they found a strong ethnocentric tendency in the former GDR too. This research is well documented by Oesterreich (1996) and will not be repeated here.

2. Theoretical Considerations

The special interest of research during the first period in Europe was to find relations between families and education of families with the degree of authoritarian reactions in everyday life. It was a crucial difficulty for

158

empirical research that it could not be done in Germany or Italy, the two countries with a fascist government, but only in other European countries, like Switzerland. But there was a special advantage in this difficulty because if tendencies of authoritarian character could be demonstrated in other than fascist countries, the power of explanations would be greater. Later on, Horkheimer/Adorno (1971) described conditions of authoritarian character more generally and not only concentrated on Germany or Italy, as a tendency of modern industrialised non socialist societies. They could do this because, for example, tendencies of authoritarian education in families from Switzerland had been found, a country with clear and strong democratic tradition (Lazarsfeld/Leichter 1936, p.414). Results like these show that not the family in itself was the focus of research. The central idea was that families act as they do always under conditions of a social environment which is influenced by the specific society in which the family is acting. But although the relation between the family and its background in a society had not been included in the research, there seemed to be no need of further research.

This becomes clear when, in accordance with the theoretical concepts of the time, the relation between the structure of societies – in economic, social, and political terms – and the conditions under which authoritarian characters arise was explained in the following way: first, there has been seen a relation between societal structures and authoritarian characters when economical dependencies and thereby caused pauperisation of human relations with authoritarian features were described (Horkheimer 1936). However, a strong connection between social status as an indicator of economical dependencies and authoritarianism could not be confirmed by Blinkert (1976). Second, in the tradition of Freud, a description of the authoritarian-masochist structure of character was given which should arise under the conditions of late capitalist society (Fromm 1936). These concepts were developed under the impression of German fascism getting a lot of support from the German people, e.g. at the elections in the early 1930s. Osterkamp (1980) has criticised this tendency to psychologise social problems and argued that social and economic conditions are responsible for fascism and authoritarian personalities. For both explanations, the psychological and the socio-economic one, a functional view is obvious.

Adorno et al. (1950) have widened the approach and research. They differentiated nine concepts of authoritarian personalities partly by empirical studies and partly by analyses of ideologies in fascist societies. This further research was mostly influenced by the so named F-scale for meas-

uring antisemitism and ethnocentrism. This scale, however, was not reliable and the results were strongly confounded with people's education (Witte 1972). Vollebergh (1992) could confirm the strong connection between educational level and the level of authoritarianism. Therefore the scale was modified in several ways.

A serious problem for all of this research was a severe confounding of authoritarianism and right-wing-orientation. A further problem resulted from the low degree of connection among the nine subconcepts of authoritarianism, reaching from conventionalism to authoritarian subordination to destructivism and cynism (Adorno et al. 1950). It seemed to be more a personality syndrome than a strong concept of authoritarian personality.

Disadvantages like this make it understandable that the concept was criticised. Research in this area continues up to the present day. Oesterreich (1996), for example, has suggested to replace the concept by the new construct of *authoritarian reaction*.

In spite of all this, I will try to hold on to the concept of the authoritarian personality. A clue to this intention is the idea of Altemeyer (1981; 1988), who criticised the early concept's confounding with right-wing orientation, but gave it a positive meaning by combining authoritarianism and right-wing orientation. He constructed a new scale including only two items of the original scale and fifteen new items with pro-authoritarian messages and fifteen other items more with an anti-authoritarian message. Similarly, Lederer (1993) in analyses of data and re-analyses of data from other investigations has changed the original concept. Stone (1993) concludes in a research review on the authoritarian character that if the concept of authoritarianism is changed continuation of research is possible. In the future authoritarianism may be seen more as a label than as a strong theoretical concept. The tendency to use the original instrument or modifications of this instrument is decreasing. In this way it becomes clear that the original concept was not consistent but included different aspects which could be combined under the label 'authoritarian personality'.

In the following, an attempt shall be made to differentiate between political attitude and variables concerning 'personality' in a more narrow sense of the word. In contrast to Osterkamp's criticism (1980), a connection between psychological characteristics of personality and political attitude will still be attempted. Indeed, Hagan/Merkens/Boehnke (1995) showed that anomic aspirations influenced delinquent drift and that these characteristics of the personality and a person's behaviour tended towards an extreme right-wing disposition.

160

'Anomic aspirations', which later on we termed 'egocentrism', is a variable including four items of the Machiavellism-scale (Henning/Six 1977). It is an instrument to measure a tendency to egocentrism. The second variable, which we termed 'delinquent drift', is a measurement for a tendency to show conspicuous behaviour. The term 'delinquent drift' is to indicate a *latent readiness* to act conspicuously – we were not interested in real acting. We wanted to find young people acting conspicuously in a spontaneous manner, not planning it in advance. Boredom may be a reason for actual behaviour in this direction. One of the results was that the probability of 'delinquent drift' increases if school performance is worse, and social control in families is strong. In this way an influence of families and schools could be documented. This influence, however, did not effect the 'anomic aspirations'. Here only an indirect influence showed up, due to a high positive correlation between 'anomic aspirations' and 'delinquent drift'. Furthermore, a relation between 'delinquent drift', 'right-wing orientation' and 'vandalism in school' could be documented. The benefit of this first attempt can be seen in the fact that an influence of the social environment on features of personality could be demonstrated and a strong connection between personality features and problematic orientations and behaviour been found. Further studies using the same method followed.

Their aim has been to study the extent to which conditions of social environment determine personality development (Hagan/Merkens/Boehnke 1995) and how personalities act as systems. It could be demonstrated that personalities act as autopoietic systems (Luhmann 1984) and that determinants of social environment are probably overestimated. Merkens (1996) could differentiate three levels of personality: Self-esteem, psycho-social well-being, and value orientations. Among these levels the following connections exist: self-esteem influences psycho-social well-being, and psycho-social well-being influences value orientations (Merkens/Classen/Bergs-Winkels 1997). Personality development seems to be a continuing process going on within a person. Hence the assumptions of Mead (1955) could be confirmed who describes the processes of identity development as an interaction between 'I' and 'Me' combined with processes of interaction with the social environment, since the 'Generalised Other' can be conceptualised as a reconstruction of views of others in the social environment.

On the basis of the models discussed thus far, a model shall be confirmed describing the authoritarian character as a type of personality. It is different from other re-constructions in that its aim is not only to include variables concerning features of authority but also to describe the relations

between specific features of personality and authoritarian attitudes. This authoritarianism will be seen as a syndrome including three types of variables: right-wing orientation, nationalism, and agreement to social differentiation within societies. This last variable is a measurement of agreement if social differentiation in societies is justified. Nationalist attitudes comprise items referring to the question if students agree to a strong segregation between Germans and migrants. In addition, high evaluation of native countries is stressed. In the index concerning right-wing orientation items are collected in which right-wing positions are preferred. Anti-authoritarian items are not included. This refers to the criticism of Altemeyer (1981; 1988), insofar right-wing orientation is not confounded with other features, like nationalism. At first, possible relations between family environment, identity, and authoritarian character shall be demonstrated. This will be done by a Lisrel-model. The theoretical model has the following structure:

Family
Environment

↓

```
┌──────────┐      ┌──────────────┐      ┌─────────────┐      ┌──────────────┐
│ Family   │      │ Psycho-social│      │             │      │              │
│ Climate  │      │ Well-being:  │      │             │      │              │
│          │  →   │ Self Efficacy│  →   │ Value       │  →   │ Authoritarian│
│ Social   │      │ Tendency     │      │ Orientations│      │ Personality  │
│ Control  │      │ for Social   │      │             │      │              │
│          │      │ Comparisons  │      │             │      │              │
└──────────┘      └──────────────┘      └─────────────┘      └──────────────┘
                                               ↑
                                          School
                                          Environment
                                               ↑
                                        ┌────────────┐
                                        │School Track│
                                        └────────────┘
```
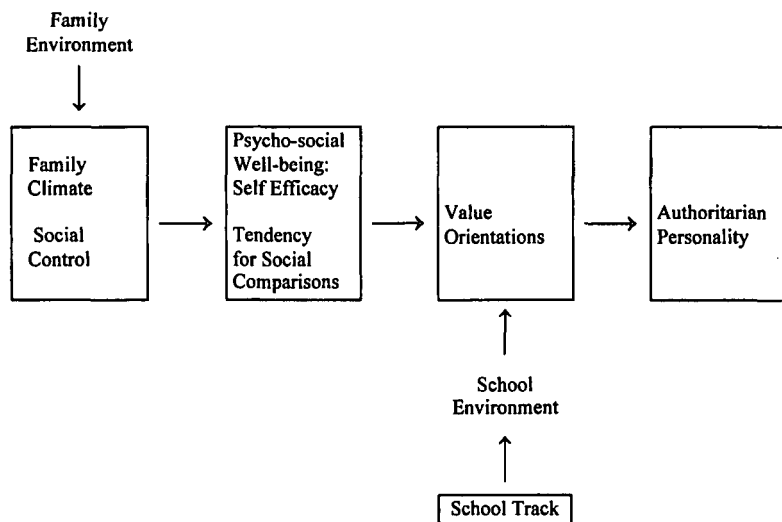
It may be noted that the model is concentrated on personality and family variables. As Hopf (1991) has argued, the influence of family and school on the development of authoritarian personality and right-wing orientation has been underestimated in a lot of publications in the last few years. One of the problems of research which confirms the significance of family environment are small samples and mostly qualitative methods, which are not well documented, as a description of results given by Hopf (1991)

162

shows. Hopf (1993) adds that the conditions of living during early child-hood strongly influence personality structure and features. This cannot be demonstrated within this model because its data only deal with juveniles.

3. Study Design and Description of the Samples

The data I use were gathered in a project starting in 1990 with the aim of accompanying young people in East and West Berlin in the process of unification. From 1990 till 1997 600-800 young people in all secondary school types of classes 7 to 10 from East and West Berlin were annually surveyed. About 150 pupils in each school year from both parts of the city participated. Each year pupils in their tenth year were dropped and re-placed by new pupils in their seventh year. The study was also carried out in Chemnitz in 1994. The samples of this study are shown in table 1, including only pupils from years nine and ten, because only they were asked the questions which will be evaluated here. Only the cross-sectional samples from 1994 (Chemnitz) and 1995 (East and West Berlin) and the longitudinal sample 1994/5 (East and West Berlin) are included here.

The variables of the theoretical model were operationalised in the fol-lowing way (for a description see table 2): family orientation was repre-sented by the variables 'family climate' and 'social control'; psycho-social well-being by 'self efficacy', and tendency towards particular social value orientations with 'social comparison', 'success orientation', and 'instru-mentalism in work orientation'. The authoritarian character is constructed as a latent variable within the three variables 'right-wing orientation', 'na-tionalism', 'social differences' (Classen/Bergs-Winkels/Merkens 1997).

Table 1 shows the several samples the model is tested for, Table 2 the various indices included in the analyses.

Table 1: Sample by Gender and Schooltype

Sample	female	male	total	Haupt-schule	Real-schule	Gesamt-/ Mittel-schule	Gym-nasium
East Berlin 1995	364	283	647	16	149	194	288
West Berlin 1995	257	253	510	47	181	144	138
East Berlin 1994/5	303	243	546	16	137	148	245
West Berlin 1994/5	227	233	460	38	159	131	334
Chemnitz 1994	404	385	789	455			334

Indices	East Berlin 1995		West Berlin 1995		East Berlin 1994/1995		West Berlin 1994/1995		Chemnitz 1994	
	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
Family climate e.g. How do you judge your relationship to your parents? 3, excellent to 13, fundamentally disturbed	5,7	1,6	5,6	1,8	4,9	2,2	4,9	2,1	5,2	1,9
Social control e.g. Are you permitted to decide for yourself to meet a friend after 8 p.m.? 4, yes to 10, no	6,8	1,4	6,5	1,5	7,0	1,5	6,6	1,7	6,5	1,5
Self efficacy e.g. I have a solution for every problem. 5=completely true to 20=completely false	11,6	2,3	11,7	2,4	11,6	2,5	11,6	2,9	11,5	2,5
Social comparison e.g. I am only satisfied when my performance is above the average. 5, completely true to 20, completely false	12,1	2,7	12,8	3,0	11,4	2,9	12,1	3,0	12,2	3,0
Success orientation e.g. You cannot be happy without achievement. 5, completely true to 20, completely false	6,5	1,6	6,8	1,6	7,1	2,0	7,7	2,1	7,0	2,1
Instrumentalism in work orientation e.g. One needs a job for an ordered live. 6, completely true to 24, completely false	12,4	2,5	12,9	2,7	12,0	3,1	13,0	3,5	11,9	2,3
Right-wing-orientation e.g. Germany – the only true future. 4, completely true to 16, completely false	12,2	3,2	13,1	2,4	11,5	4,2	12,1	4,1	9,5	5,8
Nationalism e.g. You can only be completely happy in your own „Heimat". 3, completely true to 12, completely false	8,5	2,1	9,3	1,8	8,2	2,7	8,9	2,7	8,2	2,2
Social differences e.g. The social differences in our country are fair on the whole. 3, completely true to 12, completely false	8,1	1,8	8,0	1,7	7,7	2,6	7,5	2,6	6,3	3,8

4. Results

The theoretical model was tested four times with different samples. Three of the samples were cross-sectional, one was longitudinal. If we read the model from left to right it becomes clear that the sub-hypothesis could be

LISREL Structural Model for the Authoritarian Character
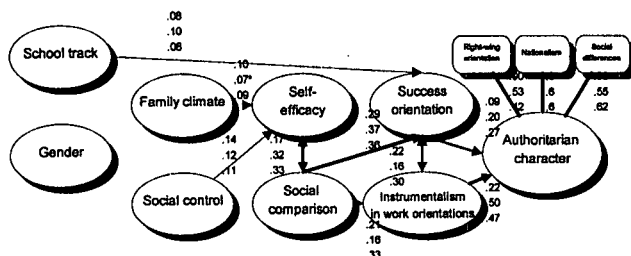
The top coefficient is based on Chemnitz data
from 1994,
the middle coefficient is based on East Berlin data
from 1995,
* not significant and the bottom coefficient is based on data from West Berlin
from 1995

LISREL Structural Model for the Authoritarian Character
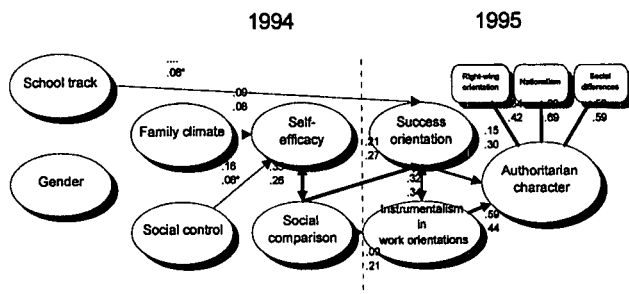
1994   **1995**

The top coefficient is based on East Berlin data
from 1994/1995
and the bottom coefficient is based on data from West Berlin
from 1994/1995

* not significant

165

Table 3: Goodness of Fit Coefficients for the LISREL Structural Model

Sample	χ^2/df	GFI	AGFI	RMSR
East Berlin 1995	36.35/33 (p = .32)	.99	.98	.17
West Berlin 1995	55.61/33 (p = .01)	.98	.96	.31
East Berlin 1994/95	27.48/33 (p = .74)	.99	.98	.17
West Berlin 1994/95	40.89/34 (p = .19)	.98	.97	.29
Chemnitz 1994	164.27/33 (p = .00)	.96	.93	.34

confirmed: family environment influences psycho-social well-being. But at this point we have to modify the first sub-hypothesis: there is only an in-fluence in direction of self-efficacy, then self-efficacy influences social comparison. Social comparison has a strong influence on success orienta-tion and a second one on instrumentalism in work orientations. In addition school track influences success orientation. These are value orientations. As was expected, value orientations influence authoritarian character. The model with the longitudinal sample provides the strongest confirmation.

The central hypothesis could be confirmed with the help of the Lisrel-model: direct influences from family environment or school track on the authoritarian character do not exist. This result is valid too if other family variables – parental style of education, conflicts in the family – or school variables – performance, cooperation with teachers – are introduced to the model. In this way the central assumption that the authoritarian character is a feature which emerges as a personality feature could be confirmed. The functional views of psychoanalytical or social determinants could not be tested because possible causes of early childhood could not be controlled. However, referring to adolescence it is not easy to say that conditions of the social environment influence authoritarianism directly (Hopf 1990).

With the help of structural comparison models it is possible to answer questions like whether a link exists between personality characteristics and political attitudes. This question has been positively answered regarding extreme right-wing attitudes in a number of additional studies (Merkens/ Steiner/Wenzke 1997, p. 134; Hagan/Rippl/Boehnke/Merkens 1999). Apart from that, it is of interest to discover the extent to which people with par-ticular personality characteristics may be found, that is, to ask: how fre-quently can young people be found, who are extreme right-wing, national-istic, and who approve of (hierarchical) differentiation within society. This type of question can be studied with the help of cluster analysis. This

analysis, according to Ward's method, resulted in a 5-cluster analysis as best solution, presented in table 4.

Table 4: Description of the Clusters

Cluster	n	Right-wing-Orientation	Nationalism	Agreement to Social Differentiation
1	85	13.3	6.6	7.0
2	253	13.8	9.5	7.4
3	227	·10.3	7.9	8.2
4	254	14.8	10.6	9.6
5	64	5.7	6.1	6.1
F		708.0	282.7	152.2
sig		.000	.000	.000

Young people with an extreme right-wing position, who are nationalistic and approve of social hierarchies in society are combined in cluster 5. These are 7,2% of the sample. They are especially meant if one talks about authoritarian personality. In cluster 1, the second smallest group including 9,6% of the sample, we find those young people who represent a strong potential for an authoritarian personality. Showing only mean values in right-wing attitudes, they are strongly nationalist and approve of social differentiation in society. One could label this group latent authoritarian. Cluster 3 shows that extreme right-wing attitudes are to a certain degree accepted by young people. This sample is above average regarding extreme right-wing attitudes, but less nationalist and shows less approval of social hierarchies. It includes 25,7% of the total sample. Clusters 4 and 2, 57,5% of the total sample, represent young people who are the least at risk in terms of an authoritarian personality.

To what extent different political attitudes are related to personality characteristics and problematic personal behaviour patterns, can be studied by using the clusters as independent variables in a variance analysis – see tables 5 and 6. Concerning the behaviour patterns 'vandalism in school' and 'vandalism in leisure time' it can be seen that pupils in cluster 5 have the highest susceptibility. (Low rates here signify the admission of behaviour patterns such as 'fighting' and 'destroying things in school', or 'aggressive behaviour in leisure time'.) To this extent, we have confirmation that young people with authoritarian character tend towards conspicuous behaviour. A

second group showing a certain tendency for conspicuous behaviour is to be found in cluster 1, a third one in cluster 3. Pupils from clusters 4 and 2 once again showed the greatest restraint in regard of tendencies towards vandalism.

At this point it is confirmed that young people with authoritarian personality characteristics show signs of problematic behaviour patterns. It is furthermore not surprising that pupils from cluster 5 tend towards susceptibility regarding psycho-social well-being, too. Especially in this dimension of personality the particular burden for pupils from cluster 1 is to be seen, having more unfavourable rates in *anomia* and the tendency towards social comparison than the group in cluster 5. In contrast, pupils from cluster 3 appear more resistant to problematic characteristics. The favourable rates for pupils from clusters 4 and 2 also holds for this dimension.

Table 5: Conspicuous Behaviour and Personality Attitudes

Cluster	School-vandalism	Leisure-vandalism	Tendency for Social Comparison	Anomia	Egocentrism
1	10.1	15.9	11.2	6.9	10.1
2	10.4	17.4	12.2	7.5	11.2
3	10.0	16.5	12.4	7.4	10.5
4	11.1	18.1	13.1	7.4	12.4
5	08.6	13.1	11.2	6.9	08.1
F	22.4	26.2	10.9	22.5	58.3
sig	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000

One of the assumptions on this subject to be found in the literature (cf. Hopf 1990) is that young people with an authoritarian character have a low self-esteem. It appears, however, that this cannot be confirmed by the present study, where pupils with authoritarian character gave themselves a high measure of security (i.e., agreement with the item 'I feel secure'). So they do not feel more insecure than other young people. This supports the alternative proposition that these people see themselves in a positive light and attribute their failures to others (Merkens 1999).

It is of course of interest, to what extent young people with authoritarian personality characteristics prefer other values than their counterparts do. As table 6 shows, pupils from cluster 5 are the least co-operative, the most individual, highly achievement-oriented, and see the benefit of work

mostly in enabling them to organise their life favourably. Again, it is the group in cluster 1 that is closest to this attitudinal syndrome. Pupils from clusters 4 and 2 take a contra position and those in cluster 3 a medium position.

In conclusion, it is possible to say that with means of a cluster analysis it has been confirmed that a small group of Berlin juveniles in 1995 is to be defined – if one chooses political attitudes as a measure – in terms of authoritarian personality characteristics. This classification is supported by the rate of correlation between political attitude and problematic personality characteristics as studied with the assistance of variance analysis.

The inspection of further data confirms the original description of the clusters which I have given above: in cluster 5 we have pupils with a strong authoritarian personality. It is now possible to give a better description of the difference between clusters 1 and 3: pupils of cluster 1 may be described as latent authoritarian personalities. Pupils of cluster 3 are more of a medium-range. Students of cluster 4 have the weakest tendency for authoritarianism and students of cluster 2 are similar to them. It is then possible to differentiate five types of authoritarian personality in a range from strong to weak. It is not a one-dimensional concept, but more of a typology which includes different aspects. In this way the early work of Adorno et al. (1950) can be confirmed by the way of alternative operationalisation of instruments.

Table 6: Value Orientations

Cluster	Collectivism	Individualism	Success orientation	Instrumentalism in work orientation
1	5.4	9.2	6.8	12.6
2	5.2	9.7	7.4	13.8
3	5.4	9.5	7.1	13.0
4	4.9	10.2	8.3	15.2
5	5.3	8.6	6.2	11.1
F	4.4	15.9	24.4	48.8
sig	.002	.000	.000	.000

5. Summary

For the sample of pupils from Berlin and a further one from Chemnitz it could be shown that certain problematic attitudes are linked with certain personality characteristics. Following Adorno et al., these can be labelled 'authoritarian personalities'. This was demonstrated on the basis of a structural comparison model, cluster analysis, and finally variance analysis. It is remarkable hat the structural comparison model could be confirmed not only for the three different cross-sectional samples, but also for two additional longitudinal ones. This leads to the conclusion of an adequate stability of the findings. It can therefore be assumed that the tradition of investigations into the authoritarian personality will continue in the future.

References

Adorno, Th. W./Frenkel-Brunswick, E./Levinson, D. J./Sanford, R. N. (1950). *The Authoritarian Personality.* New York.

Altemeyer, B. (1981). *Right-Wing Authoritarianism.* Manitoba.

Altemeyer, B. (1988). *Enemies of Freedom. Understanding Right-Wing Authoritarianism.* San Francisco.

Blinkert, B. (1976). 'Autoritarismus, Desorientierung und soziale Schichtung. Zur empirischen Kritik von Forschungsergebnissen.' *Soziale Welt,* 27, 166-179.

Classen, G./Bergs-Winkels, D./Merkens, H. (1997). *The Authoritarian Character.* Paper presented at ECER-conference, Frankfurt/M., September 1997.

Fromm, E. (1936). Sozialpsychologischer Teil. In: Fromm, E./Horkheimer, M./Mayer, H./Marcuse, H. et al. (eds.), *Autorität und Familie.* Paris: Librairie Félix Alcan, 77-135.

Hagan, J./Merkens, H./Boehnke, K. (1995). 'Delinquency and Disdain: Social Capital and the Control of Right-Wing Extremism among East and West Berlin Youth.' *American Journal of Sociology,* 100, 1028-1052.

Hagan, J./Rippl, S./Boehnke, K./Merkens, H. (1999). 'The Interest in Evil: Hierarchic Self-Interest and Right-Wing Extremism among East and West Germany Youth.' *Social Science Research,* 28, 162-183.

Henning, H./Six, B. (1977). 'Konstruktion einer Machiavellismus-Skala.' *Zeitschrift für Sozialpsychologie,* Heft 8, 185-198.

Hopf, C. (1990). 'Autoritarismus und soziale Beziehungen in der Familie.' *Zeitschrift für Pädagogik,* 36, Nr. 3.

Hopf, W. (1991). 'Familiale und schulische Bedingungen rechtsextremer Orientierung von Jugendlichen.' *ZSE*, 11, 43-59.

Hopf, C. (1993). Autoritäres Verhalten. In: Otto, H.-K./Merten, R. (eds.): *Rechts-radikale Gewalt im vereinigten Deutschland.* Opladen: Leske + Budrich, 157-165.

Horkheimer, M. (1936). Allgemeiner Teil. In: Fromm, E./Horkheimer, M./Mayer; H./Marcuse, H. et al. (eds.), *Autorität und Familie.* Paris: Librairie Félix Alcan, 3-76.

Horkheimer, M./Adorno, Th. W. (1971). *Dialektik der Aufklärung.* Frankfurt/M.: Fischer.

Lazarsfeld, P./Leichter, K. (1936). *Erhebung bei Jugendlichen über Autorität und Fa-milie.* Paris: Librairie Félix Alcan, 353-415.

Lederer, G. (1993). Authoritarianism in German Adolescents: Trends and Cross-Cul-tural Comparisons. In: Stone, W. F./Lederer, G./Christie, R. (eds.): *Strength und Weakness. The Authoritarian Personality Today.* New York, Berlin, 182-198.

Lederer, G./Nerger, J./Rippl, S./Schmidt, P./Seipfel, C. (1991). 'Autoritarismus unter Jugendlichen der ehemaligen DDR.' *Deutschland-Archiv*, 24, 587-596.

Luhmann, N. (1984). *Soziale Systeme.* Frankfurt/M.: Suhrkamp.

Mead, G. H. ([10]1955). *Mind, Self, and Society. From the Standpoint of a Social Behav-iorist.* Chicago: University Press.

Merkens, H. (1996). Zur Stichprobenproblematik empirisch-sozialwissenschaftlicher Untersuchungen. In: Treumann, K. P./Neubauer, G./Möller, R./Abel, J. (eds.), *Metho-den und Anwendungen empirischer pädagogischer Forschung.* Münster, New York: Waxmann, 67-72.

Merkens, H. (1999). Die Jungen und ihr politisches Verständnis. In: *Politische Kultur im Prozess der inneren Einheit.* München: Bayerische Landeszentrale für politische Bildungsarbeit, 67-102.

Merkens, H./Classen, G./Bergs-Winkels, D. (1997). 'Familiale und schulische Einflüsse auf die Konstituierung des Selbst in der Jugendzeit.' *Zeitschrift für Pädagogik*, H. 1, 93-110.

Oesterreich, D. (1996). *Flucht in die Sicherheit. Zur Theorie des Autoritarismus und der autoritären Reaktion.* Opladen: Leske + Budrich.

Osterkamp, K. H. (1980). 'Thesen zum Problem des "autoritären Potentials" als Entste-hungsbedingung des Faschismus.' In: *Argument-Sonderband*, A8 59, 225-231.

Stone, W. F. (1993). Psychodynamics, Cognitive Functioning, or Group Orientation: Research and Theory in the 1980s. In: Stone, W. F./Lederer, G./Christie, R. (eds.): *Strength und Weakness. The Authoritarian Personality Today.* New York, Berlin, 159-181.

Vollebergh, W. (1992). The Development of Authoritarianism in Adolescence. Longi-tudinal Change in Authoritarianism and the Impact of Age, Gender, and Educational Level. In: Meeus, W./de Goede, M./Hox, W./Hurrelmann, K. (eds.), *Adolescence, Careers, and Culture.* Berlin: de Gruyter, 247-264.

Witte, E. H. (1972). 'Die Autoritarismus-Skala: Eine Skala?' *Kölner Zeitschrift für Soziologie und Sozialpsychologie*, 24, 523-532.

Appendix

Table 7: Reliabilities

Indices	East Berlin 1995 α	West Berlin 1995 α	East Berlin 1994/1995 α	West Berlin 1994/1995 α	Chemnitz 1994 α
Family climate (3 Items)	.53	.61	.54	.59	.56
Social control (4 Items)	.76	.75	.66	.73	.67
Self-efficacy (5 Items)	.69	.67	.68	.70	.68
Social comparison (5 Items)	.67	.73	.68	.70	.56
Success orientation (3 Items)	.63	.70	.65	.70	.54
Instrumentalism in work orientation (6 Items)	.51	.59	.55	.56	.51
Right-wing-orientation (4 Items)	.81	.59	.81	.59	.75
Nationalism (3 Items)	.66	.58	.65	.58	.48
Social Differences (3 Items)	.58	.60	.57	.61	.58

John White

Moral Education in Schools:
Three Proposals and a Rejection*

The following talk was delivered at the University of Amsterdam in 1996. Although most of its substance is about perennial issues in the philosophy of moral education in schools, it was triggered by the new interest which in 1996 the School Curriculum and Assessment Authority (SCAA) and its Chief Executive, Nick Tate, were showing in moral education, partly as a way of stemming what was then perceived to be Britain's moral decline.

Since 1996 SCAA has become the Qualifications and Curriculum Authority (QCA). Together with the new Labour government, elected in 1997, QCA has introduced two new subjects into the new version of the National Curriculum from 2000 onwards – Personal, Social and Health Education (PSHE) and Citizenship. The latter is now a compulsory subject for all children in state schools from ages eleven to sixteen.

You may not realise it, but England is a funny country. Eight years ago it introduced a National Curriculum for state schools based entirely on traditional academic subjects with scarcely any provision for personal and social or civic education. Now, in 1996, its School Curriculum and Assessment Authority (SCAA) seems to spend most of its time bemoaning the fact that schools and teacher education colleges do next to nothing about moral and civic development.

It now seems, from recent reports in the press about the ultra-academic 1988 National Curriculum, that the inspiration for this historic event came originally from Mrs Thatcher's hairdresser, worried about his daughter's poor progress at a South London primary school. True, this fired Mrs Thatcher to put her money on something even more tough-minded than the National Curriculum we actually got: a three-subject core of English, maths and science. It was only the education minister's wife, a former secondary

---

* A slightly different version of this paper has been published under the title *Three Proposals and a Rejection* in R. Smith/P. Standish (eds.), Teaching Right and Wrong: Moral Education in the Balance. Stoke-on-Trent: Trentham Books 1997.

teacher, who saved us from this. 'When I used to come back bloody and bowed from these meetings', writes her husband of his interactions with the prime minister, 'she would say, "No, you must stick out for a broad-based curriculum." I think this is the first time I've mentioned that. I should have acknowledged her role in this much more' (The Daily Telegraph, June 1 1996).

So thanks to the courage, persistence and sheer intellectual acumen of Mr and Mrs Kenneth Baker, we now have a National Curriculum of ten traditional school subjects. It does, let us be fair, come with aims attached. All two lines of them. The first line says that the National Curriculum should promote 'the spiritual, moral, cultural, mental and physical development of students at school and of society'; the second adds that it should prepare them 'for the opportunities, responsibilities and experiences of adult life'. Is it possible to imagine a conciser, more accurate, more practically applicable account of the purposes of a nation's curriculum than this?

Anyway, to come back to the present day and SCAA's concern with the moral decline of the nation and the role that schools can play in countering this. The driving force here is SCAA's Chief Executive, Dr Nick Tate. Although the backbone of the National Curriculum is rigidly academic, its aims, as we have seen, do emphasise moral development among other kinds. How moral development is supposed to be promoted through the academic subjects has never been seriously addressed, either in 1988 or since, but let that pass. At least the authorities are now taking moral education very seriously. SCAA has recently set up a Forum on Values in Education and the Community. All this year, teachers, researchers, civil servants, business people have been meeting to help SCAA hammer out a new policy on moral education. This is due for publication this autumn.

Nick Tate's own ideas on the topic have been spelt out in a series of well-publicised speeches earlier this year. His perception of the moral state of the British nation is not optimistic. In the past, at the heart of both home and school education was the transmission of a set of moral rules or precepts, like the Ten Commandments and the seven deadly sins. Now our society no longer has this framework. Whereas people used to believe in definite rights and wrongs, the dominant moral attitude today rests on an all-pervasive relativism – in Tate's interpretation of the term, the belief that morality is largely a matter of taste or opinion.

As for remedies, Nick Tate would like his Forum to set out a list of core, universal values to which all schools will be committed. He would like to see how the whole curriculum can contribute to his end. In line with the con-

nexion he sees between moral decline and the erosion of a religious framework, he would like religious education to play a crucial role in re-establishing traditional moral qualities. In other speeches this year he has called for renewing traditional attachment to our national community and its cultural heritage, and expressed an interest in the role that personal and social education can play in civic education premised on such a community.

I very much welcome the new attention Nick Tate is giving to moral and civic education, although I disagree with his diagnosis in many ways. There is a problem about moral attitudes in our society today, but it is not the one he picks out. I feel pretty sure that some of what am about to say will have resonances in the Netherlands and Germany, as well as in Britain. I know that this position is widely shared, and not just in one country.

First, the claim that society is in moral decline. Not only Nick Tate thinks this. In the wake of certain horrific murders in the last few years – especially of a toddler by two ten-year old boys; and of a secondary headmaster, knifed by a teenager – media moralists have rushed to sound the tocsin. Some, like Nick Tate, have tied our moral woes to the loss of a religious framework. (In this connexion, in the first outline I received about the theme of this conference, I see that 'Secularisation' was listed as a social problem, along with petty crime and social security fraud.) Is it true we are in moral decline? If morality is as closely linked to religion as Nick Tate believes, perhaps it is. Certainly membership of Christian churches is in a spin-dive in my country. Extrapolating from recent figures, I have calculated that, at a constant rate of decline, the churches will be completely empty somewhere between 2037 and 2076 (White 1995).

But why make moral values dependent on religion? Plato had well-justified doubts about this two and a half millennia ago in his dialogue *Euthyphro*. Must it take forever for the message to get through? Let's give the religionists all the aces. OK, we'll agree with them – for now – that God exists. That's one fact. We'll agree that he's promulgated rules for human beings to follow – in the Judaeo-Christian case, Nick Tate's Ten Commandments. That's another fact. What have these facts to do with how we should morally behave? If someone commands me to keep my promises or not commit adultery: is this reason enough for me to do these things? Why should I obey orders without question? Suppose someone commands me to kill all my children, should I do so simply because he tells me to?

The Christian's traditional reply has been: 'Of course not. But God is different. God is good. The things which he enjoys are not like that. They could never be evil.'

175

Enter Plato from the *agora*. Are we to lead good lives just because God tells us to? Or because what God tells us to do is good? It seems to be the latter. But, if it is, there must be some independent standard of goodness – independent, that is, of God's commands. In which case morality could not rest on a religious basis, because underlying the alleged foundation is morality!

Let's start again. We're talking about such things as not abusing people, telling the truth, helping others in distress, not breaking promises. It is not difficult to find a non-religious basis for these. Human beings being what they are, life would go badly for nearly all of us if there were no social constraints on people going about wounding or killing each other, lying and so on. If we were all made of indestructible metal, we might not need moral rules forbidding physical harm to people. But we are not. We are all horribly vulnerable and need protection from knives and fists and guns. Our basic moral rules reflect our human nature (see Warnock, 1971, ch. 2).

I will come back to this in a moment. We haven't finished with the question about whether our society is in moral decline. This sounds like a wholly empirical question – a matter of collecting the evidence to settle the issue one way or the other. But it isn't. We can't begin to answer it unless we agree what we take morality to be. I've just mentioned a number of what I called 'basic moral rules' – that one should tell the truth, avoid physical harm and so on. If we could draw up a definitive list of these, we could in principle collect data on the incidence of being truthful, not killing people, helping others in distress etc. I say 'in principle', because once you've gone beyond ascertainable phenomena like murder rates, how you find out whether people are now more truthful or considerate is not so easy.

But can we draw up a definitive list of moral rules? Is there an agreed moral code? Whether some people would still see masturbation as a moral offence, I don't know. It certainly was when I was young, along with premarital sex and homosexual relationships. Today the battle lines are more likely to be drawn around the permissibility of abortion or euthanasia.

Would the moral code contain prohibitions on drug-taking and excessive use of alcohol or tobacco? Are these things moral defects? Again, this brings us back to what we mean by 'moral'. The term commonly refers to our behaviour towards other people. It's morally wrong to cheat them or to steal their property. If other people's harm is not in issue, are we still in moral territory? Think what has happened to the staples of sexual morality

just mentioned, to masturbation or premarital sex. Many today would argue that these aren't morally wrong if other people are not adversely affected. If we agree with them, should we say the same about the use of cannabis, heroin, beer and cigarettes? Is it only when junkies steal and mug to pay for drugs that this becomes a moral issue?

In one way, if there is uncertainty about what should be inside or outside a moral code, this is only grist to the mill of moral pessimists like Nick Tate. 'It wasn't like that in the old days. We knew where we were then. That's exactly why we need a Values Forum – to establish an agreed code of values for the future.'

In other words, the perceived breakdown of consensus is itself used as evidence of a fall in moral standards. But should it be?

It might, after all, be a sign that people are becoming more reflective about how we should live together. If people no longer blindly do what conventional morality tells them, is this retrogression or advance?

This is perhaps the point to bring in what Nick Tate says about the dangers of relativism, in his eyes the dominant moral attitude today. What is relativism? Tate means by the term 'the view that morality is largely a matter of taste or opinion, that there is no such thing as moral error, and that there is no point therefore in searching for the truth about moral matters or in arguing or reasoning about it' (speech at SCAA Conference 15 January 1996, para 15).

Tate almost makes it seem as if people now treat moral values as matters of preference, like a choice between Heineken and Königsbräu, or between raw herring and fish and chips. Is there any evidence of this? Does he adduce any?

He says that relativism 'is widespread. A MORI poll in 1994 showed that 48% of 15-35 year olds did not believe that there were definite rights and wrongs in life, while 41% felt that morality always (not just sometimes) depended on the circumstances' (ibid., para 16).

Is this evidence of relativism, as Tate defines it? We would have to look further into how these poll results are to be interpreted. Take the first. Nearly half of the younger population does not believe that there are definite rights and wrongs. What does this mean? Does it mean that they don't believe that killing people, for instance, is something they should avoid? Or does it mean that they don't think killing is wrong in every conceivable circumstance? The difference is crucial. In the first case we would all have good reason to be very worried indeed. If half the upcoming generation doesn't care a fig about topping other people, we'd all better hire

personal bodyguards. But if the second interpretation, which brings in different circumstances is true, we may be able to relax. Is it always – in some absolute sense – wrong to kill people? But what about self-defence? Or in a just war? Or as a plotter against Hitler, like von Stauffenberg? Or in some cases of voluntary euthanasia? Perhaps the poll merely shows that the young now have a more nuanced, less black and white, attitude towards traditional moral rules – that they think things through more and see that there are justifiable exceptions to any moral rule, even the most basic.

All in all, Nick Tate hasn't convinced me that we are on a moral downward slope. I'd need firmer evidence before joining the hand-wringing or garment-rending brigade.

I do believe, however, that in countries like ours we face a problem and that we need to take action to resolve it – but my diagnosis is different from Nick Tate's. The problem is not moral decline, but a certain lack of confidence about how we should behave and what we should believe.

We are living on something of a moral watershed. Nick Tate is right: old patterns are crumbling. It is not only a matter of religious decline and an increasing unwillingness to accept religious authority as backing for moral beliefs.

He is also right to highlight changing attitudes to our national community. In Britain's case, these have been intimately tied up, traditionally, with religion, that is, with Protestantism. After the union of England with Scotland which formed Britain in 1707, we grew used to thinking of Britain as a righteous, Christian country, at loggerheads with continental enemies, especially Catholic ones like the French (Colley, 1992). We thought of it, too, as the most civilised of nations, superior not only to other European countries, but also to the Indians and Africans and other peoples over which our great Empire came to rule. This traditional nationalism is now, mercifully, in terminal recession. It flares up from time to time – in the 1980s with the Falkland War and our righteous struggle against the foe, indeed a Catholic foe; and in the 1990s with our anti-EU posturings. But its number is almost up. Our traditional attachment to British national values, like our traditional attachment to the Church, is crumbling with the years.

Closely tied up with the nation and the church, two other traditional British institutions are also currently under threat. The first is the monarchy. You will all know about our penchant for royal divorces, about Princess Di's love-hate affair with the media, and so on. For the British people, the mystique of royalty, its intimate association with that shadowy entity, the British nation, is dissolving fast.

178

The second threat is to the traditional cult of work as the central pivot of a human life. This, like the monarchy, has been, historically, closely tied to religious values; especially, again, with Protestant values. The centrality of work in life over other activities and pursuits is now under growing challenge (White, 1997). People are not taking kindly to the fact that while working hours on the continent are falling, in Britain they are not. The place of work in our lives is coming up fast on the political agenda. I can scarcely ever open a copy of my daily newspaper, The Independent, without coming across headlines like 'Work can kill' warning or 'We must break our 45-hours-a-week habit'.

Nick Tate is right. Decreasing respect for traditional institutions does create a problem. But it's only a problem of decline if you think, as he does, that these old attitudes are worth preserving.

The problem that I see is that we in Britain need a value-framework in which we can believe as confidently as, say 150 years ago, many of us believed in the Church, Nation, Queen and Hard Work. We are still searching for this. Assuming that we don't follow the Nick Tates back into the past, what should be our route into the future?

The issue is bath about what the content of the value-framework should be and about how children should be inducted into it. I have three suggestions to make about these matters.

a.

It would be helpful if we could stop ourselves talking about morality and moral education as if these belonged to a part of our life rigidly separated off from the rest of it (Williams, 1985; Taylor, 1995). This way of thinking about them belongs to the tradition which I am suggesting we transcend. Central to this tradition is the notion of Duty. We divide our lives into one part dominated by our moral obligations, the things we morally ought to do; and another part where inclination, or pleasure, rather than duty comes into the story. The historical roots of this division lie in our Christian past; but its branches have spread over into a more secular age. Kant's moral philosophy based on his categorical imperative has been influential here.

It was Nietzsche in books like *The Genealogy of Morals* who first made people wonder whether morality was all it was made out to be. His present-day follower, Bernard Williams, adds analytic precision to the task of dynamiting what he calls in *Ethics and the Limits of Philosophy* the 'pecu-

liar institution' of morality. Both writers see morality as we have come to understand it as a culturally bounded phenomenon, the now largely secular remnant of Christian commandments. Williams, in particular, points to the dominating role of obligation in the morality system, to the marginalising of other values which might guide us. Like Nietzsche, he urges us to look back to Greek ethical ideas for inspiration. Traditional morality has been built around rules – originally God's commandments, later secularised versions of these. We think of morality as a code of things we ought and ought not to do. The Greeks thought of how human beings should live in terms of virtues of character – personal qualities like courage, which regulates our fear-responses; self-control, which sifts out appropriate from inappropriate expressions of anger; and temperance, which strikes a similar mean in the way we handle our bodily appetites for food, drink and sex (and, in our modern age, we should add drugs, including alcohol and tobacco).

A major step forward would be to enlarge our conception of values-education so as to include cultivating the virtues, like generosity, courage, friendliness, patience as well as inducting into rules against such things as stealing, killing, lying and breaking promises.

In fact, when you think about it, if you take the rule against killing, there's not much to do here in the way of inducting children into it. By this, I don't mean that the prohibition against killing is not important. Quite the opposite. It is so fundamental as to be utterly taken for granted. Killing a human being belongs to the realm of the unthinkable. Children don't need moral education programmes in order to learn not to do it.

This gives us a useful way of thinking about values education. Some ethical considerations, like the one just mentioned, should be seen as embedded in the very framework of a civilised life. Reject them and you reject civilisation. You outlaw yourself from your community. Not-killing is one example, so is not-injuring, so is not-stealing.

Other ethical considerations have to do with learning to make appropriate responses and have appropriate feelings. These are the virtues. All of us are born with or come to acquire emotions and desires, like fear, anger, thirst, hunger, love of company, feelings of self-worth. We need to learn how to handle these appropriately. Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics* is still an excellent guide into this process of habituation and to the gradually expanding role that reason comes to play in the process.

Somewhere between the two types of consideration – the framework prohibitions and the virtues – are rules against lying, promise-breaking, not helping people in distress, being unfair. These also belong to the very

180

structure of civilised life, yet they also require habituation. Like the virtue of temperance, which regulates our bodily appetites, or the virtue of self-control, which does the same for anger, they control the temptations, or inclinations, we all have when we are young to follow easier paths. In the case of lying, being unfair, etc. the inclination in question is usually putting our own interests first and not considering other people's. Education is necessary here – unlike with killing: we do not have to learn painfully to cope with our inclinations to kill or maim people. It is perhaps best to see learning not to lie, turning away from those in need, etc. as part of acquiring the virtue of concern for other people's well-being. Rather than laying down these things as mere rules, it would be better to develop children's sympathetic imagination, so that they come to feel how dreadful it must be like to be at the receiving end of an injustice or a breach of trust. That way they should, we may hope, feel less and less tempted to overstep these marks.

So my first suggestion as to ways forward would be to enlarge our conception of what moral or values education might involve, so as to include habituation into the virtues as well as learning familiar moral rules. Where possible, the distinction between virtues and rules could well be eroded in the way just mentioned.

b.

My second suggestion brings us back to what I was saying about the need for confidence. (I am indebted here, once again, to Williams, 1985; see pp. 170-1.) There is nothing recondite or especially problematic about the ethical considerations I have mentioned so far. If religion is crumbling away as a justifying framework for morality, we should not think of ourselves as in some terrible intellectual limbo, not knowing which way to turn, looking to Kant or Mill or Sartre or Freud or Marx to help us sort out whether there is some objective basis to our moral beliefs, or whether, given that God is dead, what we choose as the values by which to live is up to us. I know very well that this is the message that religionists tend to come out with: that once you leave the solid territory of religion you fall into a morass of doubt, uncertainty and despair. But it is not like that. How many of us go around radically uncertain whether in general (i.e., leaving out exceptional cases) it is wrong to kill or inflict grievous bodily harm? If we are to lead a civilised life at all, we know that such things should not be

permitted, that they are beyond the pale. The same with lying, breaking promises and the rest. If human beings were different – if they were made of indestructible metal so that they could never be killed or injured, or if they didn't plan ahead so that broken promises could not interfere with what they had in mind to do – then things would be different. We wouldn't need these rules. But we all have an implicit understanding of the kinds of creatures we are; given this, it should make perfectly good sense to us that, if we are to have a minimally civilised life, these kinds of things must be insisted on.

We shouldn't, therefore, be a prey to radical doubt about such matters. We need confidently to embrace these values ourselves; and as parents and teachers, confidently to instil them in our children.

Similar points can be made about virtues like temperance, courage, friendliness, generosity, patience, good humouredness, etc. There is nothing deeply problematic about the fact that human beings have appetites for food, drink, sex. We all know this. We also know that, unlike other animals, we cannot rely on instinctual mechanisms to control these appetites. We know that children are all tempted to eat too much on occasion, or eat the wrong things, or eat the right things but in the wrong places, etc. We also know that they need constant guidance in their early years so that they come to do what is appropriate – good for their health, suitable to the circumstances. We know that habituation in the virtue of temperance is necessary if they are to flourish, if they are to lead fulfilling lives. The same is true for the other virtues.

So about instilling the virtues, too, there should be no room for scepticism or vacillation. We should go ahead confidently building up these dispositions in children.

c.

My third and last suggestion about the way forward springs out of what I have said about the virtues, and also out of what I said earlier about not making a wall of steel in our lives between our moral duties and our inclinations.

Is control of one's bodily appetites a moral virtue? One reason for uncertainty about this might be that this virtue is primarily self-regarding, whereas morality is often taken to be about one's duties to others. It's my flourishing, my happiness that is at stake if I don't handle these appetites

182

successfully. Agreed, other people may well be adversely affected if I don't: those who love me, victims of my untamed sexual appetite or drug addictions, etc. Temperance is important primarily for my own well-being, but also for others'.

My third suggestion is that, in reviewing the moral life and the requirements of moral education, we should put the pupil's own flourishing much more at the centre of things than has been traditional, especially in the religious morality which we are now finally shaking off (White, 1990, chs. 2-4).

A difficulty has been that the religious tradition has bequeathed us no real picture of what a personally fulfilled life could be like except in terms of devotion to God and one's moral duties. Apart from this there are only the pleasures and temptations of our animal nature – a common but false picture of a happy life, from which Duty alone can rescue us. As the religious view has waned over the twentieth century, not surprisingly the pagan conception of a happy life which it rejected has come into prominence. Not that, in our society today, people have gone overboard for selfish hedonism and have jettisoned all the old morality. Not at all. What I suspect has happened in a lot of cases is that people still have something like the traditional moral beliefs that they shouldn't harm others in the usual ways – lying, stealing, etc. – but that since most of these are about things to refrain from, it's perfectly possible to live out one's life within these moral rules, yet spend an enormous proportion of it on one's own pursuits. Paradoxically, it is through their attachment to something not so far removed from traditional morality that so many in our society enjoy to strive for or dream of some version of the dolce vita – sex, suntan and Sangria, electronic paradises, nice houses and nice gardens, coming up on the Lottery, villas in Spain or the South of France.

The main task for education has nothing to do with entrenching our entrenched morality still further. We are perennially tempted to take this route, but it leads nowhere. It simply deepens the overmoralisation that Britain has suffered from for many a century and the overhedonisation which has afflicted it throughout the twentieth. The main task for education is to broaden young people's conceptions of what their own happiness or fulfilment might consist in. Not just this. For a merely intellectual aim is not enough. It must be accompanied by a form of upbringing which gives them the qualities of character, the sources of inner strength, to sustain them in their quest for a flourishing life. To repeat. The religious-moral tradition from which we are emerging has left us with no vision of what a

fulfilled human life could consist in once the religious wraps are off. This is where the educational effort needs to go – in giving pupils a rounded picture of their own well-being. Part of this will certainly have to do with the animal enjoyments at which the religious tradition turned up its nose. The sexual liberation that a later generation than my own – unfortunately for me – has experienced has been a massive contribution to human welfare. But there is just so much else that can help make a happy life – gardening, enjoying the countryside, travel, the arts, cooperating with others on all sorts of tasks, political involvement, meditation, raising a family, sports, socialising ...

Like me, I imagine you have sometimes had the thought that there are so many unexplored delights open to you that ten lifetimes would not be enough to experience them all. As a young person you backpack to Venice, discover Tintoretto and find the whole world of Italian renascence painting opening up to you. You read some stories by Chekhov and ditto for Russian literature. A chance visit to Exmoor unlocks the charms of rural beauty and solitude. And so on. For lucky ones like us, life is full to overflowing: even if we have few means, all we need at minimum is a good public library and some time to ourselves. It is hard for us to imagine that for others, life is not at all overflowing. Its circle of enjoyments is small and boredom is always near.

The first task of education is to fill young people's horizons with multiple, and multiplying, visions of how they can fill their lives. Maybe this is one of the aims of the English National Curriculum; but if it is, those who have imposed it on the schools have not been letting on.

If I could redesign our National Curriculum, I would build in a new form of assessment at age sixteen. This would be the Fullness of Life Test. Feeling that ten lifetimes would not be enough to drain life dry would merit a distinction grade; five lifetimes, a merit, and so on down.

I must conclude. My third suggestion has been that when we think about values education, we move the pupil's own well-being much more to the centre of the stage. Enriching his or her personal life becomes a major aim. Does this mean we are playing down a more specifically moral education? In one way, not at all. I am not at all suggesting that we bring up our children to be a nation of egoists, concerned only with their own fulfilment at the expense of other people's. A personally flourishing life should not be conflated with a selfish one. This thought is a legacy from our religious past and we would do well to abandon it. Many, perhaps most, of the activities which constitute our own personal well-being inex-

tricably help to further other people's goals as well as our own. Think of the items in the list I just reeled off: sexual activities, sports, country pursuits, working with others on some cooperative task, enjoying artistic and academic activities, raising a family, socialising ... We will not get very far with these things if we think of ourselves as social atoms.

We need to bring children up to think of their own happiness as closely bound up with the happiness of others. For this, as I say, we need to enlarge their horizons about what such a mutually fulfilling life could consist of.

This notion, that one's own flourishing should be thought of as inseparable from that of others in one's community, is, once again, an ancient Greek idea. It is poles apart from the dualist notion that puts Moral Duty on one side and Personal Inclination on the other.

If we have to be traditionalists about moral education, why go for something as recent and jejune as Christian morality? Why not push further back – say, to pre-Christian Athens?

References

Colley, L. (1992). *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707-1837*. New Haven, London: Yale University Press.

Taylor, C. (1995). A most Peculiar Institution. In: J. Altahm/R. Harrison (eds.), *World, Mind and Ethics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Warnock, G. (1971). *The Object of Morality*. London: Methuen.

White, J. (1990). *Education and the Good Life*. London: Kogan Page.

White, J. (1995). *Education and Personal Well-being in a Secular Universe*. London: Institute of Education.

White, J. (1997). *Education and the End of Work*. London: Cassell.

Williams, B. (1985). *Ethics and the Limits of Philosophy*. London: Fontana.

Yvonne Ehrenspeck

Moral Education as Social Inclusion in German Schools

'Lebensgestaltung – Ethik – Religionskunde (The Study of Fashioning Life – Ethics – Religion) (L-E-R)' as a New School Subject in Brandenburg

Aside from its insistence on the necessary acquisition of knowledge and cognitive abilities and the hopes it has placed in the 'promises of aesthetics' (cf. Ehrenspeck 1998) for more than 200 years, modern thinking in education distinguishes itself through its belief in the possible effects of morals for social life and social inclusion. In addition to the communication of knowledge and aesthetic education or all-around education (which is known as *Bildung* in German), moral education has held an important place in the modern era – in other words, it has been attributed with a special ability to assist in handling individual as well as societal problems. Moral education or education about values is favoured particularly in times of social upheaval and social crisis as a proven means of fighting loss of meaning, lack of orientation, or concrete problems, such as violence among youth, violence against foreigners, or the loss of normative orientation through the gradual erosion of societal structures – among others the increasing breaking apart of existing communal patterns, one of which is the family. Depending upon the societal and the political-educational situation, as well as the theoretical premise, this belief in the possible effects of morals and moral education leads to various theoretical educational considerations and suggestions that even extend to pedagogical school concepts and their institutional application. One such institutional application of moral education (or education about values), in other words, of 'moral evaluative instruction' (Leschinsky/Tiedtke 1996, p.177), is gaining particular attention at the present time in Germany. What we are talking about here is the new obligatory subject 'Lebensgestaltung – Ethik – Religion' (the fashioning of life – ethics – religion), abbreviated L-E-R,

186

that was introduced in the state of Brandenburg in 1996/1997. In this contribution, I would like to first of all, (1) describe the founding and implementation of this new school subject, and secondly, (2) focus on the contents conceived for this subject, at which point I will comment critically in particular on the 'notes on instructional procedures' for L-E-R. Finally, (3) I would like to make a few basic comments on the possibility of conditions and limitations of an institutionalised 'moral evaluative instruction'.

1. On the Foundation and Implementation of L-E-R

The idea of introducing a new domain of learning came up in connection with the transformation from the German Democratic Republic (GDR) to a new democratic societal order. After the collapse of the GDR, there was a need for planing and movement with respect to the recreation and alteration of the educational system. One important motive for the installation of a subject such as L-E-R was the desire to offer a hand to the children and youth in the so-called 'new German states' in coping with the many side-effects of 'die Wende' (unification). The pupils were to find in the new subject – the new learning domain – a basis of support to help them find their way in the new societal order. This was a task, it should be noted, that needed to be mastered by the teachers themselves. Because of this, Leschinsky, who was the head of the evaluation commission for the L-E-R model endeavour from 1992 to 1995, ventured to propose that 'the complaints about the extensive lack of orientation very likely says less about the actual situation of youth in the new German states than it does about the expectations of those who claim to ascertain this lack of orientation (in others)' (Leschinsky 1996, p.39). There are also several signs that might recommend interpreting the establishment of this subject as an attempt to create a sort of moratorium (Frana 1997, p.1) in order both to work through the past and to create a collective identity by binding that which existed to that which was foreign in a new unity. In line with this thinking, one of the special aims of the L-E-R instruction is nothing less than 'learning to live together'! (Department 1996, p.9). Furthermore, the instructional procedures written for L-E-R state: 'L-E-R should encourage learning how to live by taking up and working in an integrative manner through questions of one's own identity and of living together, of value orientation, of world conception, and of meaning' (Department 1996, p.9). Added to that, however, the scepticism about religious instruction in the

187

old German states and the wish to maintain certain elements of the church's 'Christian teachings' in the GDR played a decisive role in implementing this new subject. In addition, considering the large number of East German youth without a religion – in part a result of the aesthetic-orientation of education politics in the GDR – a path was sought to compensate the significant deficit in knowledge about various worldly perspectives, cultures, and religions; and those who were in the process of growing up were to be ensured assistance in responsibly fashioning their life and orienting their values. This shows that, although L-E-R was conceived with the intention of doing everything differently and in a new way, one can nevertheless ascertain a certain continuity with the GDR past. As a result, it was possible to prove that the considerations regarding education about values that the GDR state had made in hope of forming the 'socialist personality' also went into conception of the subject L-E-R in the form of elements of a larger political-moral education under the title 'unenlightened traditions' (Leschinsky 1996, p. 39) and that they continued to have a latent effect. Leschinsky noted that the GDR's considerations regarding education about values would not find public support today due to the goals that they were connected to, but that the notion that one could and should encourage young people in the direction of particular societally acceptable beliefs and behaviours would still be considered evident and correct (Leschinsky 1996, p. 39). It is therefore especially problematic to realise that youth were denied the integrative influence of a public attempt to deal with these traditions in the L-E-R model endeavour, if only due to a scarcity of time, since the state resolved to introduce the instructional subject 'Lebensgestaltung-Ethik (life fashioning-ethics)' in the school of the East German states at the early date of October 2, 1990. However, after the new states had their local parliamentary votes, all of them – aside from Brandenburg – introduced confessional religious instruction according to Article 7, Paragraph 3 of the Constitution as it had existed in the old German states, with the exception of Bremen and Berlin. In contrast, Brandenburg began preparing the introduction of the new subject 'Lebensgestaltung – Ethik – Religionskunde (the study of fashioning life – ethics – religion)' with the participation of the Protestant Church. While the Protestant Church chose a pragmatic strategy, the Catholic Church maintained its basic hesitation about L-E-R, so that it was not possible to work constructively with the Catholic Church. The cooperation of the state government with the two large Christian communities was further burdened by the disagreement about two articles of the Constitution and the corresponding legal interpre-

tations and implications. Article 7, Paragraph 3, Sentence 1 of the Constitution of the States of the Federal Republic of Germany requires the introduction of religious instruction as a regular subject in public schools, whereas Article 141 lifts the requirement from the states that were under a different state regulation as of January 1, 1949 – so that religious instruction is not considered a regular subject in those states and alternatives to confessional religious instruction can be offered. In the old states of the Federal Republic, in which Article 7, Paragraph 3, Sentence 1 was applied with few exceptions, one had to react to the fact that as a consequence of increasing secularisation, a significant reduction in participation in religious instruction had taken place as pupils were excused from this obligatory subject. Because of this, the school administrations had to find a compulsory substitute for religious instruction's function in educating about values. Depending upon the state, the substituting subjects that were created were called 'ethics' (cf. Höffe 1986), 'values and norms', and 'philosophical propaedeutik'. Only Berlin and Bremen were exonerated from the legal regulations of Article 7 of the Constitution and so religious instruction was not an obligatory subject in these two states. Nevertheless, there were attempts in Berlin and Bremen to establish an alternative ethics/ philosophy subject in which the domain of religion played a role, as it did in the conceptions of the other states. With the introduction of L-E-R in Brandenburg, the clearance that Article 141 allowed was stretched to its utmost degree, because L-E-R was considered an obligatory area of learning domain in which questions of how to fashion one's life, of ethics, and of religion were integrated together. Article 3, Paragraph 11 of Brandenburg's April 12, 1996 school-related law insisted that the subject 'Lebensgestaltung – Ethik – Religionskunde' be taught in a way that was 'neutral in terms of denomination, religion, and creed'. The Christian instruction focusing on questions of belief, which was the subject of the confession-related religious instruction up until then, is replaced here by an approach that focused on the study about religion, or the science of religion. Among other things, this altercation caused the churches to file a complaint about the constitutionality of Article 141 that remains undecided to the present day. These complicated legal disputes between the state, the system of education, and the church – telling and far-reaching though they may be – will not be discussed further here. They have been mentioned here primarily because they coloured the discussion about L-E-R to a great extent. But independent of this – even if it was overshadowed by the legal quarrels between the churches, the state, and the constitutional decision – a three-

years lasting model version of 'Lebensgestaltung – Ethik – Religionskunde' was in fact introduced at the start of the school year 1992/93 in 44 of the 1,200 schools in the state of Brandenburg and was completed at the end of the school year 1994/95. In order to evaluate the model endeavour, which incidentally is counted among the largest contemporary model endeavours in the Federal Republic based on its quantitative dimensions (Leschinsky/ Schnabel 1996, p. 31) a scientific study was set in motion at the end of 1992. This study's final report (Leschinsky 1996) has recently been pub-lished, and its results and suggestions are currently widely discussed (Goldschmidt 1997, p. 187). After the scientific study that accompanied the model endeavour had been evaluated, and after Brandenburg's parliament dismissed Brandenburg's school law on March 28, 1996, the obligatory subject 'Lebensgestaltung – Ethik – Religionskunde' was finally intro-duced in the school year 1996/97.

2. On the Conception of the Learning Domain L-E-R and a Critical Commentary to the 'Instructional Procedures' and 'Notes' for L-E-R Instruction

After the exposition of the public, political, and legal discussion about the installation of the new school subject, which unfortunately pushed the nec-essary discussion of pedagogical problems that normally accompany the implementation of a new area of learning too far into the background, we now want to look at the conception of the contents of L-E-R. A work com-mission, which the Protestant church participated in, was established to create 'notes on instruction in the model endeavour learning area of Lebens-gestaltung – Ethik – Religionskunde, secondary level I' (Department 1994), a document first published in 1994 – at the start of the third year of the model endeavour. It soon became clear that the cooperation of the state government, the people they hired from the Brandenburg State Pedagogi-cal Institute (Pädagogisches Landesinstitut Brandenburg, PLIB) to create the conception for L-E-R, and the representatives of the Protestant church and other members of the work commission was problematic and tense. Alone, the papers about L-E-R instruction in secondary level I that were drawn up by PLIB and those drawn up by the Protestant church in Branden-burg, indicate clearly that both parties derived the tasks and goals of L-E-R from two fundamental concepts that were mutually exclusive (Leschinsky 1996, p. 70). The commission responsible for the creation of the necessary

190

documentation integrated these different fundamental concepts without making contradictions and oppositions transparent (ibid.). The Ministry for its part reworked and corrected the commission papers. The result was the document 'Notes on Instruction' ('Hinweise zum Unterricht') from 1994, which has already been mentioned, as well as the 'instructional procedures' ('Unterrichtsvorgaben') from 1996 (Department 1996). The conception behind L-E-R is presented in the following manner: in connection with the considerations about the tasks and goals of L-E-R, a slight shift can be noted in the period 1992 to 1994 from an initial tendency towards individual and socio-psychological questions to a focus on knowledge intended to facilitate orientation. On top of that, however, various existing competencies are to be developed and encouraged by the L-E-R instruction: 'personal competence', 'social competence', 'competence to handle disagreements by meaningful suggestions', and 'ethical competence' (Department 1996, p. 20). Something that stands out here, for example, is that the category 'personal competence' also subsumes the demand for children and youth to be accompanied and supported in the development of their respective identity. The development of identity, therefore, is understood as a sort of 'personal competence' – something rather misleading, since identity and the development of identity are in no way a sort of competence, but rather a constant balancing process. One demands that the competencies to be promoted in the subject L-E-R also form the basis for didactic decisions in relation to contents, methods, and social forms as well as various media. At the same time, there is reference to specific demands regarding the way the instruction is set up: the instruction of L-E-R fundamentally should be 'school-oriented', 'action-oriented', 'problem-oriented', 'full', 'exemplary', 'related to scientific work', 'open', 'differentiated', 'project-oriented', and 'interdisciplinary', 'integrative', in addition to 'authentic' (Department 1996, p. 16). Of special importance among these are the conditions 'openness', 'integration', and 'authentic' (Department 1996, p. 18). If 'openness' means opening up instruction for a large variety of themes, then it also means a specific atmosphere in which the learning group is to 'experience' the learners and the teachers 'more and more as a protected room for the expression of opinions and feelings without constant reinsurance' (Department 1996, p. 19). The teaching staff in particular is to encourage this by demonstrating openness themselves. This corresponds to the condition of 'authenticity' in that the members of the teaching staff are bound to share their personal takes on issues and their own experiences in instruction and, in so doing, to indicate in which cases they

are referring to mere opinions, suspicions, and feelings, and in which cases they are referring to facts and sources; because in the 'shared search for orientation' (Department 1996, p. 19) their own stances and beliefs take on a special weight. Aside from the fact that in communicating one's own experiences and background it is likely to be extremely difficult to clearly separate the borders between feelings, beliefs, facts, opinions, and suspicions: giving the convictions of the teaching body so much weight in the search for what is supposed to be a 'shared orientation' is also highly questionable. That may just be included because it was already clear to the authors of the 'notes' that the personal expressions of a teacher are likely to have more weight from the start for a pupil, because through them he/ she can better understand what it is that the teacher wants to hear in instruction – it should not be forgotten that the L-E-R teacher generally also instructs a class in other subjects, in part ones necessary for promotion to the next grade. Whether the pupils can truly open up under these conditions, or whether it is even advisable for them to do so, and how they are supposed to deal with the expressions of a teacher about his/her own convictions – whether and how they, for example, can be critical in the 'shared search for orientation' – is very questionable. In addition, it is worth considering whether it is truly correct to include 'shared orientations' as a goal of learning. Because that actually means that the pupils *are supposed to* arrive at 'shared orientations' with the teacher or with their fellow pupils. Is it not far more important that every pupil gets the opportunity to find his/her own orientations, without having to adjust them to those of teachers and fellow pupils in an area of learning set up specifically for the purpose? It is true that the 'notes' and 'instructional procedures' to the L-E-R instruction do admit that the pupils should be able to determine the limits of openness for themselves – in other words, that they cannot be pressured to share information that touches on their own intimate sphere or the intimate sphere of others (Department 1996, p. 18). But whether this is always the case – considering the existing peer pressure and a teacher who is obliged to speak about his/her own convictions as openly as possible – cannot be said. One can consider what might be meant by the instruction that young people who clearly have 'serious personal and familial problems' (Department 1996, p. 18) are to be invited to an individual talk – in other words, that cases diagnosed in this manner according to the teacher's judgement are to be put in contact with psychological or advisory services. Is the young person who speaks openly about eventual family problems in danger of ending up in front of a psychologist or a social worker? Or will the

192

young person who hides his/her own wishes, notions, and problems be sent to a consultation? Because, it is clear that in L-E-R instruction, 'I-centered statements and feedback' (Department 1996, p. 18) are the ones that are seen as vital components of an open, social – in other words, successful – communications. Does someone, then, who abstains from the required 'I-centered statements' have a serious problem? And who decides about such a diagnostic – in other words – about the necessity of therapeutic intervention? Which roles do the parents play in all of this? And, not least of all, have the L-E-R teachers actually been trained for these sorts of sensitive themes and discussions? All of these remain open questions. We will come back to the reality of teacher training shortly.

In addition to the principle of openness, the measures 'authenticity' and 'integration', which have already been mentioned, represent further important and symptomatic requirements that help to show what is unique about the L-E-R instruction with particular clarity. 'Integration' is a key term: on the one hand it means that the separation of pupils according to outlooks on life – which existed previously in confessional separation of religious instruction – is resolved. In addition, integration means that various content-related components – such as the fashioning of life, ethics, and religious study – are to be connected and that a thematic, interdisciplinary linkage of themes is supposed to take place. In order to adequately handle these different themes, the cooperation of specialists and of representatives of institutions – for instance, representatives of the legal or health domains – is relied upon. 'Authenticity' is also pronounced as an important didactic category, because by incorporating information from the domains of various churches, religions, and creeds, authentic witnesses and texts gain more importance than secondary depictions. This insistence on authenticity may not be entirely convincing on first glance, because often secondary depictions are in fact of higher quality and, in addition, tend to be more likely to guarantee the desired neutrality in issues of values and outlooks on life than the authentic representatives – the Protestant or Catholic churches – can or want to. Furthermore, they are often valuable for information and critical analysis. The question of why authenticity should be so important for L-E-R instruction, therefore, only becomes clear on second glance: authenticity is so highly ranked in the conception of the L-E-R instruction because it sets up a *paradox*. According to this, the teaching body is on the one hand supposed to present information about outlooks and religions in a way that is value-neutral; and on the other hand, L-E-R instruction is supposed to aid in the search for identity, the creation of

meaning, and in orientation. In this way, authenticity links both moments in one, because the teacher who makes authentic information available to the pupil will not be suspected of not being value-neutral and balanced, since the communication of various value-orientations is simply handed off to the authentic representatives – and all of this happens in the context of a moral-evaluative instruction! Speaking in terms of Systems Theory, the form 'authenticity' makes it possible for the system/environment difference that exists between moral instruction and environment – in the form of church or other institutions and their representatives – to be dealt with by a re-entry (Luhmann 1996, p.230) into the system of education itself. In this way, the L-E-R instruction can be simultaneously value-neutral and bound to values!

In addition to the already mentioned insistence on openness, integration, and authenticity and their effects on the system of education, there are other methods, forms of work, techniques, exercises, as well as occupations and actions that are to be applied for L-E-R instruction, such as: relaxation and consent exercises, sensitisation of perception, attempts at improving the work climate, recalling and checking previous experiences to a theme, the gain of new knowledge, exchange about experiences, feelings, events, wishes, and needs (verbal and non-verbal), formation of facial and body expressions, reflection and coping as well as interaction and cooperation (Department 1996, p.40). As a framework for forming the instruction, six further fields of learning were established:

1) human beings as individuals – their needs, life stories, the way their world is created, and the way they fashion their lives.
2) human beings in community – perceptions of and fashioning of relationships.
3) endangerment and burdening of human life – possible causes, escapes, limits, help, and the degree of individual responsibility.
4) the search for a fulfilled and meaningful life.
5) human beings and their religions, creeds, and cultures.
6) personal formation of life and global perspectives – problems and chances.

These six fields of learning are structured by content-based focal points, which are not divided into further themes. Thus, one of the focal points in learning field (1) – 'human beings as individuals' is: 'the human being as an incomparable individual' (1/1), whereas the individual focal point of the

194

respective learning field itself is further differentiated in themes such as one's picture of oneself: ideal, reality, limits; self-presentation: self-expression in clothing, speech, gesture, etc. (Department 1996, p. 42). The content-based focal points are further assigned to specific 'intentions', such as the demand on pupils to consider their own needs; to discover and enhance the pleasure of their own lives and its active fashioning; to learn how to perceive, understand, and accept themselves better; to recognise that self-knowledge, reflection of one's own life as well as responsible living are all tasks that one should fulfil; to understand and learn to accept aspects of development; to learn how to deal with one's own strengths and weaknesses, goals, capabilities, and limits, as well as how to handle frustration, etc. (Department 1996, p. 29).

The question of how concrete instructional themes are to be developed out of this curricular approach is not discussed in the 'notes on instruction in the model endeavour', which has not been overhauled up to the present time. Therefore, even today, there is no curriculum for the subject L-E-R, and it is simply mentioned that in L-E-R instruction the 'competencies described in Part 3 [should be] promoted in particular', 'and the given intentions are to be taken into consideration – something that can be done while dealing with various themes' (Department 1996, p. 32). Fundamentally, the learning field L-E-R should aid the young people with 'typical issues of development' (Department 1996, p. 12). What is suggested here is that these 'development issues' have a partially normative character, and one suspects that the matter is less what the needs of youth could be than what are seen as being typical youth development issues according to a specific societal perspective or conception of developmental psychology. Therefore, the 'correct' aspects of development include tasks such as the acceptance and health care of one's own body; emotional separation from parents/adults, in the sense of winning personal independence; preparation for career training and work; as well as the meaningful fashioning of increasing free time or the embracing of a personal identity – which means an autonomous, consistent, sovereign (capable of self-control), and accepted 'I' or self, etc. (Department 1996, p. 12). Considering the increasing pluralisation and individualisation in society, and based on new research to questions of identity formation and the long-standing criticism of the identity concept (Lenzen 1987, p. 318) the assumption of a consistent individual always identical with itself seems to be an anachronistic, normative demand. In addition, the fundamental difference between an 'autonomous' and a 'sovereign' individual is not regarded here. An autonomous

individual is one who sets up rules (in manners, morals) for himself and then abides by them (Kant 1975), whereas a sovereign individual also sets up his own rules, but can break them in order to set up new rules for himself (Bataille 1978). The fact that L-E-R instructional procedures tend to favour the sovereign individual, whereas, correctly understood, the concept of 'sovereignty' certainly is not the ultimate goal of all moral education, lends this statement a particularly ironic note.

Problematic in a different way, on the other hand, is the demand for fashioning free time in a 'meaningful way' (Department 1996, p. 12). This represents an unwarranted interference in a domain in which young people should be able to pursue their own wishes and needs, so that the question of whether one uses one's time 'meaningfully' or with meaningless things has to depend on the individual's decision. In addition, the description 'meaningful' or 'not meaningful' is a construction, the quality and dimensions of which may not rely on the teacher or on fellow pupils. The same goes for the phrase 'keeping one's own body healthy' – it must also be allowable to not want to conform with the health norms of the society. And it is not only in the context of 'aspects of development' that such quasi-anthropological constants are asserted as procedures for everyone to follow, but also in the domain of 'competencies' (Department 1996, p. 12) that are to be gained by L-E-R instruction, which brings up the question of whether they should really be handled in an obligatory subject – and one for which grades are to be introduced in 1999. In a critical article in the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, Fels notes with regard to the L-E-R subject that bringing up and discussing the 'self-competence' of a pupil is an extremely tricky matter, so much so that the pupil should really have the right to say: 'What does my feeling about myself have to do with you? The best way you can strengthen my self-confidence is by respecting my silence. At most, I will open myself up to a teacher who I trust, and I will do so only in a one-on-one discussion!' (Fels 1997, p. 31). It is true that in the worse case the danger exists that the practice of confessing, described by Foucault (1976) in such detail as an aspect of 'total institutions', might rear its head again. It can be noted by looking at the so-called 'typical aspects of youth development' – namely, separating oneself from the parental house – as well as at a statement in the 'instructional procedures', that in situations of upheaval, parents are often uncertain regarding binding norms and worthy educational goals and that there is a wide-spread lack of binding educational traditions with a high need for orientation – the conviction is apparent that it is possible to achieve a more ideal community,

one that is something more than the various orientations that a young person gets from his parental home, by state-regulated instruction – a community that makes 'worthy educational goals' (Department 1996, p. 12). According to whom exactly these educational goals are thought to be worthy, and whether they are legitimate even if implicitly in opposition to parental convictions, is not discussed in the 'notes' and 'instructional procedures'.

Some of the criticisms and concerns that have been expressed here about the conception of L-E-R based on a critical reading of the 'notes' and 'instructional procedures' have in fact proved true in the experience with the school implementation and have also been noticed on the part of the accompanying scientific study. In addition, the subject has been shown to put a strong emphasis on 'how to fashion life' and to neglect the areas of religion and ethics/philosophy (Goldschmidt 1997, p. 197). This seems not least of all to lie on the fundamental rejection of the religion-related aspects of instruction among approximately 50% of the teachers, which is likely to be a result of the anti-religion stance of the GDR. According to a summary of the findings by the evaluation commission, one of the particularly sensitive areas is the condition of strictly respecting the commandment of neutrality, insisting that the teacher show restraint when dealing with the individual problems of pupils (Leschinsky 1996, p. 191). In comparison to an earlier conception of L-E-R, in which the therapeutic interest in offering direct help in life and in finding orientation held a prominent place, Leschinsky and others recognise a weakening of this position in the most recent 'notes on instruction'. According to them, this shows that clear limits have been established regarding the attempts to offer direct help in living and in finding orientation in instruction. The protection of the private sphere of the pupils as well as the parental rights of education, which had a low status in the tradition of GDR school and society, have – according to this view – clearly been taken into account here (Leschinsky 1996, p. 191). I cannot share this view entirely in view of the critical comments that I have made above regarding precisely this document, 'notes'. The 'notes' still contain, I believe, basic assumptions that are without a doubt normative – such as implicit and explicit suggestions for *direct* help in living and in finding orientation – so that one cannot rely alone on the notion that the individual teacher will always rediscover in a practical way the 'balance between the commandment to maintain distance, without, on the other hand, forfeiting the positive chance that is opened up with the reception of individual problems' (Leschinsky 1996, p. 191). A danger defi-

nitely exists that L-E-R will disintegrate into 'instruction about opinions' (Benner/Tenorth 1996, p. 7) – a concern that Benner and Tenorth voice from a theoretical educational perspective. In addition to the easily misunderstood 'notes', this danger also promotes a certain conception of the subject as well as the reality of continuing education for teachers, since a clear and detailed curriculum for this subject does not exist, nor is there training and continuing education for teachers suitable to this subject's requirements. Therefore, teachers who have decided to continue their education in order to attain authorisation to instruct L-E-R are not appropriately trained, and the continuing education courses that have been offered do not truly allow for a comprehensive training in more than just a handful of the academic disciplines that are integral to L-E-R. This is also due to a structural problem: which teacher can seriously be expected to complete the necessary study of philosophy, sociology, psychology, religion, education, didactics, etc. within two years in addition to performing his regular work at school, and can also be expected at the end to retain more than merely a fragment of the relevant knowledge, not to mention achieving an insight into the connections between subjects that transcend the systematic of a simple store of mixed wares, and on top of that – be expected to be in a position to carry out the required integrative, interdisciplinary instruction? The criticism of the scientific study that accompanied and evaluated the model endeavour L-E-R – that the instruction lacked interdisciplinary work – should be seen in light of this training situation, as should the appropriate criticism of cognitive psychology for having insufficient knowledge about pupils' learning and development processes, and the accusation of some education theoreticians that the training in philosophy and in questions of ethics is inadequate (Benner/Tenorth 1996, p. 7). Basically: if, in spite of all of the justifiable concerns and limitations, one is still in favour of the installation of the obligatory subject L-E-R – as the evaluative group that tracked the model endeavour was –, or if one fundamentally judges L-E-R to be a positive achievement; then in the same breath, one should concern about the development of a clearer conception of the subject, about a curriculum, and about professional teacher training that connects the areas relevant to L-E-R in a more tight and systematic manner – and not *after* sending the teacher into L-E-R instruction! In addition, the teachers would have to be prepared for the capabilities and limitations of L-E-R instruction in various types of schools – the school that concludes in 10th grade *(Realschule),* the preparatory high school *(Gymnasium),* and the comprehensive school *(Gesamtschule)*. Furthermore, the strongly psy-

198

chologically and therapeutically oriented didactic aspect should be given less weight, and instead, a stronger emphasis should be put on the transmission of knowledge. The parts of teacher training that are pseudo-therapeutic tend in many cases to focus on direct help in regards to questions of how to live and how to orient oneself, which is unacceptable. Finally, it is impossible to gain a sound training in psychology in such a limited time – and precisely this attempt opens the door to dangerous amateurism.

3. General Comments about the Conditions, Possibilities, and Limits of an Institutionalised Education in Morals and Values

Based on this criticism of the conception of the subject L-E-R, it may seem comforting to realise that moral education – as is true of every sort of instruction – in no way manages to bring about the results that it intends. It is already well-known that the likelihood of school influencing the development of children and youth with a certain intention by explicit moral education is extremely limited. Even if one assumes that it is possible to promote reflexive knowledge by handling moral problems, in other words, to aim for an increase in the quality of moral judgement through moral education – as, for example, those who follow Kohlberg's moral pedagogical position believe – it is still in no way clear that this knowledge will also result in active application. As Edelstein suggests, it is possible, quite to the contrary, that the result of moral education is the creation of a sort of knowledge regarding morals that is purely academic and not considered otherwise 'relevant' at all (Edelstein 1986, p. 334). The conception and the actual application of the subject L-E-R, therefore, should be looked at in light of the now broad discussion about the possibilities and limits of education in morals and values in general (Oser/Althof 1992). This discussion also encompasses the theoretical educational consideration that one should not settle the morality problem in one particular subject as a canon, because that would mean overlooking that (according to this train of thought, at least) the formation of moral character takes place in the educational process itself (Benner/Peukert 1983, p. 394). In addition to such theoretical educational questions, which also include the question of whether ethics and morality can actually be taught at all (Fischer 1996, p. 17), one must also look at the fundamental overburdening of public education, and organisational, institutional, as well as specific professional problems must

be taken into consideration. In other words, the question of how it is possible to make judgements about the chances of moral education in schools is long overdue if one considers the new research in cognitive psychology and Systems Theory. It is based on the results of this research that Luhmann writes: 'moral education becomes a problem' (Luhmann 1996, p. 344). With regard to the pedagogical program of moral education in schools, Terhart also points out that the multiple factors in instruction as well as the complicated links between various personal, situational, and organisational conditions make it very difficult to really gain knowledge about causal and effect-related connections (cf. Terhart 1989, p. 382). I would even go a step further and say that one should refrain from working with causality assumptions altogether, and instead should work with trigger-result schemes; that for logical and scientific reasons the cause-effect scheme is misleading and also disregards the newest knowledge in physics, cognitive psychology, and brain research. By taking cognitive psychology and cognitive biology-based Systems Theory perspective into account and considering the empirically-grounded concept of 'autopoiesis', it would be possible, for instance, to reveal some fictions about moral education – to make it clear that in moral education and in instruction in general what one is really dealing with is the individual's own action in so far as every system of consciousness is a system that is operationally closed. Operationally closed systems structure everything, including the perception of the environment, according to their own rules. The consciousness system is a self-referential system whose condition is at all times self-determined and autonomous – in other words, whose state cannot be influenced or modulated from outside, and the effects of these outside influences are also entirely determined by the self-referential system. The consciousness system is therefore closed and at the same time open to the environment (cf. Roth 1996, p. 241). For the domain of instructional research, this means that it is not possible to intentionally affect a system from outside, to ensure that the desired result – here, morality – is what actually results. Therefore, moral action should only be interpreted in the context of a trigger-result scheme and this means of interpretation should be applied to institutionalised moral instruction.

(translated by Rebecca Neuwirth)

References

Bataille, G. (1978). *Die Souveränität*. München: Matthes und Seitz.

Benner, D./Peukert, H. (1983). Art. Erziehung, moralische. In Lenzen, D. (ed.), *Enzyklo-pädie Erziehungswissenschaft*. (Vol. 1. pp. 394-402). Stuttgart: Klett.

Foucault, M. (1976). *Überwachen und Strafen*. Frankfurt/M.: Suhrkamp.

Benner, D./Tenorth, H.-E. (1996). 'Bildung zwischen Staat und Gesellschaft.' *Zeit-schrift für Pädagogik*, 1, 3-17.

Department of Education, Youth and Sports (ed.) (1994). *Hinweise zum Unterricht im Modellversuch Lernbereich Lebensgestaltung-Ethik-Religion*. Potsdam.

Department of Education, Youth and Sports (ed.) (1996). *Unterrichtsvorgaben. 'Le-bensgestaltung-Ethik-Religionskunde'*. Sekundarstufe I. Potsdam.

Edelstein, W. (1986). Moralische Intervention in der Schule. Skeptische Überlegungen. In Oser, F. (ed.), *Transformation und Entwicklung. Grundlagen der Moralerziehung* (pp. 327-349). Frankfurt/M.: Suhrkamp.

Ehrenspeck, Y. (1998). *Versprechungen des Ästhetischen. Die Entstehung eines moder-nen Bildungsprojekts*. Opladen: Leske + Budrich.

Fels, D. (1997, 19 August). 'Was geht mein Selbstwertgefühl Sie an? Geschenke der Eltern an die Schule: Erzieht "Lebensgestaltung-Ethik-Religion" zur Heuchelei?' *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, p. 31.

Fischer, W. (1996). 'Ist Ethik lehrbar?' *Zeitschrift für Pädagogik*, 1, 17-31.

Goldschmidt, G. (1997). ' "Lebensgestaltung, Ethik, Religion" (LER) in Brandenburg – eine zeitgemäße Lösung? Ein Modellversuch im Spiegel wissenschaftlicher Beglei-tung.' *Neue Sammlung*, 2, 187-207.

Höffe, O. (1986). Ethikunterricht in pluralistischer Gesellschaft. In O. Höffe, *Ethik und Politik. Grundmodelle und Probleme der praktischen Philosophie* (pp. 453-476). Frankfurt/M.: Suhrkamp.

Kant, I. (1975). *Kritik der praktischen Vernunft*. Frankfurt/M.: Suhrkamp.

Lenzen, D. (1987). Heilige Identität. Identität des Heiligen. In D. Kamper/Chr. Wulf (eds.), *Das Heilige* (pp. 318-327). Frankfurt/M.: Athenäum.

Leschinsky, A. (1996). *Vorleben oder Nachdenken? Bericht über die wissenschaftliche Begleitung über den Modellversuch zum Lernbereich 'Lebensgestaltung – Ethik – Religion'*. Frankfurt/M.: Diesterweg.

Leschinsky, A./Schnabel, B. (1996). 'Ein Modellversuch am Kreuzweg. Möglichkeiten und Risiken eines moralisch-evaluativen Unterrichts.' *Zeitschrift für Pädagogik*, 1, 31-46.

Leschinsky, A./Tiedtke, B. (1996). 'Ethikunterricht zwischen divergierenden Ansprü-chen. Der Modellversuch "Lebensgestaltung-Ethik-Religion" in Brandenburg.' *Die Deutsche Schule*, 88, 177-191.

Luhmann, N. (1996). *Soziale Systeme*. Frankfurt/M.: Suhrkamp.

Oser, W./Althof, W. (1992). *Moralische Selbstbestimmung. Modelle der Entwicklung und Erziehung im Wertebereich.* Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta.

Roth, G. (1996). Autopoiesie und Kognition. Die Theorie H. R. Maturanas und die Notwendigkeit ihrer Weiterentwicklung. In S. J. Schmidt (ed.), *Der Diskurs des radikalen Konstruktivismus* (pp. 256-287). Frankfurt/M.: Suhrkamp.

Terhart, E. (1989). 'Moralerziehung in der Schule. Positionen und Probleme eines schulpädagogischen Programms.' *Neue Sammlung*, 3, 382-392.

Uhl, S. (1996). *Die Mittel der Moralerziehung und ihre Wirksamkeit.* Bad Heilbrunn: Klinkhardt.

Dieter Lenzen

Transformations in Children's Play
at the Close of the 20th Century

A Japanese-German Comparison from a Historical-Anthropological Perspective

0. Comparative Empirical Data on the Reality of Play

The Japanese public has been regularly confronted with descriptions of developments in the play of children and youth, especially with the changes in recent times. The Japanese press, for one, discusses the fact that children and youth are not longer to be seen playing in the streets and ponders over the reasons for this development. As one explanation, *Asahi Shinbun* drew upon research by Senda, a city planer who specialises in arranging playing spaces and who has had understandably little pleasure in the way that things have been developing.[1] Senda concluded that there is an overall impoverishment of play in Japan, and could establish, not without astonishment, that there has been a rapid decline in outdoor games even in the country, and that there has been an overall reduction in the time spent playing. He attributes this decline to urbanisation and to dissemination of the television. Interestingly, children from the Prefecture of Yamagata, a rural district, when asked to name their favorite games, responded that they most liked to play computer games, above all, Nintendo. 90% of their total playing time was spent playing computer games. In Yokohama, however, computer games were only ranked in third place, behind baseball for boys and basketball for girls. In a longitudinal study, Senda showed that the time spent playing indoors doubled between 1975 and 1992. In Yamagata it was 1.1 hours per day for boys and 0.8 hours per day for girls. In comparison, in five places in Tokyo, the time was 1.3 hours per day. Interesting developments have also taken place in the group structure of playing

---

1   Vgl. *Asahi Shinbun*, 21. 3. 1995.

children. There has been a tendency towards age-homogeneous play groups with a horizontal group hierarchy.

Average number of hours that Japanese school-age-children spend on various activities per day.[2]

Hiroko Hara and Mieko Minagawa write, if one observes the available data, the time spent playing has not changed in the last 30 years. An overview from 1975 confirms this statement.

In that year, the disposable free time amounted to between 0.33 and 1.21 hours per day. Of that, between 0.09 and 0.54 hours per day could be used for playing. In other words, between 5 and 32 minutes. This is important to establish because it means that when we speak about Japanese children's play at the close of the 20th Century, we are speaking about nothing more than an average of 18.5 minutes in a day of 1440 minutes. This is an average time per day of just over 1 percent. (A small comment from the newly released results of the TIMSS study[3] is an appropriate digression here. Considering the time distribution of the normal Japanese child's day, in which 18 minutes of playtime contrasts against almost 10 hours of schoolwork, that is, twice as much time spent with schoolwork as in Germany, the search for the hidden reasons for higher academic achievement in Japanese children should be newly assessed. It is hardly avoidable that children learn more when they study twice as long.)

When trying to compare these statistics with the daily time spent on play in Germany, it is found that comparable empirical information is not available. A single study is available from the Institute for Developmental Planning and Structural Research at the University of Hannover conducted in 1986,[4] about 10 years later than the Japanese study. The results here are for children under 6 years of age.

Children's Activities: Average Duration.

The time spent playing amounted to 4.5 hours per day, or 20% of the day. It could be argued that a comparison with Japanese pre-school-age

2   Kokumin seikatsu jikan chôsa (Study in the using of time), October 1975, cit. in Hara, H./Minagawa, M.: Japanische Kindheit seit 1600. In: Martin, J./Nitschke, A. (eds.), *Historische Anthropologie. Zur Sozialgeschichte der Kindheit*, Bd. 4, Freiburg 1986, pp. 113-189.

3   Baumert, J./Lehmann, R.: *TIMSS – Mathematisch-naturwissenschaftlicher Unterricht im internationalen Vergleich. Deskriptive Befunde*, Opladen 1997.

4   *Zeit von Kindern – Zeit für Kinder. Ein empirischer Beitrag zur Dokumentation des Betreuungsaufwandes und der Erziehungsleistung für kleine Kinder.* Materialien des Instituts für Entwicklungsplannung und Strukturforschung, Hannover 1986.

children would produce similar numbers, though in reality, the share of institutionally bound activities is supposedly larger for pre-schoolers in Japan than in Germany. When the data are included from a more recent study of the time distribution of schoolchildren's activities[5], the hours spent on homework, roughly gauged, average (for all school types) between 1 and 1.5 hours per day. Together with the ca. 5 hours of the school day, one can assume that 6.5 hours are spent on scholastic activities per day. Even under the pessimistic assumption that parents expect additional household or other help, it should be evident that the time left free for play is greater than the 1% in Japan. Roughly estimated, I assume that there are daily 2-3 hours free for play, not even including the completely free Saturdays and Sundays. That means a total of 15% of daily time is free for play for children in Germany.

To summarise:

- Japanese children spend just over 1% of the day playing, German children presumably 15%.
- In Japan, this amount of time has been stable for at least the last 30 years. In Germany, I assume a clear displacement in the direction of organised free time activities, which at the very least limits autonomous play.

1. Possibilities and Limits of Cultural Comparison

Play is understood as being not just any free time occupation, which would include everything but paid work, household help, and sleeping, eating or other primary bodily functions. Instead, we set a narrow definition of play which must be stated more exactly:

I understand play as being a physical and/or psychological activity, whose actors, when asked for the reason for their playing, don't refer to a purpose or goal other than the play itself or their own libidinal wishes.

This intentional freedom from goal and purpose doesn't mean that play can't also serve external functions. These functions are, however, side effects of the activity or of structural system dynamics. What does this mean? It means, whoever plays in this sense doesn't play in order to earn

---

5 Miedaner, L./Permien, H.: Betreuungssituation und Nachmittagsgestaltung von Mädchen und Jungen – zur Weiterentwicklung familienergänzender Angebote. In: Deutsches Jugendinstitut (ed.), *Was tun Kinder am Nachmittag? Ergebnisse einer empirischen Studie zur mittleren Kindheit.* Weinheim/München 1992, p. 227.

money, or to learn 'through playing'. He doesn't play to seduce a woman or man, or to demonstrate his virtuosity on the violin or piano. He doesn't do anything 'in order to' do anything, he does it 'just for fun'. Lothar Matthäus doesn't play soccer, he works while playing soccer. Paul McCartney doesn't play bass guitar, he strums it. Children who sit around a game of Memory with their parents don't play, they are being taught.

These drastic examples do nothing else than repeat the widely accepted, matter-of-fact definition in the *Staatslexicon*:

It is generally considered that an essential characteristic of play is that it is not oriented towards a practical purpose. Rather, it is practiced for itself. It has its 'purpose in itself', and is raised out of the world of use and immediate necessity. The polar opposite of play is toiling work.[6]

At this point an objection must be raised. Is it at all permissible to take a set term from a specific cultural context, here the Central European, to use it in the analysis of an elementary anthropological artifact like play, and then to base on it a comparison with the conditions in another culture? This question is so methodologically important, and has been in many comparative studies so thoroughly neglected, that we must occupy ourselves with it for a moment.

To say it clearly from the beginning, if we avoid this question, there will be no possibility to work comparatively. If we want to preserve this intention, we have no other choice than to proceed on the assumption of our own definition of terms, from our own point of view, and to view the other reality with this mental distinction that we have acquired. Therefore, if we see Japanese children taking part in counting activities on the steps of a shrine, we interpret it as a game, because we remember that Scottish children do this on the steps of cathedrals. When we see a Japanese child going about with a Gameboy, we suppose that he pursues an analogous activity to that of a German child. This assumption would only be justified, though, if we knew that the same game means the same thing for both children, which is, as the *Staatslexicon* suggests, play as opposed to work. If we consider, though, that the Japanese understanding of work is constituted completely different than in Europe, and that the term 'work' can hardly be separated from the term 'life', and therefore doesn't stand in opposition to free time (not coincidentally, the Japanese language borrows the English word, 'leisure'), then there is no unconditional evidence that the use of a

---

6   Siebel, W.: Art. Spiel. In: *Staatslexicon*, Bd. 7, Freiburg 1962, cols. 500-504.

Gameboy means the same thing in both cultures. 'To mean the same thing' means that for the children of each culture, it must play the same role in their life concepts, in their self concepts and as deep as in their organic existence. We can only then be sure that the same game fulfils the same psychic and social function. The simple comparison under the rubric of 'play' would suggest a culture-independent commonalty that we could then encode as anthropological universal, but this is without a trace of justification. There are no anthropological universals. All determining elements of human beings are historical. That means, they change and therefore are culture-specific, for culture is a historical creation. There is little logical plausibility for the idea that in two completely different parts of the world, in two cultures that have been isolated from one another for a long time (to say nothing about genetic differences), cultural evolution could have caused the same differentiation. This assumption is, as a rule, a comparison purely based on phenomenal observation, certainly an important comparison, but just not an acceptable prerequisite for a valid one. To increase the certainty that we are talking about the same thing when we speak of 'play' in Japanese or German context, we must inquire after a comparative display of the play phenomena and ask about the meaning of these phenomena, about the meaning-structures from which these phenomena are called forth, and about their functions, for even these may be different.

In other words, the conclusion that children in Japan play significantly less than in Germany, reveals absolutely nothing about the meaning and function of play. It only reveals something about myself as the observer of superficial phenomena who, on the basis of isolated but equivalent phenomena (both Japanese and German children press buttons on a grey box with Gameboy written on it), assumes that Japanese play is the same phenomenon as German play. The call, often heard from employers, for German children to learn more and play less Gameboy is without provocation. Tina Stich, 13 years old and present German Gameboy-champion, is living proof. For her the game is hard work.

2. Minimalization of Play

Before we bring the important questions of meaning and function of play into intercultural comparison, let us go beyond the question of pure time budget and take a look at the types of play that are played in Japan and in Germany.

To make it clear from the onset, there is no reliable typification of play from one perspective, from entirely empirical data that has been available to me. In a search through the relevant literature on self reported children's games, I found the following types of games to be characteristic of the play-reality of Japanese children and youth:

1. computer games
2. telephoning
3. model building
4. games in the context of festivals like the New Year's Celebration, girls' and boys' festivals.
5. games in the area around temples and shrines.
6. jan ken (pon) (counting games) scissors – paper – stone, played in public by youth as well as children. Here an overlap of categories is seen, as it is also played at celebrations.
7. Tobi-Koshi (jumping over a bent over child, leapfrog).

It is well possible that a more extended look through additional literature would bring more variants of everyday games. From the breadth of games documented by the photo collection by Donata Elschenbroich and Mikiko Tabu from the 40's and 50's, it seems, and here the Japanese press must be agreed with, that this breadth of games does not exist anymore.[7] (If one compares these documents with those from the same time in the collection of the Museum of Childhood in Edinburgh, one sees that there are many similarities on the phenomenal level and a similar breadth of games.)

If we take a step back from single games, we see that the list actually displays three basic types of games. These three approach the European definition that we set at the beginning:

– home computer games,
– crypto-sacred games in context of numinous places and sacred festivals celebrated in the home,
– street games, including games on playgrounds and other secular public grounds.

---

7   Vgl. Elschenbroich, D./Tabu, M.: Japanische Kindheit im 20. Jahrhundert in Doku-
    mentarfotografien aus drei Generationen. In Elschenbroich, D. (ed.), *Anleitung zur
    Neugier. Grundlagen japanischer Erziehung*, Frankfurt/M. 1996, pp. 51-91.

Even in the country, where the conditions and therefore the possibility for natural play exists, it seems that the importance of activities like fishing, catching insects and climbing trees has declined.[8] This loss of natural playing elements is reflected, for example, in the type of materials used, as organic materials (wood, straw, linen, bamboo, etc.) are clearly disappearing.

This fact is not only a product of increasing availability of non-natural materials (there is technically no reason to not still build toys out of wood), rather of an inward displacement of playing space. The possibilities for a child to build a toy out of a pair of sticks decrease if he can't find any material, or if he can't go into the natural environment because it is too dangerous, or if there simply isn't enough time. Changes in local and also in temporal conditions of play can not be overestimated in their consequences for a long list of dimensions which stand out on the phenomenal level.

Tendencies of Change in the structure of Play in Japan under the influence of Interiorisation and Temporal Reduction of play:

Change in:	from	to	Feature:
Setting	outer	inner	**Interiorisation**
Requisites	natural, big, concrete	synthetic, small, abstract	**Syntheticisation, Miniaturisation, Abstraction**
Activity	non-directed	directed	**Directionalisation**
Imagination	non-guided	guided	**Directivation**
Order	self-constructed	other-constructed	**Externalisation**
Physicality	tactile	visual	**Distancing**
Motor Activity	moving	still	**Immobilisation**
Periodicity	tied to season independent of time of day	independent of season tied to time of day	**Acceleration of Cyclicity**
Frequency	often	seldom	**Temporal Minimalisation**
Total tendency:			**Minimalisation**

This overview shows general tendencies of change which may exist in an implied relationship with temporal and spatial changes over long periods of time: The inward displacement makes a renunciation of natural requisites more probable. The toy must be miniaturised out of space constraints, then abstracted through renunciation of the concretion of the real. Out of

---

8   Vgl. Senda, M.: *Kodomo to asobi.* Tokyo 1994.

time constraints, the activities of those playing become less dallying and openly non-directed, they become more goal-oriented. This can't go without having an effect on the imagination. In a house without enough room for a Samurai sword out of rough bamboo or an airgun, a miniature toy must be brought in, one made of synthetic material and of course providing all accuracy of detail. The perception of a sliver of wood as a sword, or of a round stick as a gun seems improbable to us in comparison. The preprocessed character of toys externalises the structuring possibilities for a child who can construct his own structures for himself out of neutral material. The leader in requisite production today, the computer game, displaces the physicality of the child one-sidedly onto visual perceptive processes and fine motor skills. The touch of another person is not required for these games. Excessive motion is equally unnecessary, those playing become immobile. Finally, interiorisation and temporal minimisation have substantial consequences for the frequency of play. A large amount of informational and actional units are concentrated in the remaining free time. These units require independence from the seasons, and a reciprocal dependence on the set time slots between attending school and Jukus, like just before going to bed. At least in Japan, this causes a simultaneous acceleration of the play cyclicity.

If one structures these tendency-elements once again, a general tendency can be seen. This tendency is minimalisation: of the available space, of time, of the distance between the play cycles, of movement, of requisites, of the physical multiplicity of play, of the options for individual activities, individual order and the possibilities of individual imagination. From the perspective of systems theory, this is a concomitant phenomenon of every process of differentiation that occurs in a system. A system by its own differentiation limits the contingency of its options to choose freely from its environment. The same is true for the psychic system that is a child. The minimalisations shown here in the context of play point out to the fact that the number of possibilities from which the child may choose is sinking rapidly. His ability, however, to connect himself with the given environment grows proportionally. We could also say he becomes more adapted. In subject philosophy one would say that the minimalisation and miniaturisation of play, if seen as expressions of its higher differentiation, which they certainly do seem to be, paradoxically imply a simultaneous loss of freedom.

Now, one could go directly to the main point and say that the total evolutionary differentiation, and the accompanying individualisation,

bring a loss of freedom in every dimension of life. Marked individualising decisions are reversible only with difficulty, and although they are the product of an option, actually limit options. Whoever wants to be champion of the men's amateur tennis league doesn't have any time for a stamp collection. Whoever plays the piano should well leave out becoming an amateur sculptor if he doesn't want to ruin his fingers. Differentiation destroys options.

Play, however, is not just a life-element comparable to choice of profession. Which successful ball-bearing factory owner, singer or professor has ever regretted the loss of options that his specialisation has brought? Which surgeon's wife has ever believably complained about having lost her chance to marry a sailor?

3. Historical Semantic of Play in Germany

Play seems to us to be a synonym for optionality, leisure, variance, dallying and for spatial, temporal, social and real possibilities. Is this supposition correct? If so, a radical and lethal consequence will result from the reduction of play options. The tendencies in the development of play that are discussed here would then be identical to the tendency towards self-nullification of the playful. Play as an expression of undifferentiation would perish in itself, or, more precisely, in the environmental conditions which cause the minimalisation of the elements of play. Let us first take a look, though, at whether the presumption that free-time is a building block of play is actually correct, first by looking at in the European tradition, from which we comparing Europeans have to take as our starting point.

'Spil' means in Old High German and in Middle High German, above all, dance. Apart from in the Germanic, as the Grimms emphasised strongly, related words are 'certainly' not to be found.[9] Semantically, the German word has the same quality as the Latin 'ludo'. This verb also primarily means 'to dance'. The same does not hold for the Greek 'paidia', which goes back to a root word meaning 'child'. Other European languages show a similar lack of semantic closeness to dance in the word 'play'. Neither the French 'jouer' (leaving out the possibility of playing an instrument) nor the Italian 'gioco' show such closeness. The English 'play' contains without doubt the semantic quality of freedom in the idiom 'to

---

9   Grimm, J./Grimm, W.: *Deutsches Wörterbuch*, Vol. 16, Leipzig 1905, col. 2275.

give free play to a thing'. This meaning makes it clear to us why 'ludus' and 'spil' belong to the same semantic word field, one that cannot be dismissed from the context of freedom. To dance means to claim free play for the execution of dancing movements, to use a playing space with wide dimensions. This playing space defines the degree of freedom of motions. In everyday usage, this idea of freedom is carried over to craftsman's tools. One speaks about free play being necessary in a pump piston in order for it to function smoothly.

This idea of freedom developed form the notion of dance is the same one which went into the conception of play in the German Enlightenment and German Idealism, and which continues to have an effect today.

In the *Critique of Reason* of 1790, Kant designated the transcendental determination of the aesthetic judgement of taste as being free play in cognitive capacity. Play is subjugated neither to practical purposes nor to intellectual concepts and is therefore free. 'The powers of cognition that are set into play by this conception are in free play, for no particular term limits them to a special epistemological rule.'[10] With this definition, play is set into contrast with 'practical', 'purpose', 'intellectual' and 'concept'.

In Schiller, man becomes free physically and morally with his impulse to play, for it prevents the reciprocal extinction of the impulses. Simultaneously, the play impulse combines the aesthetic and the ethical, as put in words by this dictum, now a motto: 'Man plays only when he is a human in the full meaning of the word, and he is only a whole human when he plays.'[11]

Following Schiller, Schleiermacher took up the moral destination of the term play and combined play as a form of morality with art and friendship, and drew parallels to 'free sociability'.[12]

This train of ideas continues up to Plessner, who then stated more and less social-analytically that the soul, in view of the loss of communal values, needs play, for play allows for unreality and distance, and therefore means freedom.[13]

---

10 Kant, I.: *Kritik der Urteilskraft*, Akademie-Ausgabe 5, o. O., o. J., § 9, p. 217.

11 von Schiller, Friedrich: *Über die ästhetische Erziehung des Menschen*, Nationalausgabe, Vol. 20 (ed. Benno v. Wiese), Weimar 1962, 10. Brief, p. 340.

12 Schleiermacher, Friedrich Daniel Ernst: *Entwürfe zu einem System der Sittenlehre: Ethik*, 1812/13, Werke, ed. Otto Braun, Vol. 2, Leipzig 1927, p. 369.

13 Plessner, Helmut: *Grenzen der Gemeinschaft. Eine Kritik des sozialen Radikalismus*. In: Gesammelte Schriften, Vol. 5, Frankfurt/M. 1981, p. 80.

Let us emphasise, in the Roman and Germanic traditions, the concept of 'play', due to its affinity to dance, is closely associated with the idea of spatial freedom. This semantic is then taken up by German Idealism, raised to a high level of importance, and affirmed as a social necessity by the most recent German phenomenological anthropology. The empathic concept of man is bound to his capacity to play in two ways. Man needs play as a moment of freedom to be human, and only in play does he realise his humanity.

Next to this semantic meaning of play as freedom from purposes, European intellectual history had a second one ready. From Plato, the idea was brought into play that if man wants to live according to his nature he must surrender himself to play.[14] That sounds similar to what is in Schiller, but has a different reason. The devotion to play is an expectation of the gods, for it is they who have created mankind as their own plaything. We now find ourselves on a religious train of thought, one which has been just as important for the European conception of play as the idea of freedom.

Cusanus saw in play a symbol of the devoted life,[15] Schlegel perceived in the 'holy games' of art 'faint reproductions of the endless games of the world'.[16] We read in the Catholic Theologian, Karl Rahner that the Middle Ages developed an understanding of history as a game of God, and analogously of human life as a game. From this conception, it can be seen that the Christian liturgy in the Catholic church history sees itself as a symbolic representation of the religious with parallels drawn to play.[17] This symbolic representation presumes man to have in the act of contemplation a basic readiness which isn't to be experienced in work, but in leisure, peace, tranquillity, in celebration and in festivals. For these reasons, the Christian church created holy services in the work-free space of Sunday. That means, the church placed worship in contrast to work, in the same way that Aristotle had done in the *Nicomachean Ethics*.[18] Play as holy service, this

---

14 Platon: *Platons Gesetze*. In: Sämtliche Dialoge, Vol. VII, Hamburg 1988, pp. 285-288.

15 Nicolaus Cusanus: *De ludo globi* I, Werke, Strassburg 1488, ed. Paul Wilpert, Vol. 2, repr. Berlin 1967, p. 594.

16 Schlegel, Friedrich: *Gespräch über die Poesie* (1800). Krit. Ausg., Vol. 2, ed. Ernst Behler et al., München, Paderborn, Wien, Zürich 1959, p. 324.

17 Josef Höfer (ed.): *Lexicon für Theologie und Kirche*, 2. ed., Vol. 9, Freiburg 1986, col. 967.

18 Aristoteles: *Nikomachische Ethik*, trad. Adolf Lasson, Jena 1909, X. Buch, 1176b, pp. 233 ff.

numinous interpretation of the Platonic-Christian tradition explains the necessary contrast between play and work. This is regardless of the fact, though, that as a result of the Reformation, the conception that work itself is holy service became widespread in some branches of Protestantism, by the Pietists and the Pilgrim Fathers, for example, who turned a whole continent upside down with this concept, be it as perpetrators of genocide on the Indians, or as pioneers of the American Dream, whose supporters urged the black slaves to execute their slave labor as musical comedy (Singspiel). With this remark I purposely step away from sober semantics in order to show that the merger of work and play was not and is not without its consequences.

I empathise, then, that the minimalisation of play does not only have implications for the understanding of the free-time of a culture, but also for its idea of work. This idea loses its level of differentiation, as shown by the first hundred years of American settlement. Where play disappears, life itself becomes congruous with work. Whoever is pleased with that, perhaps as an owner of a means of production, should stand warned. Because this semantic construction functions for the suggestion that play is work, it must be just as true turned around. As long as the idea of freedom stays inherent in the concept of play, there is never a reason for anyone not to say that he has played enough and will put down his work.

We have spoken about the meaning of play in European thought, have identified two meanings, a freedom and a religious meaning, which make play synonymous with freedom and sacred celebration and simultaneously set it in opposition to obligation, purpose and order.

4. Historical Semantics of Play in Japan

Now we will look if these semantics are at all equivalent to the meaning of the Japanese concept of play. Because the work of Werner Schaumann provides a basis of unique quality, we are able to easily typify the semantics of the Japanese 'asobi'.

For the archaic times and for antiquity, Schaumann identified a word field, which contains ritual song and dance, the hunt, erotic pleasures as things to pass the time for the aristocracy. Interesting in this context is the special meaning of wandering about, to which I will return. The courtly times seem to have given this conceptual understanding a feminine touch, in that these pleasures were especially those of aristocratic ladies. At the

same time, Schaumann (e. g in the Confucian Nanzan), points to a morally uplifting and educating effect of play when it is understood in the sense of music. In this time play was conceived of as without purpose and unintentional, used only to cope with boredom, or as a comfort. Furthermore, the concept of play was also used for the first time in the context of children.

In the 12th century, Schaumann finds evidence for a moralistic judgement of play – in positive as well as negative respects. 'Play is sin, but the sinner can be delivered to play in paradise.'[19] The concept of paradise is specifically tied to the image of a childish and paradise-like innocence for adults to yearn after, as in the play poems of Saigyos.

Aren't we born to play?
Aren't we born to jest?
When I hear the voices of playing children
even my body is stirred.[20]

The play of adults has lost its innocence, this remains only in the play of children.

A few centuries later, under Buddhist influence, travel becomes, as Schaumann calls it, a 'centre of gravity of the concept of play'.[21] The meaning of roaming around becomes (re)activated, but not any more in the sense of strolling, rather in the sense of the holy trip, the pilgrimage, which takes place over land, and outside of the house.

If we compare these briefly touched upon semantic qualities of the Japanese 'asobi' with the European concept of play from a historical perspective, than a commonalty stands out. Both conceptions of play have a cultic-religious root, even if this doesn't seem to be primary in the Japanese meaning, as it is combined with travel, and the European has more to do with contemplative leisure. There is also a difference in moral tone. Before the Middle Ages, the idea of play had already had an ethically negative tinge, which then stood in contrast to the positive opinion of play in Christianity. Schaumann supplies no indication that either the idea of freedom or the idea of humanity are inherent in the Japanese 'asobi'. Play has a positive moral value merely in the comparatively early thematic of the

---

19 Schaumann, W.: 'Der japanische Spielbegriff. II: Die Blüte der höfischen Kultur.' In: *Gunma Daigaku kyôyôbu kiyô*, Nr. 23, 1989, p 195.

20 Ibid., p. 203.

21 Schaumann, W.: 'Der japanische Spielbegriff. IV: Heilige Reisen.' In: *Gumma Daigaku kyôyôbu kiyô*, Nr. 25, 1991, p. 246.

children's game, which was brought into the context of a conception of paradise. (I am, however, unsure if Schaumann isn't resting on an unnoticed adaptation of the children pericope from the Book of Matthew.)

5. Functionalisation of Play in Germany

In German speaking culture this does not hold true. Children's play first stood in the centre of interest in the moment in which the child was discovered that can and must be raised, and in this process the child has the chance to approach the *imago dei* despite original sin. Because original sin also applies to the 'innocent' children – much in contrast to the Japanese folk religion of the Tokugawa Age in which the children up to the age of 7 still half belonged to the gods[22] – the idea of play cannot be interpreted as an expression of children's closeness to paradise. Rather, in the Christian, especially in the Protestant conception it is the seriousness of life, duty and work which clears the path to God. This was especially true as the first systematically practised pedagogy emerged in Germany, a pedagogy which professes a perfidious idea that I will formulate here polemically: Because the tendency of small children towards boisterous, play without purpose cannot be overlooked, and play can be seen as the opposite of work, but not as the expression of the child's dismantling of original sin, the pedagogues pervert the idea of play without hesitation through:

a) explaining it as an important psychological developmental requirement of the child and
b) making it into an instrument through which learning processes can be optimised.

This historical phenomenon, which is characteristic of the European realm, brings us to a second important consideration, which is to investigate the functions accompanying these meanings of play which became of importance in Europe. This must be investigated before we can think about possible consequences of minimalisation of children's play in Japan and which effects comparable – if not as wide-reaching – processes could have in Germany.

---

22 Vgl. Hedenigg, S.: *Kindheits- und Erziehungsbegriffe in japanischen Strafkonzeptionen. Zur Rezeption westlicher Modelle der Reformerziehung in der Meiji-Zeit.* Dissertation 1997.

The quintessential historical representative of the pedagogy of play is Friedrich Froebel. He can be considered the discoverer, or shall we say, the inventor of the pedagogical game in Germany. He writes on game in 1838: 'Life and play without knowledge of its laws and its unity, as without having the feeling of bondage to mind and activity, has neither a pleasing nor uplifting effect.'[23]

'Life and play' are named in one breath, placed under laws and functionalised. Play has lost its cultic value, it is secularised, placed in service, and will be from this point on measured and structured. 'Play properly recognised and properly tended ...' This formula is repeated by Froebel on many occasions, each time to add on his instructions for paving the correct path for the child. It should experience itself as a 'closed entity' when playing with a ball. This is why a ball and only a ball should be the first plaything. According to an especially persnickety instruction, mothers should first hang the ball on a line in front of a child who is not yet able to speak and say, as it swings back and forth, 'Look, child! See the ball, back and forth, back and forth!'[24]

The instructions for mothers cover many pages. The whole spectrum of affected pedagogical fussing starts here, that will dismantle any genuine contact with the requisites of play for the next 150 years. The educator distrusts the child, distrusts his inborn capacity to apprehend according to his own rule structure. He distrusts, and this especially applies to Froebel, because he has discovered how much self-contribution is furnished by a brain which organises itself. In this case, one would rather be as sure as possible and not just leave the environment from which the learning organism selects to be contingent. The pedagogical engineer has been born. He doesn't yet know, however, that this rudimentary capacity for self-organisation, discovered in the child, is complete in itself. Learning processes cannot be steered. The knowledge that the beam from which the ball hangs also has semantic side effects doesn't yet weigh down the optimist of pedagogical progress. Froebel is not only the first to have discovered elementary learning processes in the child's contact with simple objects which are still of importance today. He is also more than any other a player of the additional, contradictory role of the engineer of play. One other per-

23 Froebel, F.: Ein Ganzes von Spiel- und Beschäftigungskästen für Kindheit und Jugend. Erste Gabe: Der Ball als erstes Spielzeug des Kindes, Blankenburg, Keilhau, Burgdorf, Columbus o. J. (sc. 1838). In: *Fröbels Theorie des Spieles I. Der Ball als erstes Spielzeug des Kindes*, Weimar 1947, p. 16.

24 Ibid., p. 27.

son outside of Europe has erased the difference between play and everyday life with such original radicalness, and that is John Dewey as he endowed play with the function of rehearsing the purposes of life. The psychology and pedagogy which followed these two is a single variation of this basic attitude: to discover the natural function of child's play, and to manipulate it into a pedagogical teaching tool. In psychology, play is functionalised in many ways, in its diagnostic function as a projective process, for one. Today, unknowing children of divorcing parents going through fierce custody battles are eagerly subjected to such tests in which their greater attachment to one or the other parent is revealed 'through play'. Children who have not already been damaged by the whole divorce procedure are subjected afterwards to a play therapy in which they can saw up, beat up and rip apart their father, or more rarely their mother to their heart's content in the form of a hand puppet. Things in pedagogy were comparatively discreet in comparison, at least until its psychologising. There was some vague diagnostic talk of the possibility for 'revelation of the character', but the idea of teaching play was seen as 'gains in experience', 'character forming', 'practice', 'testing space', or 'means of outwitting to learn', just to name a few functions for which children's play has become serious. There is hardly any toy advertisement today which doesn't emphasise the high didactic value of its product, or hardly any badly educated toy saleswoman who doesn't drivel on, conditioned like the Pavlovian dog, something about the educational value of plastic batman figures. The pedagogical superego of the customer is a reliable measure that one can base a business on.

Why this polemic? It seems necessary to me, to nip every Eurocentric arrogance in the bud which would assume that German pedagogy, in contrast to the Japanese, could have preserved play by providing playful elements in the learning at school or by meeting the necessities of learning by suitably integrating the already existing play into pre-school curriculum. That is by no means the case. Play pedagogy of German, and later, American provenance (and Japanese play pedagogy since the Meji times in its orientation towards the German and American examples) have absolutely nothing to do with the old European concept of play as it culminated in the conceptions of German Idealism and German Romanticism. They don't have the least bit in common. The semantic traditions in the East and West have lead to very different qualities of meaning which can be displayed in summarised form:

218

Qualities of Meaning of Play:

	Japan	Germany
religious	Travel	Leisure, festival
moral	negative (since the Middle Ages)	positive (Christian until the Reformation; further, Catholicism)
Idea of Freedom	no evidence	provable for adults since German Idealism
Idea of Humanity	no evidence	see above
Children's game	in the context of a paradise-like conception	in the context of the idea of educability

6. Consequences of the Minimalisation of Play

We must ask ourselves, after these considerations, which implications the observable minimalisation of play in Japan and the displacement of play in the direction of organised activities in Germany have for the historical semantic quality of play, and for the cultural possibilities that have been characteristic of both cultures in the medium of play.

Let us look next at the semantic and functional qualities of play in Japan. In a culture, in which play without purpose has had a thoroughly negative connotation for thousands of years, in a culture which cannot conceive of personal freedom as being the freedom to be human because of a missing conception of ego identity, the reasons for worry slip away at first when a minimalisation of play is to be seen. On the contrary, in as far as the play without purpose stands in contrast to work and daily life as forms of purposeful existence, it has a threatening component which becomes minimalised too. That is, however, only half of the truth, for minimalisation also implies a distancing from the idea of paradise for the child. I have the hypothesis that a religious motive plays a role in the complaint by the Japanese public about the minimalisation of playing which is not to be overlooked. Do the small children still belong to the gods, when one of these attributes of nearness to the gods, the children's game, disappears? One must look more closely here, as this assumption applies only for the children who are not older than seven. The public distress is however not only about these young children. It is more concerned with the transfer from the 'outside' into the 'inside.' My assumption, is, however, that another religiously motivated worry comes into play. If, as Schaumann has

shown, play is tightly connected with the element of travel, that is with the quintessence of the 'outside', then it can be concluded that the minimalisation of outdoor play denies to a certain extent the element of travel. This assumption is substantiated by the fact that the public complaint is also about the loss of the second most important playing space outside of the home, the regions around temples and shrines. If this interpretation is on the right track, then it could be stated that the transformations in the Japanese reality of play are taking place in the context of transformations in self-evident religious truth, a hypothesis which would have to be examined in other cultural areas outside of play. In Germany, the situation is completely different. The departure from play without purpose had already taken place much earlier. Its loss has been reinterpreted as a gain in learning and developmental possibilities, and tied to the idea of freedom, by way of the idea of education as self-education. Self-education was understood as the freedom to form oneself into a higher being, which is to be human in the empathic sense, that is, humane. Through this chain of interpretation that originated in Protestantism, the element of freedom in the concept of play, like some other classical semantics, has been turned into a paradox, and in the face of modernisation, secured its structural existence. This made play purposeful without purpose, so to say. The cultic track, on the other hand, finds itself in a similar position as in Japan. The positive connotation of play as festival and celebration has grown increasingly smaller. Also there, where elements of leisure in the sense of not working seem to have been preserved, the late modern man tends to push them to the side. The successful building of a model airplane, play as game of luck, playing sports, all that what one can name today when asked for examples of play, all this is structurally hardly to be distinguished from work and the sturdiness of the practical existence. The swearing about an inaccurate remote control, the bitter disappointment over a lost game, the pained face of the jogger in the park all give eloquent proof. Having originated in completely different religious traditions, following very different paths to secularisation, two different situations in children's play have arisen in Germany and Japan, which in an abstract comparison show a great similarity. The difference between play and not-play, if that is work, practical existence or life, disappears.

This development is to be seen nowhere more clearly than in a toy, this time invented by the Japanese, called the *tamagochi*.

This is nothing more than a type of key chain of which already 40 million have been sold in Japan. It has a small display, on which a chick in

one version, or a small dinosaur in another appears. This house pet in the pocket starts peeping at the most unexpected moment. When that happens, the owner must decide whether he feeds it through pressing a proper sequence of buttons, plays Ping-Pong with it, gives it an injection because it is sick, teaches it, plays cards with it, gives it an umbrella, cleans away its waste, or turns out its light to sleep. The motto on the package reads, 'Let's bring it up well!'

The toy has gained a huge following in a very short time. In the Internet there are countless pages, links and newsgroups on this topic, among others a virtual graveyard in which one can bury his chick when it dies a miserable early death from inappropriate care or simply because the battery is dead.

It is not just that this toy brings the difference between play and life to the vanishing point because life is simulated. That is true for every model railroad. The virtuality of the toy goes even further towards undifferentiation, as it bores into the real life of its owner with its peeping tone and forces him into real action, even if it is after bed time, during a meal, during interaction with the family, while giving a lecture on play, unless the case would be, that one has neglected it and it is dead ...

III

Educational Institutions

Carey Jewitt, Gunther Kress

More than Words:
The Construction of Scientific Entities through Image, Gesture, and Movement in the Science Classroom

Abstract

Language is commonly taken to be the dominant mode of communication in learning and teaching. We argue that it is essential to consider the full repertoire of meaning making resources which pupils and teachers bring to the classroom (actional, visual, and linguistic resources) are central to teaching and learning. Further, we argue that exploring language as one mode operating alongside others within a multimodal communicational landscape both enables a better understanding of the meaning potentials and limitations of language itself and the role of other modes in education. We show how the construction of the entity 'particles' in a science lesson was achieved through the interaction between language, image, gesture, and demonstration, rather than solely through the written and spoken narrative of the teacher. Finally, we conclude that learning and teaching are multimodal processes in which each mode has been developed to realise different meanings.

Multimodal Teaching and Learning: Beyond Language

A Multimodal Approach to Communication

Three theoretical points inform our account of multimodal communication in the classroom (see Kress et al., 2001 for a fuller account). First, materials are shaped, and organised into a range of meaning making systems, which we call (semiotic) 'modes', in order to articulate the social meanings demanded by the requirements of *different* communities. Modes make meanings differently, and the meanings made in these different modes are

not always available to or understood by all readers. Second, the meanings of all modes, language included, are always inter-woven in the communicative context, and interweaving itself produces meaning. Third, the question of what can be considered a communicative mode remains open: systems of meaning are not static or stable, they are fluid; modes of communication develop and change in response to the communicative needs of society; new modes are created, existing modes are transformed.

Halliday's social theory of communication provides the starting point for our exploration of multimodal teaching and learning in the science classroom. Halliday argues that in verbal interactions we have at our disposal networks of options (or sets of semiotic choices) which realise the semantic system. The elements of the semantic system of language are differentiated so as to reflect the social functions of the utterance as representation, interaction, and message, and can, in turn, be realised by the lexicogrammar. The principle underpinning this model is that language is as it is because of the functions it has evolved to realise: it is organised to function with respect to social interests and demands placed on it.

In other words, language as speech can be understood as the cultural working or 'shaping' of a medium (sound), into regular forms of representations – modes of displaying grammar, wherein it becomes the material (signifiers) for meanings (signified in the sign). We suggest that, like language, visual image, gesture, and action, have evolved through their social usage into articulated or partially articulated semiotic systems. We also suggest that the representational and communicational demands made in visual communication, as in speech and writing, have been distinct: That is, these modes have been shaped and developed distinctively, and consequently have different communicational possibilities, specific constraints and affordances to those of speech or writing. We extend Halliday's theory of language as social semiotic to suggest that each of these modes has been shaped and developed as semiotic systems made up of networks of interlocking options. Choices made within these networks of meaning are realised as text, and all aspects of text can be seen as traces of a sign maker's decision making, as the most apt and plausible expression of meaning in a given context: one kind of expression of the sign maker's *interest* (Halliday, 1985; Kress, 1997). For example, in one instance we have in mind, the pupils' selection of materials (choices in terms of texture, colour, shape, and cultural meanings) to represent the nucleus of a cell in their three-dimensional models of plant cells expresses their focus of interest in the entity 'nucleus'.

226

We understand teaching and learning in the science classroom to be realised through the material expression, as the 'evidence', of the motivated choices of teachers and pupils from the meaning making resources available in a particular situation (the science classroom in this study) at a given moment.

In order to explore how each mode operating in the science classroom contributes to the processes of teaching and learning we draw on the notion of *grammar as a meaning making resource* for encoding interpretations of experience and forms of social action (Halliday, 1985). We use the term 'grammar' to refer to the structures and relations within systems of meaning, and also extend it to relations of modes, which have become established over. This becomes for use the notion of 'design' (New London Group, 1996). This notion of grammar has been extended to examine visual design (Kress/van Leeuwen, 1996), and sound/music (van Leeuwen, 1999).

In this article, we use grammar as a conceptual tool to explore how meanings are actualised through speech, writing, images, and other aspects of the visual (including the body, movement and inter-action with objects) in science classroom teaching and learning. In particular, we comment on how meanings are made through the intricate weaving together of meaning across and between these communicative modes. Our starting point was to explore how potentials for meaning which have been developed within each mode are used to realise meanings (e.g. speech, writing, demonstration, graphs) through considering the affordances and constraints presented within each mode in the science classroom. Each mode has been worked (shaped) differently to realise meanings. The question for us was what potentials (elements of meaning making) are available in each mode and how are these potentials rhetorically arranged, 'designed', to make meaning in the science classroom? Our work was therefore oriented to the detailed description of speech, writing, gesture and action, and the visual as resources for meaning making.

Halliday's *meaning making principles*, what he calls the three metafunctions, inform our analysis of multimodal communication. Within this model all communication is understood to 'do' three things, to realise three kinds of meaning: to represent what is going on in the world (what Halliday calls ideational meaning); to give linguistic realisations to interactions and relations between people (interpersonal meaning); and to form meaningful communicative texts (textual meaning). The meaning of a text is the interplay between these three types of meaning (or metafunctions). Each

227

can be viewed as sets of features, a range of potentials. This is the domain in which the work which is required of pupils and teachers when producing (encoding) or making sense of (decoding) a discourse can be seen and understood: in other words, the communicative potentials available at a particular moment in a specific context. For instance, the set of features utilised in realising ideational meaning will indicate who does what where. It articulates our experience of the world as linguistic processes (i.e. 'verbs') (these processes may be material, verbal, mental, or relational processes), linguistically realised participants and circumstances, and the relations between these processes, participants and circumstances. The interpersonal meaning of a communicative act functions to establish, maintain and specify the relationships between members of societies or groups through the giving or demanding, linguistically, of information or services. Textual resources 'breathe relevance into the other two' (Halliday, 1985): they organise meanings into a coherent text in a given situation. They are essential for the effective operation of the interpersonal and ideational functions. Although ideational, interpersonal, and textual meanings are distinct, they are integrated in communication, and all are always in operation.

Whereas a linguistic approach to the meaning of classroom interaction resides in the interplay between the ideational, interpersonal, and textual features of writing and speech, approaching it from a multimodal perspective involves attending to the interplay between these types of meanings in and across each mode in ways which multiply the complexity of meaning. Each mode of communication contributes to the other, sometimes the meaning realised by each mode is the equivalent, sometimes it is complementary, sometimes it is repeated, other times it may refer to different aspects of meaning, or be contradictory (Lemke, 1998). In short, modes (different semiotic systems) produce meaning through their intersection. We suggest that the specialised meaning resources in one mode combine with those for a different function in another to modulate meaning. That is, communication in the science classroom is more than a sequential shift from one mode to another. Further we suggest that attention to one mode fails to capture the meaning of a communicative event: *meaning resides in the orchestration of the modes, it lies in the interaction between what is said, what is shown, the posture, the movement, the position of the speaker and audience, and so on.*

In the following section we discuss how one science teacher brought the entity 'particles' into existence through her speech, her use of image and action during a lesson on 'states of matter' with year 9 pupils.

228

The Multimodal Construction of the Entity 'Particles'

We focus on three aspects of the teacher's multimodal construction of the entity 'particles': a text that is visual and written; body and movement; and manipulation of models. We comment on how this process required the pupils to re-conceptualise the world through the reconstitution of everyday phenomena (solid, liquid, and gas). Finally, we provide an overview of how each mode realised meaning differently within the classroom interaction.

1. Visual and written text

As the lesson began the image in Figure 1 was on the blackboard. It provided a context and starting point for the lesson. At times the text was made salient (e. g. by being read aloud by the teacher), at other times it was backgrounded (by the teacher standing in front of it). Nonetheless throughout the lesson it provided a textual anchor for communicative acts of different kinds.
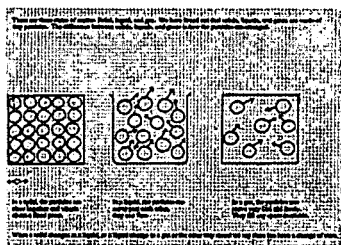
Figure 1: The text drawn on the white-board

Several ideational meanings were realised visually by the text. First, the images of each state of matter had progressively fewer particles in it which remained the same size and shape: the difference between states of matters is represented as the arrangement of particles rather than changes in the particles themselves. In this way the image suggested that a solid, a liquid and a gas are the same, but different amounts of the same. Second, compositionally the images of 'a solid', 'a liquid', and 'a gas' worked as a series. The composition highlighted the commonalty between the states of matter,

visually suggesting that they have more in common with one another than may appear to be the case in everyday experiences of them. For example, pupils' everyday knowledge and experience of sand, water, and air most likely served to realise their differences, while this image as a visual expression of their essence realised their similarities. The image suggested that they are 'three of a kind', although each was also represented as a distinct 'state of matter' framed and separated from the other. Third, the centrality of the image of a liquid served to suggest that the liquid state mediates the other states.

The writing beneath each image read 'In a solid ... In a liquid ... In a gas'. In this way the entities solid, liquid, and gas (states of matter) have become 'containers' of particles. Our experience in the everyday world is one of interacting with the 'outer shell' of the phenomenon 'particles'. The text realised the difference to be explained in the lesson: it is not a matter of substance but a matter of movement and containment: *a matter of space.*

The text provided the pupils with a resource to imagine with. Later in the lesson the teacher 'captured' air in her hand in a grasping gesture and then 'released it'. Through her actions she 'asked' the pupils to imagine the gas particles flying off and filling the room. The text on the blackboard provided some of the resources required to carry out this imaginative work – a concrete visualisation of particles to think with. Later in the lesson, the text provided a 'visual overlay' which mediated the actions of the teacher: a visual link between the imagined particles in the text (as circles) and the physically 'imagined' substituted particles in the model (cue balls as particles). The constraints of the visual mode, however, meant that the image could not readily realise the movement of the particles: the teacher had to resort to the use of arrows and cartoon symbols to indicate movement. At this point the teacher shifted in mode from speech, writing, and the visual to action. The teacher's use of her body to construct the entity 'particles' through her gesture and movement is discussed below.

2. The body and the construction of meaning through imaginary demonstration

Focusing on action as a social rather than a biological phenomenon means understanding the body we act with, the material means of our action, as social. The social nature of the body, social attitudes, traditions, and techniques are assembled, transmitted, 'borrowed', through action, imitation,

230

and transformation they become '*habitus*' (Mauss, 1979). The expression of the body is shaped by the social order imposed by the environments and cultures we inhabit (Merleau-Ponty, 1969). In this way the body comes to be central to understanding the meaning of action. Viewing the body as an expression of meaning in this way, the process of action can be viewed as 'bringing meaning into being', rather than as translating meaning into action. In other words, we see the body as a meaning-making resource: the body both produces signs and is itself a sign. For example, the demeanour of the teacher's body when using a microscope can embody scientific historical traditions and knowledge, her or his posture may indicate respect for the equipment, the angle of the teacher's look may show his or her understanding of the effect of light on the mirrors, and the stillness of the teacher's body may embody 'observation': the teacher 'doing being a scientist'. Pupils make sense of, and learn, the science teacher's *habitus* through imitation, and transformation.

The construction of the characteristics of gas particles through the body

As the frame of reference shifted in the lesson from the teacher reading the text on the board to the teacher's imaginary demonstration, her body became the canvas for the representation of particles. Standing at the back of the classroom, the teacher clasped her hands together to 'capture' some air in her hand, and began to walk slowly and carefully to the front of the classroom holding her clasped hands out in front of her body.

T: If you've got a small space and you keep an amount of air in a small space ...

Her carefulness was exaggerated – it was theoretical, which emphasised the existence and fragility of the gas 'in her hand'. Her action served to construct the need for the pupils to believe – to suspend their dis-belief.

The teacher stood at the front of the classroom facing the pupils, her body still and straight, her hands clasped and held out in front of her. She then 'sprung open' her hands, dropped her left hand to her side and moved her right hand in two zigzag waves in front of her as if to show the 'tracks' of the released particles.

T: Say in my hand, I've got a certain amount of gas in my hand, okay, if I open my hand, then the particles that make up the gas, they go all over the place, they fill up the room, they move all around the room, okay?

The teacher's initial holding gesture coincided with her comment 'keep an amount of air' and marked the phrase 'in a small space'. These exploited existing cultural meanings expressed actionally, in gesture (such as the process of capturing, catching, holding, the hands as walls), although these meanings were assembled newly. In other words, in another context these gestures might have meant something different but not something completely different. That is, their meaning was situated, the 'lexis' was not a given, but nor was it arbitrary. Although the teacher's gestures coincided with her speech, they did not simply correspond with its meaning – her speech and her gesture were doing something different.

The teacher's gesture and movement realised the rhetorical construction of the entities and requested the pupils to see the world in a particular way through the representation, orientation, and organisation of meaning. Firstly, her clasped hands provided the container for the invisible – bringing the unseen into sight. The teacher's action of capturing brought the mental visualisation of particles into being, making them a 'real' tangible holdable entity. Secondly, the way she quickly shaped her hands together suggested the movement of the particles – if something wasn't moving it would not need to be 'captured'. Thirdly, the delicate way in which she held her hands imbued gas/air with particular qualities – a butterfly-like ephemeral quality – the potential instability of a gas. The teacher's actions orientated science in the everyday world that is, in the air around – no special scientific equipment is required – anyone can reach out and hold it in their hands. At the same time, the teacher's movement towards a more authoritative position at the front of the class and her posture were 'declarative' – she was showing the pupils.

The teacher's sudden hand and arm movements, contrasted with the stillness of the rest of her body served to suggest that the particles, rather than her, were the agent of the action. This was further suggested by the way she 'dropped' her left hand to her side while her right hand acted as/ represented a particle. Her actions suggested the speed and movement of the particles. The zigzag movements combined with the teacher's statement 'they go all over the place' to suggest the individuality of the particles movement. Through the teacher's use of her body and 'imaginary demonstration' she transformed the space in the classroom from an empty-static place to one full of moving particles – *the classroom 'became' a container*.

The construction of the characteristics of solid particles through the body

Still standing at the front of the classroom facing the pupils, the teacher 'repeated' the demonstration with a solid. She swivelled around, picked up a piece of chalk, placed it in the palm of her right hand, cupped her left hand over the chalk, and returned to face the class. She then took away her left hand and 'dropped' it to her side.

T: If I do that to a solid has it moved anywhere? – S: No.

The teacher's casual arm and hand movement contrasted with her earlier sudden springing apart of her hands in demonstrating the behaviour of particles in a gas. In addition, the limpness of her body contrasted with the tautness of her body. Whereas she had used two hands to capture and release the gas, in the case of the solid she used both her hands to capture the solid but only moved one hand to release it. The materiality of the physical object the teacher acted with fashioned her actions: that is, the substance of the chalk shaped her action with it. The contrast between her actions imbued the solid and gas with different meanings. Her actions suggested that less force was needed to contain the particles in a solid than in a gas, that is, that particles in a solid are less active (more stable) than those in a gas. In this lesson the teacher's choice of sample solid was a lump of chalk. In the previous lesson (which centred on compression) the teacher's choice of solid was sand. In other words, the 'rhetor's' selection of entity is a rhetorical choice. In this instance the teacher's choice of the materiality of the solid can be seen as a rhetorical resource. If the teacher's choice of sample solid had been exchanged neither demonstration would have worked. If sand had been used in the demonstration of 'particles', the answer to the teacher's question 'If I do that to a solid has it moved anywhere?' would have been 'yes'. The same is true of the teacher's selection of equipment in her demonstration of the behaviour of particles in a liquid. In short, the choice of material is a key rhetorical aspect of the construction of entities.

The construction of the characteristics of liquid particles through the body

Standing at the front of the classroom the teacher used a squeezy bottle, a jug, and water to demonstrate the behaviour of particles in a liquid. She squirted water from the bottle into the jug. She raised the bottle, and simul-

taneously lowered the jug, swilled the water in the jug around in a circular motion. She then squirted more water into the jug, lowered the water bottle to the same level as the jug, and continued to swirl around the water in the jug as she 'dropped' her arm and the water bottle to her side.

T: You can squeeze the water, it flows, but does it go all over, does it go all over the, all over the place? – S: It drops.
T: Drops and it will take up the shape of whichever container I put it into. Here it's in a bottle shape, if I put it into this container, okay, it's free to move but it doesn't move all over the room.

With the exception of her arm and hand movements, her body remained still. Through the teacher's use of her body, her stillness, and her distancing of the bottle and jug from her torso, she attempted to remove herself as agent from the process. This was reflected in her speech where the water 'it' became the agent – the teacher squeezed – the water flowed.

The teacher's demonstration relied on the interaction between her actions, her choice of equipment and the example liquid. Had she waved about her arms as she squirted the bottle of water, or used a water spray or a hose it would have 'gone all over the place'. But there are no surprises – the demonstration was of common-place action – the action was a generalised backdrop to the mantra 'water takes the shape of the container'. In other words, the actions were part of a classification through which the construction of entities and re-conceptualising the world was realised.

Constructing Difference

Through the teacher's actions the essential difference between a solid, a liquid and a gas was constructed as a difference in the tension between containment and freedom of movement. The tension between these concepts was developed further by the teacher through her manipulation of a series of models and use of analogy, both of which are discussed in detail in the following section.

3. Re-conceptualising the world through interaction with models

The meaning of the objects and entities which mediate the learning of school science is materialised in interactions with them in the science

234

classroom. These meanings are embodied in the objects themselves through historical human interaction with them. In other words, when we experience an object in a certain way, it becomes a certain kind of object through our experience with it: that is, objects become more than their materiality. Objects in the science classroom are framed by the science lesson and made suitable objects of scientific thought and experimentation through the activity of the teacher and pupils. Through this process an object acquires a new (if temporary and context bound) 'form of existence' in the science classroom: *it acquires new significance*. In this way scientific equipment shapes the potentials for meaning in the science classroom, interactions with equipment fashions meanings, which in turn conventionalises objects and promotes them into scientific routinised actions or 'ritual'. The objects themselves become 'entities'.

We use the term entity and object to include that which is brought into being through the imagination of teachers and pupils. That is, we treat actions in the science classroom on a continuum of representation (Crowder, 1996).

Action		**Thought as action**
<-->		
manipulation	model	enactment
Action on an	Action on	Thought
actual object	represented objects	experiment

In the description that follows, we concentrate on how the teacher's action with the models of particles in a solid, a liquid, and a gas constructed the entity 'particle' through its behaviour. In particular we discuss the way the teacher constructs the concept entity of 'containment' differently in each state of matter.

Re-conceptualising the movement of particles in a solid through action

Standing behind the raised front bench the teacher picked up a model of particles in a solid (made of plastic balls and wire) and placed it on the centre of the bench: she drew the pupils attention to it. The teacher asked a student 'what does vibrate mean?' After some laughter a definition of 'vibrate' was reached, 'backwards and forwards about a fixed point'.

T: These are the particles and how are they arranged in a solid, it's a bit like jelly, they can move around a point, but do they move away? – Ss: No.

The teacher kept one hand on her hip, her body still, and with the other hand she gently 'wobbled' the model. Her actions were restrained. Her action with the model visually defined vibration. The teacher then laid her hand lightly across the top of the model and made a verbal, spoken analogy between the movement of soldiers and the movement of the particles. She then lifted her hand and used both hands to represent the direction of the row of 'soldiers': she rolled her hands towards her body (backwards), then forwards, and finally to the side of her body. The teacher then patted the top of the model. The model moved. She then held her hand flat on the model for a second and took it off. The model moved more slowly.

T: No, they go backwards and forwards, but they're like they're linked to the particle next to it, through an attraction. It's a bit like, if you can imagine, soldiers marching in a line, okay, they go backwards, forwards a little bit, to the side, but they all stay in their nice tidy rows, okay.

The model acted as a concrete, material metaphor for the particles in a solid: indeed the teacher talked about the model *as* the particles. The action of the teacher with the model (as the mediational means) realised meanings about the particles in a solid in a number of ways. First it represented the materiality and shape of the particles: round and hard. Second, it represented one way of seeing their relationship to one another, their arrangement: structured, evenly spaced and regular, and connected to one another. Third, when the teacher 'flicked' the model with her hand her action gave expression to the model. As the teacher flicked the model she stepped back from the model: she physically distanced herself from the effect of her interaction with the model, and in doing so she imbued it with agency. The continuing movement of the model provided the context for her question to the pupils: 'they can move around a point, but do they move away?'

The teacher's action with the model realised the movement of the particles – they can move but their movement is constrained; through her action she provided the pupils with the physical evidence they needed to give a correct answer to her question 'do they move away?'

It was the interaction between the material construction (expression) of the models and the teacher's action which constrained the movement of the particles. In other words, the teacher used a model to demonstrate a reality that the model had itself been designed to express. The model remained

subject to the constraints of the world that the teacher was attempting to 'get around' – manipulating the substance was problematic –, so she had to *make happen* what she asserted *was* happening. The teacher needed to find a way to 'show' that it was the model that moved rather than she who moved it. The teacher's use of the model to convey the behaviour of particles was constrained by its materiality. The salience of the model was backgrounded as the teacher's hand 'lifted/carried the notion of rows' from the model and used her hands to gesturally represent the direction of the movement of the particles/soldiers. Her action represented the action of soldiers as routinised and disciplined. Indeed she had to 'slow' down the movement of the model (by placing her hand on the model, holding it for a second and then removing her hand) in order to do this. Through this action the teacher returned to her body as a resource for making meaning.

Analogy was one rhetorical resource the teacher chose to overcome the difficulty of conveying the motivated movement of the particles in the model. Analogy is the process of establishing a relationship, irrespective of mode. An analogical relationship can be between elements in one mode, or between elements across modes. In the examples which follow, the teacher used language to describe the analogical relationships between the action of the models and the action of jelly wobbling, soldiers marching in a line, footballers playing on a pitch, and shoppers at the January sales. In this way the teacher evoked and drew attention to the analogy linguistically. However, the analogical relationship itself remained between the two forms of action bought into comparison: the movement of the model of a solid and the soldiers marching in a line; the movement of the balls in the model of a liquid, and a gas and the behaviour of footballers, or shoppers at the sales. In other words, language was a means of drawing out, describing, the analogical relationship rather than itself being one of the analogical elements. The teacher's selection of jelly as an analogy drew attention to the movement of the model and 'explained' it in terms of the movement of a solid which can simultaneously hold the notion of wholeness, stability and movement. But the movement of jelly did not draw attention to, or account for, the presence and structure of the particles represented in the model.

The teacher's 'carrying/lifting' action with the model grounded her gestural analogy firmly in the model. At the same time her action and the analogy transformed the structure of the model. Through her analogy the teacher attempted to 'remove' the material links between the particles as presented in the model: to transform (erase) the plastic bonds which held together the particles in the model into conceptual links of attraction and

237

discipline: '... they're like they're linked to the particle next to it, through an attraction'.

When the teacher patted the top of the model she made it replicate the movement she had previously described in her speech and gesture – 'they all stay in their nice tidy rows'. The model realised its structure, the teacher's actions realised the *movement* of the patterned structure. The teacher's action with the model presented an idealised version of the everyday examples she had used earlier in her 'imaginary demonstration'. It enabled the pupils to 'see' what previously they had to imagine, that is, the particles inside the 'outer-shell' of the example solid – a lump of chalk. Indeed, the model was itself an idealised solid, that is, it did not represent the molecular structure of a specific compound.

Re-conceptualising the movement of particles in a liquid through action

In order to exhibit the behaviour of particles in a liquid and a gas the teacher acted with a different model. The model was a wooden tray containing a wooden slat and white hard plastic balls (as shown in Figure 2).
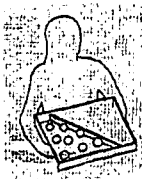
Figure 2: Teacher's model of particles in a liquid

The teacher held the frame in front of her body as above (horizontally plane). She used the left section of the model to represent the particles in a liquid. She flicked/plucked the balls in the model.

T: For a liquid, what I have to do is, I've got the particles, they're still quite close together but they can move around, okay, they're not in fixed lines like they are in the solid. It's a bit like, arr, a football team, okay ...

The teacher moved the balls in the frame. She developed the analogy of the movement of football players. She used her hands and arms and made cir-

238

cular movements away from her body in the horizontal plane to bring in the path of movement of the winger running around the top, passing the ball. Her actions showed the movement of particles as motivated and connected with one-another, and following directional and circular paths. The teacher used her finger to trace a rectangle horizontally in the air in front of the wooden frame of the model.

The teacher elaborated the analogy of movement on a football pitch and the rules which govern this movement. She then repeated the action of drawing the 'pitch'. Through her actions the teacher reproduced the physical frame of the model as an imagined space. The analogy drew attention to the organised movement of particles/players within a particular space and transformed the arena of this movement from a material/physical one to a physiological/imagined one. That is, through her actions the teacher accounted for the difference between seen and unseen phenomena.

Re-conceptualising the movement of particles in a gas through action

The teacher removed five of the balls from the left side of the tray, placed them in the right side and turned the frame upwards by about 90 degrees to represent the particles in a gas (see Figure 3).
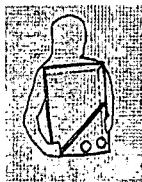
Figure 3: The model used by the teacher to represent particles in a gas

The teacher held the model in front of her body and plucked the balls with her hands, moving them up the inside of the frame and letting them drop. She introduced an analogy between the action of the particles – balls and the frantic action of shoppers at the January sales. She continued to hold the model in front of her body and made six sudden gestures with her left arm, stretching her whole arm out and 'throwing' it out from her body to the right, to above her head, and across her body to the left.

T: All over the place, yeah, so one minute, soon as they're going through the door that's it, someone goes over to the laundry section, someone goes over to the, er, perfume counter, someone goes to the TV section, yeah, and as soon as they've grabbed something they're off to another department, so, it's frantic, moving very very fast, the particles are moving very, very fast ...

As the teacher said 'the particles are moving very very fast' she held one of the balls in the model in her hand and moved it in a circle within the model. Her action showed the movement in space of these particles to be different. Her gestures represented the behaviour of the gas particles as motivated, directed, spinning, and at the same time sudden, 'excitable' and unpredictable (to the extent that they dropped out the model at one point). The teacher's gestures across the space of her upper torso showed gas particles to be all around her, whereas her gestures to represent the movement of the particles in a solid were confined to a smaller specified space. The teacher's actions to show the behaviour of particles in a gas, in particular her action of 'grabbing' as she stuck her hand out into the air, introduced the potential of particles to bond with one another – a behaviour also attended to in the analogy with the frenetic consumerism of shoppers at the January sales.

Summary

The teacher's movement of her body imbued certain qualities on different states of matter. In particular, her interaction with the models constructed the stability of solids, the transitory potential of liquids, and the volatility of gases. The teacher's actions represented the behaviour of particles in a gas, a liquid, and a solid as being constrained in different ways – as having different relationships to space: gas was represented as less bound by the rules than either a liquid or a solid.

The teacher's action used different planes to represent each state of matter. The liquid particles were acted out within the horizontal plane/ path, in the imaginary demonstration the liquid was swilled horizontally, the teacher's action with the model showed the paths of particles in a liquid and the framing of the space they occupy in the model as horizontal. In contrast the teacher demonstrated the movement of gas particles in both instances on the vertical plane (the paths of movement, and the framing of the space the particles occupy). In short, particles in liquids were earth

bound, particles in a gas were on a trajectory towards the stratosphere. In this way the teacher's actions constructed qualities and meaning.

The shift in the models used to represent a solid, a liquid, and a gas signified that there is a similarity between a liquid and a gas that may not exist with a solid. In addition the teacher's action with the model of the particles in a liquid and a gas realised the notion of containment and movement differently than her interaction with the model of the solid. The teacher's actions realised the movement of particles as a structured and a constrained event within a solid – constrained by the internal relationships between the particles. If one particle moved they all moved. In the model of a liquid and a gas the teacher plucked individual balls, and then used gesture to 'follow' through the imagined movement of individual particles.

The different interrelations between space and freedom of movement embodied in the teacher's imaginary demonstration and use of models was echoed in her use of analogy. There was a shift in the analogies she used from the movement/behaviour of a group to that of individual action. First, the analogy for particles in a solid with the movement of a jelly, a homologous lump, and marching soldiers in a line, a social group founded on the subjugation of the individual to the group. Second, the analogy for the movement of particles in a liquid of a football team where players have different roles and individuality – star players – are recognised within a team. Third, the analogy of the movement of shoppers in the January sales, whose movement was based on their individualistic consumption, for particles in a gas. The teacher's actions with the models of particles in a liquid and a gas characterised them as individuals within a collective group boundaried by its external containment. The teacher's choice of analogies imbued particles with agency through the personification of the particles as soldiers, football players, and shoppers.

Through the teacher's action with the model and her use of analogy the notion of containment was realised as the boundaries or rules of behaviour, an invisible constraint, rather than a purely physical space. In the case of liquid and the analogy of football, the majority of pupils probably either played, watched, or had a knowledge of football. Perhaps more importantly they know that many spaces can become a football pitch (a front room floor, a patch of grass, a street). A space becomes a football pitch by the behaviour we engage in within it: the rules we use to govern our behaviour. The pupils with an insider knowledge of football saw a pattern within the teacher's movement – the more intricate her movement the more intricate the pattern. Whereas those without this knowledge saw 'movement'.

The teacher drew on their different knowledges, in particular the knowledge that rules affect behaviour. Her use of a football analogy was her entry into the interests of the children. The particles were balls – football players, the frame – the container – became the space of movement. States of matter became a question of the tension between individual movement and collective constraint within a given space.

Throughout the lesson the teacher's actions realised textual meaning through her mantra-like repetition of solid, liquid, gas: a 'mantra' repeated in sequence through the image, the text, the teacher's speech (five times), demonstration, and use of analogy. This rhythm, combined with the teacher's pace of delivery as a mode, resulted in a sequential connection between the entities solid, liquid, gas: the pattern of her multimodal communicative acts created the rhythm and movement of particles. The form was not separate from the meaning the teacher was making. The form of the lesson was intrinsically woven into the content: it was the meaning. Through the form of the repetition, liquid was always central, and in this way liquid was understood to mediate the process of change in states of matter: as a state of transformation.

Conclusion

The analysis of science classroom interaction presented in this paper shows that action and the visual are not simply illustrations of language, rather they do different things, they realise different meanings. In other words, the visual, action and speech have different *functional specialisms*. Each mode has different meaning potentials and limitations, and perhaps more importantly the different functional specialisms each mode realises make different demands on the audience. The different means (text, imaginary demonstration, model, and analogy) presented different relationships to knowledge and required different types of 'work' from the pupils engaged in the process of learning. The visual and written text are representations 'to imagine with'. The teacher's 'imaginary demonstration' showed the movement and qualities of particles in different states of matter. Her use of analogy and models attempted to realise the structural relationships and movement of the particles – that is to show the containment and the freedom of movement of particles in different states of matter.

The entity 'particles' was constructed through the meaning created in the interweaving of the teacher's use of image, action, and speech (detailed

in table 1): this was not a purely linguistic accomplishment. The lesson consisted of a shifting hierarchy of modes. Speech was never the only mode, at times it was accompanied by visual communication, at others by gesture, sometimes by both. Sometimes the teacher's speech was foregrounded, at other times it shifted between foreground and background. In this multimodal text, the modes interacted, and interplayed to produce a coherent text – through repetition, synchronisation, similarity and contrast. In the multimodal environment of the science classroom the meaning of what is spoken or written does not reside purely in language, but in the complex interweaving between the linguistic, visual, and actional resources which teachers and pupils communicate with.

The shift between modes in the classroom represents a shift in the cognitive possibilities and demands on the learner. In this way action, gesture, image, and speech interweave to rhetorically convey meaning, to shape pupils' views of the world, in complex ways which language alone can not realise: *teaching and learning are far more than a linguistic accomplishment.*

References

Crowder, E. M. (1996). 'Gestures at Work in Sense-Making Science Talk'. *The Journal of Learning Sciences*, 5 (3), 173-208.

Halliday, M. A. K. (1985). *An Introduction to Functional Grammar*. London: Edward Arnold.

Kress, G./Hodge, R. (1988). *Social Semiotics*. London: Polity Press.

Kress, G./Jewitt, C./Ogborn, J./Tsatsarelis, C. (2001). *Multimodal Teaching and Learning: The Rhetorics of the Science Classroom*. London: Continuum.

Kress, G./van Leeuwen, T. (1996). *Reading Images: The Grammar of Visual Design*. London: Routledge.

Kress, G./Ogborn, J./Martins, I. (1998). 'A Satellite View of Language'. *Language Awareness*, 2 & 3, 69-89.

van Leeuwen, T. (1999). *Speech, Music, Sound*. London: Macmillan.

Lemke, J. (1998). 'Multiplying Meaning: Visual and Verbal Semiotics in Scientific Text'. In Martin, J./Veel, R. (eds.), *Reading Science* (pp. 87-113). London: Routledge.

Mauss, M. (1979). *Sociology and Psychology Essays*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Merleau-Ponty, A. (1969). *The Essential Writings of Merleau-Ponty* (ed. A. Fisher). New York: Harcourt, Brace & World.

New London Group (1996). 'A Pedagogy of Multiliteracies: Designing social futures.' *Harvard Educational Review*, 66 (1), 60-92.

Table 1: The meaning functions realised through the teacher's use of the visual, action, and speech

Meaning Function	Visual	Action	Speech
Presentation of information (ideational)	Shape S, L, G are different amounts of 'the same thing' Series: potential for change Liquid as mediator S, L, G as containers Set agenda: explanation needed is not a matter of substance but movement and containment	clasped-hand: brought entity into existence Imbued qualities on particles: rel. to containment stability – delicacy speed (release) motivation & agency movement (rand/coll) Provided physical 'evidence' answers ('translated' by students into speech e.g. 'do they move away?') – materiality Emblematic representation (L: takes the shape of container) Definition (vibrate) Model – materiality Structure/ arrangement Agentive movement 'Pat' replicates movement described in speech Constructed difference	Named entities Hypothesised (If I..) Conferred entities with agency (they/it) Commentary Questioned Talking to create the idealised version (e.g. I act vs it acts – takes shape) Extended location of action (analogy – jelly, soldiers, footballers, sale shoppers) Signalled what to attend to (e.g. analogy and bonds)

Orientation to audience (inter-personal)	The 'depth' of science: looks inside the 'container' you experience in the everyday	Located teacher as source of info. – body	Constructed teacher as agent
		Made ideas 'seem' real – 'believe me'	Control
	A resource to think with – imagine with	A resource to think with – concretised	Vagueness – non transactive actions
	Authority – given fact	Body distance – imbued objectivity	
		Authority model & shift to raised platform – control posture	
Organisation (textual)	Anchor for meaning	Pace of mode Repetition Contrast	Pace of mode Repetition Contrast

Agnes Vosse

Implementation and Effects of a Peer Tutoring Programme for Children at Risk

1. Abstract

The following is a description of the research results from our study in which two research questions were addressed. The first question deals with the implementation of cross-age peer tutoring, an educational intervention in primary schools. The aim of this part of the study was to describe the implementation procedure and improve our knowledge about the conditions under which this intervention strategy can be successfully used.

In the description of the second part of our study we will determine the cognitive effects for tutors and tutees (both being children at risk) of a cross-age peer tutoring programme for maths. Our findings indicated that both tutors and tutees made progress. Once the important conditions for implementation have been identified and the effects of the peer tutoring programme determined, it may prove that peer tutoring could be put to good use in other areas, for instance as a way of stimulating the development of social cohesion between the pupils of a school.

2. Introduction and Theory

Peer tutoring is a form of co-operative learning, and is quite popular in English-speaking countries such as the United States, Great Britain, Australia and Israel. However, in non-English-speaking European countries peer tutoring is rarely used as an educational method, although in the last few years a rapidly growing number of projects has been developed in the Netherlands, where peer-tutoring pupils work with their partners several times a week. Results from international research into peer tutoring show that, if it is conducted under the right conditions, it may lead to improvements in academic achievement (Slavin, 1993; Slavin/Karweit/Madden

1989; Cohen, 1992; Topping, 1988). There is also evidence that peer tutoring is related to positive changes in attitude and self-concept, although the evidence in this field is less convincing than that for improvements in academic achievement. In addition, Slavin reported improved social acceptance among pupils who had worked together during co-operative learning and peer tutoring (1989; 1993; 1995). Cohen/Kulik/Kulik (1982) conducted a meta-analysis of 65 studies into the effects of peer tutoring. They conclude that in 20 of the 52 studies examining cognitive results, the tutees made significant cognitive gains compared to the control group.

Another meta-analysis was conducted by Cook/Scruggs/Mastropieri/ Casto ('85/'86), but this study was restricted to the analysis of studies in which the tutors had behaviour or learning disabilities (BD or LD) or in which they were intellectually handicapped (IH). The outcome measures of 54 tutoring interventions were compared (as described in 19 articles), resulting in 74 effect sizes. One of the conclusions of this meta-analysis was that handicapped pupils turn out to be effective tutors of other handicapped or non-handicapped pupils, and that in general the tutors achieved almost the same academic gains as the tutees. Thus peer tutoring may also stimulate the integration of different ability groups. The effects of peer tutoring on the self-esteem of the tutor or tutee showed only a small improvement, which is in accordance with the findings of Cohen/Kulik/Kulik (1982). This also confirms the recent findings in our study, that an improvement in results does not automatically lead to an improvement in self-confidence (Vosse/Roede, 1999). Unfortunately, neither of the above described meta-analyses mention any of the conditions under which the results of the interventions were reached. In addition, no descriptions of the implementation procedures in the programmes with the highest results are given. Consequently we cannot isolate which essential conditions must be met during the implementation of a peer tutoring programme.

An important distinction in the concept of peer tutoring is the difference in age-range of the pupils involved in peer tutoring (Vosse, 1994). One form of peer tutoring is Classwide Peer Tutoring (CWPT), in which all (same-aged) pupils in a class work together in pairs. The tutee can earn points by giving correct responses to the tutor (Greenwood/Delquadri/Hall, 1989). The pairs can be matched either heterogeneously or homogeneously according to their achievement levels. In heterogeneous pairs the pupil with the higher performance level is assigned the role of tutor, in homogeneous pairs the tutor-role can be reciprocal (Palincsar/Brown, 1984). Another form of peer tutoring is cross-age peer tutoring, in which pupils in

higher classes tutor pupils in lower classes. In this case the tutors have reached higher achievement levels than the tutees, so the tutor-role cannot be reciprocal. A third form of peer tutoring is cross-school tutoring, when students from secondary schools or universities serve as tutors for pupils in less academic streams.

Though many peer tutoring studies have been conducted during the last decades, very little research has been done into the effects of peer-tutoring for minority groups, such as pupils from deprived areas, pupils who are mentally retarded or pupils from ethnic minority families. One of the problems in European education is the fast growing group of children from ethnic minority groups, which is also described in Gundara's article in this book. One of the consequences of this growing group of ethnic minority children in Europe is the increasing variance in pupil's levels of achievement. Leeman states, in this book too, that 'research shows that the achievements of immigrant pupils at school are lower than those of Dutch pupils and school drop-out rates are considerably higher amongst immigrant pupils'. As classes tend to be more and more heterogeneous, teachers face complex classroom-situations; and when giving instructions they find it hard to give differentiated tasks suited to the abilities of each child. To guarantee the level of individualised instruction required, the teaching and learning process will have to be decentralised (Fuchs/Fuchs, 1997). Peer tutoring is a teaching strategy in which decentralisation is quite regular: each child receives instruction at the required level of ability with the appropriate academic content. Thus peer tutoring may contribute significantly in tackling the challenge of heterogeneous groups in schools.

For some decades now the Netherlands has had an Educational Priority Policy which has funded several national projects. The results of these projects are rather disappointing (van der Werf/Mulder, 1995). In almost all cases pupil-achievements remained far below what had been expected. The presence of a high percentage of children from minority groups within a school appears to have a negative influence on the achievement level of the school. Unfortunately not much research has been done to study the effects of peer tutoring in schools with a high percentage of pupils from minority groups. Therefore the effectiveness of cross-age peer tutoring should be studied in these types of schools. Peer tutoring as well as co-operative learning may also have a positive influence on the development of social cohesion among pupils, when tutors and tutees from different ethnic groups learn to work and communicate together. This may stimulate the integration of different races and minority groups. If peer tutoring becomes

248

an integral part of the curriculum and all pupils are given the opportunity to experience co-operating with others under the right conditions, social cohesion between the different ethnic minority groups may be stimulated, as propagated by Gundara elsewhere in this book.

Special attention should be given to the implementation of peer tutoring, as many attempts at educational reform fail (Fullan/Hargreaves, 1992). One of the reasons for this failure is that teachers are not motivated to implement improvements, and do not actively participate in the reform. If this is the case the conditions under which reform should be implemented are not met. The active involvement of teachers is an essential aspect in educational innovation (van den Berg/Sleegers/van der Eerden, 1994). There are a number of other aspects, which are important in the implementation of a peer-tutoring programme too, which are described by Jenkins/Jenkins (1987). These factors include systematic training, active supervision, structured lessons, daily progress measurement and emphasis on mastery. Tutors should be trained in effective instructional practices as well as in social communication and interaction skills. Strategies as modelling, practising, role-playing and feedback turn out to be useful during training sessions (Mathes/Fuchs, 1991). From recent research we know, that the quality of the interaction is mainly predetermined by a highly qualified tutor training before and during the programme (in: Vosse, 2000). If we use the knowledge described above, it might be possible to discover which conditions are essential for the implementation of a peer-tutoring programme. We are also interested in the problems that may be encountered during the implementation procedure, because if the conditions can be optimised, peer tutoring may not only be used to improve academic achievements, but also to improve social skills and to enhance social cohesion in schools which have a great number of pupils who come from minority groups.

3. Research Questions

The above leads us to the following research questions:

1. Which problems must be solved during the implementation of a peer tutoring programme and which conditions will be important for the implementation of the programme?
2. How effective is a cross-age peer-tutoring programme in mathematics (maths), for tutors as well as for tutees, for pupils at risk?

4. Method

Experimental and control schools: Four schools participated in this study: two schools ran a peer tutoring programme whilst the other two schools functioned as the control group. All children in the experimental and control schools were assessed for their levels of achievement on a particular maths test, which resulted in an individual ability score for each pupil. The experimental schools as well as the control schools consisted of one normal middle-class school and one mixed school with 80% of the children from ethnic minority homes, mainly Turkish and Moroccan. Each experimental school involved eight (in most cases) low achieving tutors from year five and eight low achieving tutees from year two in the peer tutoring programme, so the total number of children involved in the experiment was 16. The experimental schools were not-randomly selected and the decision to participate in the programme was taken by the staff. All teachers were informed about the programme and the possible consequences of it, and the teachers of year two and five had an important vote in the final decision on whether to go ahead.

Teachers and Students: Students from the University (to be called student-trainers from now on) set up the peer tutoring programmes in the experimental schools as part of their university course. Both schools had two students who ran the programme. The reason for having two student-trainers in the schools was that the student-trainers had no teaching qualifications and had problems maintaining order in the groups. To minimalise any resultant effect, a second student-trainer was assigned to both primary schools. The teachers of the designated classes were only indirectly involved in the programme, as they had to continue to run their own classes during the tutoring-sessions, but they attended the two-weekly meetings with the student-trainers.

Training and preparation of the student-trainers: The student-trainers were trained regularly at the University, at first in doing the necessary measurements with the pupils, later in running the programme. At the start of the peer tutoring programme they were trained almost every week, later in the programme at three weekly intervals.

Tutee selection: After the second pre-test each of the two schools delivered eight tutees from year two (aged 7 to 8). The sixteen pupils were not-ran-

250

domly selected for their repeated low achievements in maths on both of the two national pre-tests (pre-CITO-tests).

Tutor selection: The 16 tutors were recruited from year five (aged 10 to 11) and came from two different schools, eight from each school. The selection of the tutors took place on the basis of two criteria: they had a low score in maths on the baseline measurements and most of them (in the teachers' opinion) needed social or emotional support because they were shy, reserved, had low self-esteem or self-concept, or had few friends (Vosse, 2000).

Matching the pairs: The tutors and tutees were paired mainly on pupils' personality, social emotional skills and other characteristics that the teacher thought might make them fit together quite well. This means for instance, that a lively, fidgety or difficult tutee was not paired with a shy, quiet tutor with low self-esteem, but was coupled instead to a stable, confident tutor who was expected to be able to handle this difficult tutee. The pairs were supposed to remain together for the whole period, but in some cases when the matchings turned out to be unsuccessful, an interchange between some of them was permitted. This decision was left to the judgement of the student-trainers and the teachers involved.

Training of the tutors: The student-trainers trained the tutors in six sessions. During the training lessons the tutors learned various skills in social, pedagogical and didactic subjects (Myrick/Bowman, 1991; Foster, 1992). The contents of the initial training sessions are described in the appendix.

Measurements: Two pre-tests and one post-test for maths in years two and five were carried out in the four schools participating, the first in September, the second in January right before the start of the programme and the third in June, which was the post-test at the end of the programme. In all cases this was the 'CITO-test for maths' developed by the Central Institute for Development of Tests. For year two the total for the number of right answers is transformed into an 'ability score', a standardisation technique carried out according to the calibration procedure that enables growth scores to be compared at different moments. The differences in ability scores on the pre-test between the experimental and control groups were corrected statistically. For year five the test-scores are split up into two scores: one for 'numbers and operations' and one for 'measuring, time and

money'. Each of these scores has been converted into ability scores and, as described above, is mutually comparable.

Keeping records: Each student-implementer kept a diary recording what went on in the tutoring sessions and the supportive sessions. Also, the student-trainers gave a weekly description of the way things were going for each separate pair. In addition the tutors wrote a weekly report with the help of a set of questions. All of these questions can be found in the appendix to this paper.

5. Procedural Aspects of the Implementation

1. Common Framework: The peer tutoring was implemented between February and June and the pairs worked together three times a week. These sessions were additional to the lessons taken in maths in their own classes. Each session lasted half an hour, including the preparation of the materials and collecting tutees before the session and returning them afterwards. In addition, the tutors attended a weekly supportive session in which the assignments for the following weeks' tutoring sessions were practised and, if necessary, the questions that could be asked with the specific assignments were run through. Basically three types of questions were asked:

a) Orienting questions (What can you see? What do you think that you have to do?)
b) Reasoning questions (What are you going to do? What's next? What does it mean?)
c) Reflective questions (Do you know another way of solving this problem? Is there a shorter/cleverer way of finding the solution?)

2. Timetabling: At each school the tutoring sessions took place at different times of the day. One school had the sessions at the beginning of the schoolday. All the pupils came in and the tutors went directly to their tutoring room in the hall. At the other school the sessions were held at the end of the morning (twice) or at the beginning of the afternoon.

3. Assessments of tutees' appropriate level: After the whole-class-measurements, the selected tutees were individually assessed by the student-trainers, in order to determine the level of skills mastered in more detail.

This initial level was the starting point for the programme. It turned out that many tutees had a poor internalisation of the numbers one to ten, and could only make sums using these numbers by counting up or down the numbers one by one. Also, none of the tutees had a good understanding of the sequence in the line of numbers, nor in the sequence of the numbers up to 100, some even had difficulties with numbers up to 20.

4. Activities and materials: The activities during the tutoring sessions were quite varied and all were noted down on the pairs' record cards. These activities are described in the appendix.

5. Staff involvement: The staff at the experimental schools were kept well informed about the programme's progress by the student-trainers. Besides the meetings once every two weeks, the teachers involved were invited to visit the tutoring or supportive sessions.

6. Design: This research design was of a quasi-experimental multiple baseline pre-test/post test control group design, in which the effects of the intervention (peer tutoring programme) in the experimental group was compared to the normal educational measures schools take to improve the maths scores of their low-achieving pupils. The intervention lasted for almost four months, February to June (holidays excluded) and involved 16 pupils from year two (7-8 year olds) and 16 pupils from year five (10-11 year olds) attending the primary schools.

7. Data analysis:
Research question 1:
Which problems must be solved during the implementation of a peer tutoring programme and which conditions turn out to be important during the implementation of the programme?

This question was answered on the basis of written reports by the student-trainers, evaluation reports by the teachers and by the tutors and tutees.

Research question 2:
How effective is a cross-age peer tutoring programme in maths, for tutors as well as for tutees, if both are pupils at risk?

This research question was answered by means of multivariate analysis (executed with SPSS) on the post-test ability score, corrected for differ-

ences in the pre-test scores. Two types of analyses were conducted: one for the main effect, to test the differences in the achievement growth of the two different groups. The other type of analysis, repeated measures with interaction effects, was used to test the interactions between the separate test-moments of the two groups.

6. Results

Research question 1:
Which problems must be solved during the implementation stage of a peer tutoring programme and which conditions will be important for the implementation of the programme?

To answer this question, a descriptive report of our experiences with the implementation of the peer tutoring programme will be given below, in the same order as in the implementation procedure given above. A few other issues will be added to these topics, namely the 'matching of the pairs', 'motivation of the tutors and dropouts', the 'integration of the tutoring programme in the school' and 'methodological issues'.

1. Common framework: Apart from the tutoring sessions, the supportive sessions turned out to be particularly important, as they provided a setting for feedback and reflection for the group tutors as a whole. In the first weeks of the programme the student-trainers indicated that the time allotted for these sessions was too short. However, after about four to six weeks, the time allotted to the supportive sessions turned out to be sufficient, because most of the assignments were known and the tutors had got used to the approach. After the programme had run for a few months, it was possible to reduce the time allotted to supportive sessions to 15 to 20 minutes and later to as little as just five or ten minutes a week.

2. Timetabling: Unexpectedly, the time of the day the tutoring sessions took place had a more important influence on the motivation of the tutors than had been anticipated. This became especially clear at the school where the sessions took place right at the very beginning of the school day. At an early stage these tutors started complaining that they did not like to miss the beginning of the school day with their own class, where it was usual to start the day by sitting round in a circle and talking about different subjects or about their own experiences of the previous day. The tutors

were unable to attend this start to the school day on three mornings a week due to the demands of the tutoring programme, and they were not at all pleased about missing these class sessions. This timetabling at the start of the day in the first school clearly had negative effects on the tutors' motivation. Two tutors dropped out of the programme for this reason.

In one school, the supportive sessions for the tutors were not followed directly by peer tutoring sessions, but were scheduled the following day instead, again due to timetabling problems. The tutors did not like this at all. They had to leave their classes for half an hour without being allowed to work with their tutees. This also had a negative effect on their motivation for the programme. In cases when the supportive lesson was timetabled right before a tutoring session there were no such problems. From this it was clear that the tutors were only motivated to attend the supportive lessons if they were directly related to peer tutoring sessions.

3. Assessments of tutees' level: As most of the tutees made the same type of mistakes and showed a similar lack of understanding, the contents of the programme started with the same assignments for all tutees. Another reason for this choice was that it was rather difficult for the student-trainers, not being teachers themselves, to do proper assessments to ascertain the mastery level of each child and to translate this information into the most appropriate kind of assignments. Yet, after the programme had run for some weeks, it became clear that great changes in individual levels of mastery had occurred. Some of the tutees (4 or 5) made great progress in the mastery of operations in the numbers up to 10 and 20, and could probably have handled assignments at a higher level. Others needed much more practise in this area. At this point it became evident that it was very difficult for the student-trainers to adapt the contents of the programme to suit each individuals' mastery level. For this reason the tutees' demands were not always met and, unfortunately, the level of instruction was not always appropriate.

4. Activities and materials: The pairs liked most of the activities and materials that were used in the sessions. At first a few standard assignments had to be done, for instance the worksheets. These worksheets were taken from 'Remelka', a remedial scheme for maths which is used in many schools in the Netherlands. The student-trainers noticed that the tutees often completed these worksheets rather reluctantly. Even though the tutors had been instructed to ask their tutees many questions, in actual fact the tutors just instructed their tutees to fill them in and there was almost no interaction

between the two in doing so. Most pairs carried out the other activities in the sessions as intended, which included a certain amount of interaction.

5. Staff involvement: On the whole, teachers were willing to attend the meetings that were organised for exchanging information about their pupils. The teachers were also invited to attend part of the tutoring sessions, but this only happened on rare occasions. The teachers were working with their own classes at the same time as the tutoring sessions took place, and on the whole they could not disengage themselves from their own lessons. Most of them were more or less positive about the progress of the tutees, but they were not very involved and, unfortunately, they did not feel responsible for their progress at all. Lack of involvement meant that peer tutoring was not a substantial or integrated part of the schools' culture.

6. Matching the pairs: Most of the pairs remained together until the end of the programme. In some cases an interchange between the pairs took place if, after a while, it became clear that the two could not get on with one another and the tutor no longer had a stimulating influence on the tutee. It turned out that these new pairs worked together better than the old ones had done.

7. Motivation and dropouts: As mentioned above in 'timetabling', some tutors lost their motivation for the programme when the first flurry of interest had subsided. At the school with wrong time-tabling, they felt that they were missing the nice moments in their own class and they did not have sufficient incentive to continue as tutors. One of the tutors stepped out of the programme and was replaced by a new tutor. At the other school, with high proportion of ethnic minority children, some of the tutors were not motivated to continue either. Here also a tutor, of Turkish origin, stepped out of the programme and had to be replaced. It is difficult to pinpoint a single reason for this, as a number of different factors played a part. As recorded earlier, the first flurry of interest soon subsided and the tutors had to work a bit harder in order to finish their work in their own class. Not all tutors were prepared to make this investment. In cases like these the class-teacher observed that these were the pupils who were difficult to motivate in the class-situation too. Furthermore, the teacher of this particular class was hardly involved in the programme at all, and seemed to apply negative pressure to pupils leaving the classroom for tutoring sessions. He made remarks to them like 'Oh no! there they go again', or, when the tutors

showed signs of disliking what they were going to do when it was time to leave the class, the teacher would remark: 'well, you chose to do it, so it's your own fault'. These remarks demotivated the tutors even further. It was clear in this case that the necessary support for the tutors was lacking, so the student-trainers were not able to give the tutors sufficient incentives.

8. Integration in the school: It became clear that the peer tutoring programme was not really integrated into either school system and was not part of the regular programme. The student-trainers did not belong to the staff of the school and had obvious difficulties in defining their own positions in their schools. It was only towards the end of the programme that most of them had built up a certain position in the school and had apparently won some trust and made contact with the other teachers. Furthermore, the teachers were not really involved in the programme. This two-way effect clearly caused additional difficulties in the implementation of the tutoring programme as an integral part of the school curriculum, even though this was partly caused by the use of student-trainers from outside the school. It is important when implementing a tutoring programme to realise that a pull-out peer tutoring programme must really be integrated into the schools' life.

9. Methodological Issues: The sensitivity of an experimental design to a treatment effect depends on several factors that are more or less subject to casual circumstances (Lipsey, 1990). Especially in small experiments, as in the present case, the influence of these circumstances might bias the results of the experiment. Two of these factors seem to have influenced this experiment to a certain degree:

a) subject heterogeneity: individual differences between members of the relevant population may influence the final results on the dependent variable of interest. As there are only two experimental and two control schools, there is a risk of accidental variation between the tutors and tutees or between effectiveness of the schools. This makes interpretation of the results somewhat more difficult.

b) experimental error: procedural variation in the way members of the experimental groups are treated during the experiment. Here we find the influence of the individual student-trainers, though the consequences of this factor may be reduced by the presence of two student-trainers at each school. Still, this factor may have quite an influence on the final results of the programme, in relation to both of the research questions.

Research question 2:
How effective is a cross-age peer tutoring programme in maths, for tutors as well as for tutees, if both are pupils at risk?

Results for the tutees: In the analyses we find 15 tutees and 33 control pupils. One of the tutees had a missing value and was therefore not included in the analysis. Table 1 shows the growing average of the experimental group between the first and the second pre-test.

Table 1: Results of the CITO-test (maths scores) for year 2 (age 8)

	Experimental group (N=15)	Control group (N=33)
	Mean (sd)	Mean (sd)
pre-test 1	48 (10.1)	56 (11.0)
pre-test 2	52 (09.1)	62 (10.5)
post-test	70 (06.8)	70 (09.0)
Both main effects and interaction-effects are significant (Anova, p=.000)		

The difference between the experimental group (with the low achievers) and the control group was eight ability points at the first pre-test, and ten points at the second pre-test, but at the post-test differences were no longer in evidence. This means that the tutees were able to improve their ability scores after the peer tutoring programme, bringing them up to the average level of the control group, which included the low, middle and high achievers. As this difference is significant, the tutoring programme seems to be effective for the low achievers in the programme.

Results for the tutors: Two tutors dropped out of the programme, so finally 14 tutors and 41 controls were included in the analysis. Table 2 shows the results for the tutors on the 'Numbers and Operations' sub-test. Here we find the effect is not as strong as for the tutees, but shows a similar trend over the scores: the difference at pre-test 1 is eight ability points, at pre-test 2 as many as fifteen points. This difference dropped back to thirteen points after the tutoring programme. These results show that the tutors learnt from acting as tutors too, which can be measured in a test at their own level, even though they only worked at the level of the tutee.

Table 2: Results for the CITO-test 'Numbers and Operations' (maths scores) for the tutors (year 5, age 11)

	Experimental group (N=14)		Control group (N=41)	
	Mean (sd)		Mean (sd)	
pre-test 1	59	(10.2)	67	(08.8)
pre-test 2	61	(15.6)	76	(14.9)
post-test	72	(10.0)	85	(10.6)
Both main effects (p=.011) and interaction-effects (p=.019) are significant (MANOVA)				

In table 3 we see the results of the sub-test 'Measuring, Time and Money'. Here we can only observe a trend, as the effect is not significant. At pre-test 1 the difference is eleven points, at pre-test 2 this difference has increased to fourteen points, but by the time of the post test the difference has dropped to twelve points.

Table 3: Results for the CITO-test 'Measuring, Time and Money' (maths scores) for the tutors (year 5, age 11)

	Experimental group (N=14)		Control group (N=41)	
	Mean (sd)		Mean (sd)	
pre-test 1	55	(12.0)	66	(08.4)
pre-test 2	60	(12.1)	74	(11.5)
post-test	67	(13.0)	79	(12.6)
Neither main effects (p=.966) nor interaction-effects (p=.366) are significant (MANOVA)				

For these results we see no significance. The effect for 'Numbers and Operations' is much stronger than for 'Measuring, Time and Money', which may be explained by the nature of the programme content. Most of the assignments during the tutoring sessions were geared towards practising and understanding numbers and operations lower than 20 and lower than 100, and nothing was done in the area of 'measuring', 'time' or 'money'. The fact that the tutors' own classroom-work differs completely from these assignments explains the minimal effect recorded in this sub-test.

7. Conclusions and Discussion

Although the tutors', and especially the tutees', cognitive gains in maths are quite satisfying, the implementation of this educational innovation turned out to be quite a difficult job, which was only to be expected after reading the extensive literature in the implementation field. In this particular experiment it was even harder to get results, because we made use of student-trainers who were not school staff-members, nor even teachers. Apart from this extra problem, the pull-out character of the intervention may have made implementation and integration of the programme rather more difficult, as the classroom-teachers were not actively involved in the programme itself. Despite the fact that the schools in this experiment participated voluntarily and by staff decision, it was hard to obtain real involvement from the teachers and to integrate the programme into the school. This means that still more must be done to obtain the active participation of teachers in a pull-out intervention like this. With 'doing more' we might think of involving the teachers in the tutor-training, or letting the tutors or tutees talk about what they do in the programme and having the tutors and tutees demonstrate the work done during the tutoring sessions in their own classes.

The right sort of timetabling is another issue, which seems to be an important factor in keeping tutors motivated. The tutors do not want to miss essential group activities, nor can they afford to spend too much of their time on tutoring if they are to finish their own assignments. It might be a good idea for schools implementing cross-age and pull-out peer tutoring to make a parallel timetable, in which they create times at which their pupils can work independently on a set of assignments, and in which the tutors and tutees are given a reduction in the set of assignments they have to complete. In the Netherlands an increasing number of schools are working with a system which includes study hours for independent work every day, these may be suitable slots for tutoring sessions because then the pupils would not miss any group activities. In addition, the tutors and tutees should be given evaluative information about their progress in terms of achievement, which would give them a boost (Topping, 1988).

In terms of programme content, for the student trainers it turned out to be difficult to work at a level appropriate to each tutee. Continuous assessment of the tutees' level is a condition for obtaining optimal results (Slavin, 1994). Although the tutees' level was actually assessed frequently, the student-trainers did not manage to organise a differentiated set of instructions for the tutors during the supportive sessions.

The supportive lessons made an important contribution to the success of the programme, as they presented an opportunity for all relevant aspects of the programme to be discussed with the tutors and, also, an occasion to practise the assignments to be done during the tutoring sessions. It may well be that the cognitive gains of the tutors were positively influenced by these supportive lessons too.

An additional problem turned out to be the motivation of the tutors, which was partially negatively influenced by the wrong sort of timetabling. In addition to this wrong timetabling, it was difficult to retain the tutors' motivation after the novelty of the new programme had worn off. It seems that merely the intrinsic motivation of helping another child is not sufficient for working together with the same tutee for a period of several months. Perhaps certain measures should be taken to maintain motivation at an optimum level. We might think along the lines of tournaments, games or other positive kinds of competition in which all tutors are motivated to work hard with their tutees (Slavin, 1996). Apparently more incentives need to be offered to tutors than were to be found in this study.

Still the results of the study are promising, because the achievements of both tutors and tutees improved significantly. An added effect of the programme may be that pupils from different minority groups have learned how to work together and developed their own relationships. Though this special aspect was not studied separately in this research, peer tutoring may well create the opportunity to enhance growing social cohesion between pupils from different ethnic minorities within the same school, thus stimulating intercultural communication in a positive way.

References

van den Berg, R./Sleegers, P./Bakx, E./van der Eerden, E. (1994). 'Het innovatief vermogen van scholen in het voortgezet onderwijs: een kwalitatief vooronderzoek.' *Pedagogische Studiën*, 71(4), 402-419.

Cohen, P. A./Kulik, J. A./Kulik, C. C. (1982). 'Educational Outcomes of Tutoring: A Meta-Analysis of Findings.' *American Educational Research Journal*, 19(2), 237-248.

Cohen, E. G. (1992). *Restructuring the Classroom. Conditions for Productive Small Groups.* Paper presented at the IASCE-conference, Utrecht.

Cook, S. B./Scruggs, T. E./Mastropieri, M. A./Casto, G. C. (1985/1986). *Handicapped Students as Tutors.* Utah: Utah State University.

Damon, W./Phelps, E. (1989). 'Critical Distinctions among three Approaches to Peer Education.' *Journal of Educational Research*, 13(1), 9-19.

Foster, E. S. (1992). *Tutoring: Learning by Helping; a Student Handbook for Training Peer and Cross-age Tutors*. Minneapolis: Educational Media Corporation.

Fuchs, D./Fuchs, L. S./Mathes, P. G./Simmons, D. C. (1997). 'Peer-Assisted Learning Strategies: Making Classrooms More Responsive to Diversity.' *American Educational Research Journal* 34(1), 174-206.

Fullan, M./Hargreaves, A. (1992). *What's worth Fighting for in your School? Working together for Improvement*. Buckingham: Open University Press.

Greenwood, C. R./Delquadri, J. C./Hall, R. V. (1989). 'Longitudinal Effects of Class-wide Peer Tutoring.' *Journal of Educational Psychology*, 81, 371-383.

Jenkins, J. R./Jenkins, L. M. (1987). 'Making Peer Tutoring Work.' *Educational Leadership*, 44(6), 64-68.

Lipsey (1990). *Design Sensitivity*. Newbury Park, London, New Delhi: Sage.

Mathes, P. G./Fuchs, L. S. (1991). *The Efficacy of Peer Tutoring in Reading for Students with Disabilities: A Best-Evidence Synthesis*. Nashville, Vanderbilt University.

Myrick, R. D./Bowman, R. P. (1991). *Children Helping Children: Teaching Students to Become Friendly Helpers*. Minneapolis: Educational Media Corporation.

Palincsar, A. S./Brown, A. L. (1984). 'Reciprocal Teaching of Comprehension Monitoring Activities.' *Cognition and Instruction*, 2, 117-175.

Slavin, R. E. (1993). *Co-operative Learning and Achievement: An Empirically-based Theory*. AERA-Conference, Atlanta.

Slavin, R. E. (1994). *Preventing early School Failure: Research, Policy, and Practice*. Massachusetts: Allyn and Bacon.

Slavin, R. E. (1996). *Education for All: Contexts of Learning*. Lisse: Swets & Zeitlinger.

Slavin, R. E./Karweit, N. L./Madden, N. A. (1989). *Effective Programs for Students at Risk*. Boston, London, Sydney, Toronto: Allyn and Bacon.

Topping, K. (1988). *The Peer Tutoring Handbook: Promoting Co-operative Learning*. London, Sydney: Croom Helm; Cambridge, Massachusetts: Brookline Books.

Vosse, A. J. M. (1994). *Kinderen begeleiden kinderen bij achterstanden: een tutorbegeleidingsprogramma voor kinderen in het basis- en speciaal onderwijs*. Groningen: Wolters-Noordhoff.

Vosse, A. J. M. (2000). Tutorleren in perspectief. In: Jos van der Linden & Erik Roelofs, (red.), *Leren in dialoog*. Groningen: Wolters-Noordhoff.

Vosse, A. J. M./Roede, E. (1999). *Peer tutoring and self-efficacy in relation to mathematics performance*. AERA-conference, Montreal.

262

Appendix

I Training of the Tutors

Lesson 1: introduction to peer tutoring
In this whole-class lesson the pupils of class five were informed about the contents and the objectives of the peer tutoring programme by way of a video-tape and by being given verbal information. They were presented with the advantages and disadvantages of the tutor-role. At the end of this lesson the pupils completed a questionnaire in which they could give information about their attitude towards becoming a tutor and in which they had to give a written explanation as to why they did or did not want to be a tutor. After this lesson the tutor selection took place. The fifth year teacher and the student-trainer selected the tutors who would be involved in the study.

Lesson 2: social skills
This and the following training-sessions took place with the selected group of eight tutors at the experimental school. In this training session the tutors learnt how to get acquainted with younger pupils and how they could show interest in these pupils by having the right posture and by asking interested questions.

Lesson 3: attitude and didactic skills
In this lesson the tutors learnt that a tutor is allowed to make mistakes, just like the tutee. A tutor is not supposed to know everything perfectly when he works with his tutee, because the tutor is a learner as well. In addition to this the tutors learnt how to give compliments to their tutees, and that a positive attitude towards their tutees is very important.

This was elucidated on and practised to show that compliments can be given verbally as well as non-verbally.

Lesson 4: didactic skills
In lesson four the tutors learnt how to react to their tutee when he or she makes mistakes or gives the wrong answer; by not giving a negative but a neutral response so that the tutee is stimulated to think about the right answer. Asking the right questions to make the tutee think is an important skill for the tutor.

Lesson 5: procedural skills
Central to this lesson was teaching the tutors how to start and finish a lesson in a nice way. The tutors were made aware of the necessity of providing a nice, friendly start to the tutoring session, because this encourages the tutee to do his best. In the second part of this training lesson several agreements were made about the organisational part of the tutoring sessions.

Lesson 6: procedural skills, acquaintance with the tutees
The last initial training session was used to teach the tutors how to work with the record card, which would be used during the tutoring sessions. In the second part of this lesson the tutors were prepared to get acquainted with their tutees in a friendly way. The actual meeting took place and the pairs got to know each other.

II Activities and Materials used during the Peer Tutoring Program

The different activities were not all used as part of the daily programme at the same time, they were introduced into the programme successively leaving some sessions in between. Most of the time three to four activities were part of the daily programme, two of those main activities had to be done at the beginning of the session and the other one or two activities had to be done at the end. The main activities changed during the programme, like the number of the day, the chain of beads, number lines, worksheets and drill sheets. In each period of 4 to 5 weeks, dependent on the tutee's progress, a new main activity replaced the one before.

1. *Chain of beads with 10 red and 10 white beads successively*
   Each pair had a chain with 20 beads (at the start of the programme) and of 100 beads (later in the programme). Besides memorising the images of the quantities on the chain, the tutees also worked with them by threading the numbers, by counting in twos and threes and so on and by doing little sums on the chain.

2. *The number of the day*
   At primary school, a new number, ten or below, was placed in a central position every day. The tutees counted and drew the quantities, put them into a context, divided the quantities into as many different groups as possible and made sums with them.

3. *Number images (dice, chains of beads)*
   The tutees engraved on their memories the images of the numbers from one to ten by means of:
   a) throwing the dice and counting the numbers
   b) working with the chain of beads by putting on the quantities and counting the numbers. The objective was to memorise the number images, so that the tutees would stop counting quantities all the time.

4. *Chain of beads with 10 red and 10 white beads successively*
   Each pair had at its disposal a chain of beads from 1 to 20 (at the start of the programme) and to 100 (later in the programme). Besides memorising the images of the quantities on the chain, the tutees also worked on them by putting the numbers on, by counting in twos, threes and so on and by doing little sums on the chain.

264

5. *Number lines*

The number lines are introduced simultaneously with the chain of beads and are also used as the next step after them, in order to bring the concrete quantities on a chain to a higher level of represented-abstraction in a line. Activities are: jumping an equal number of beads along the line, counting up and down the numbers somewhere in the middle of the line and making simple sums by drawing bends in the line.

6. *Practise papers*

Each tutoring session involved the production of at least one worksheet with drawn sums, and some practising with representations of sums. This was an ongoing obligatory part of the sessions. Using worksheets the previously learnt skills were put into practise.

7. *Maths games*

Games belonged to the optional part of the sessions and therefore were done near the end of the session. The tutors had at their disposal several nice maths games with dices, pawns and/or number lines. In most cases these had to be counted up and down and the tutor played 'against' the tutee. By the end, the two of them would have produced a winner.

8. *Drill cards*

These cards contained little sums which had to be practised. They were always closely related to the work that was done in the simultaneous session. It was meant to be another alternative for practising the concept of quantities in order to memorise them.

9. *Number puzzles*

The tutors distributed small cards with a written story on them in which a tidy little sum was hidden. The tutee had to find the sum and try to solve it with the help of the tutor.

10. *Question to the tutee: what did you like most today?*

Each tutoring session ended up with the question to the tutee: 'what did you like most today?' Not only the games or number puzzles were chosen for being the most liked by the tutees, drill cards and practise worksheets were chosen as well.

III Keeping records

All of the student-trainers kept records of the course of implementation and the tutoring-programme by answering questions mentioned below after each session (part 1), or once a week after the next tutoring session following a supportive lesson (part 2) or at the end of the week (part 3). All pairs were described too. The tutors also kept records of the tutoring sessions by answering a set of questions at the end of the week (part 4).

Part 1: during the course of the tutoring session

1. How was the atmosphere during this session?
2. Did you like the session yourself? Do you think that the children liked it?
3. How was the interaction between the pairs?

Part 2: the tutoring session after the supportive lesson

4. About the skills that the tutors learnt during the supportive lesson and during the initial training: do the tutors make use of these skills? Which skills are noticeably good? Which are not?
5. To which skills should you pay more attention in the next supportive session?

Part 3: week-report

6. What were the first impressions of the tutors after the sessions?
7. What would you want to change or improve in the tutoring sessions next week?
8. Did you have problems in keeping control over the group? Were the pupils fidgety or difficult?
9. Did the tutors put enough questions to their tutees?
10. How was the explanation that the tutors gave? And how was help being offered to the tutees?
11. Are the contents of the assignments still appropriate for the tutees' level? In other words: were the assignments too difficult or too easy?
12. Which assignments gave some trouble? Why?
13. Do you think the tutees still like the sessions?
14. What else is it important to say?

Description of the pairs: Describe the way things went for each separate pair.

Part 4: week-report of the tutors

1. How were the tutoring sessions with your tutee: what did your tutee perform at best? And what did he or she not perform well at?
2. How do you think your tutee liked the sessions?
3. Could you ask many questions when you were working? Explain why or why not.
4. What would you like to improve next week?
5. What did you learn yourself during this week by working with your tutee?
6. Is there anything else that you want to say? Are there any other important things to say?

Silvia Hedenigg

Reformatory Education and Social Integration of Juvenile Delinquents

A Cultural Comparison from an Historical Perspective

1. Introduction

The formation and extension of the European Union can be equalised with processes of cohesion, mutual integration and cooperation. Political agreement and adaptation of consensually worked out decisions in the fields of economy, trade, military defence and social as well as cultural exchange represent the core unit of this most essential treaty among the different nation states of Europe. In contrast to the United States they have to include these agreements into their own highly distinguished state policy on the one hand. On the other hand by acceptance of the commonly decided basics of the European Union the single nation states have to adjust some of their unique cultural characteristics to the regulations of the Union. Processes of including common regulations accompany processes of excluding traditional customs. Countries applying for integration in the European Union recognise the ambivalence of the benefits and the necessity for giving up parts of their own cultural identity. These conflicts go often along with religious traditions and differing perceptions of moral standards as the acknowledgement of the human rights. Especially countries recently applying for the joining the EU are aware of the price membership in the EU will be for them. Some of them joining the EU and accepting the regulation of the Union will encounter difficulties similar to countries facing modernisation under pressure of the United States or European nations – as did Japan.

By the analysis of modernisation processes in Japan structural elements can be identified without touching any party presently involved in the integration into the European Union. Japan is one of the few industrialised countries in the world which was forced into modernisation without being

colonised. Though under irresistible pressure by foreign forces Japan managed to modernise its political, economical, juridical and educational systems autonomously. In a highly selective way this country adopted foreign achievements and integrated them well into its own traditions. Nevertheless the constant pressure of the foreign powers installed a paradoxical situation into the modernising state which penetrated any subsystem involved: thereby a movement of oscillation can be made out which is supposed to be characteristic for ongoing processes of integration in the European Union as well.

1.1 Social Integration

Social conflicts related to ethnic immigrant minorities are often discussed in contexts limited to the host countries in which problems occur. Solution proposals are reduced to social, economical, juridical and educational conditions and perspectives. The complexity and urgency of the problems unquestionably require concrete action and sometimes intervention. However, a simultaneous theoretical understanding of structural processes common to this kind of social conflicts becomes increasingly necessary. This article attempts to contribute to structural research by its historical perspective. It specifically focuses on modernisation processes in the context of 'Westernisation'.

The geographical focus on Japan is to be understood as *an example* for modernisation processes. Thereby the specific topic of reformatory education and social integration represents a suitable model for their description and analysis.

In an introduction to the first systematic emergence of social reintegration in Japan, traces of modernisation processes can be discerned. This is most remarkable as Japan was under strict seclusion from the West due to a policy which lasted for 250 years. Despite the various steps of internal modernisation processes there exists no concrete, continuous connection with the later reception from the West and adaptation to it. Some of the 'reasons' for these massive breaks and disconnections are related to the paradoxical trap in which Japan was caught by the 'unequal treaties' with Western nations: Japan was forced to open her harbours under pressure of the foreign states. Caught in the trap of Westernisation, the country managed to adapt to Western standards in an extraordinarily fast way. Nevertheless, it paid a very high price for its success in reception and adaptation.

268

The emergence of the *nihonjin ron* – the theory of the uniqueness of the Japanese people – functions as a compensation mechanism and a preparation for and expression of nationalism.

This paper suggests that contemporary modernisation processes create similar paradoxical traps. Consequences of such a situation might consist in moves towards state or cultural nationalism, religious fundamentalism and maybe even attempts at solutions involving armed conflict.

Awareness and intensified consciousness concerning problems related to all forms of economic, cultural and scientific imperialism are indispensable in a world of constantly increasing tendencies towards globalization and internationalisation.

1.2 The Analytical Conception of Bio Power

Reformatory education and efforts towards social integration are tightly linked to general processes of modernisation. One of the major features in modernisation processes consists in the increase of public intervention in various parts of the social sphere. A basic motivation for public intervention is represented by the shift of interest in the maintenance and fostering of life. Michel Foucault (1990, p. 140) describes this tendency in his analytical concept of 'bio power'. According to Foucault (1990, p. 136 f.), a significant transformation in patterns of exercising power has taken place in the Western occidental tradition. The sovereign once demonstrated his power over life 'only through the death he was capable of requiring' (ibid., p. 136). Therefore, 'the right which was formulated as the "power of life and death" was in reality the right to *take* life or *let* live' (ibid.). In contrast to this overall 'deduction' (ibid.), bio power is the power to *foster* life (ibid., p. 138).

The conception of bio power is to be understood as a complex analytical model consisting of two polarities: concern with the human species and regulative controls over the vitality of life constitute one of the two polarities (cf. Dreyfus/Rabinow 1982, p. 134 f.). The other one is defined by its interest in the body as an object to be manipulated. This second pole of the bio power describes the 'disciplinary power'. It aims to 'produce a human being who could be treated as a "docile body"' (ibid.). Simultaneously to its docility, the body produced has to function as a productive body.

269

2. The Emergence of Bio Power in Tokugawa Japan

2.1 The Socio-Economic Situation of the Tokugawa-Period

In Japan, first endeavours towards the fostering of life and promotion of disciplined man power can be traced back to the Tokugawa regime (1603–1868). It followed the preceding *sengoku* period which means 'the Age of the Country at War' (1467–1590). This time was characterised by unrest and warfare. The following 250 years of strict feudal rule by the Tokugawa shogunate on the one hand unify peace and economic development.[1] On the other hand, Tokugawa Japan is shaken by natural disasters accompanied by pauperisation and peasant uprisings.[2] Responses to uprisings, criminality and vagrancy from the 'legal, governmental' level included severe forms of punishment.

The farming population was most hit by natural disasters as well as by repressive measures of landowners. It responded to the disasters with an increase in abortion practices and post-natal birth control: abortion and infanticide (*mabiki*) have to be understood in the cultural context of folk belief of the Tokugawa peasant population, combining Buddhist reincarnation and animistic practices. This belief said, that the soul of the child belonged to the world of the gods until its seventh year. This idea is expressed by the proverb 'until seven years they belong to the gods' (*nansai made wa kami no uchi*). The soul of children was considered pure and unstained by the impurity of the world, it could be given back to the world of the gods. Due to its pureness, the children's soul could be given rebirth at any time. It did not have to enter the circle of reincarnation – as would have been necessary for the soul of an adult person.[3]

---

1 Stabilisation of the previously war-torn country took place and agriculture was enhanced. Simultaneously, an urban society emerged in Edo. It was accompanied by flourishing trade and culture typical for the Tokugawa-period which is also known as the Edo-period.

2 Especially the later half of the Tokugawa-period is shaken by natural disasters such as earthquakes, floods, droughts and bad harvests. A rigorous exhaustion policy by landlords who were under pressure of shogunal financial burdens on the one hand and increasingly indebted to farmers and merchants on the other, lead to riots and uprisings by peasants and small farmers.

3 The second trace of pre- and post-natal birth control can be located in well-off merchant families of mainly urban areas. This type of family was interested in limiting the number of children in order to increase their 'standard of living' or to maximise male descendants (cf. Hanley/Yamamura 1977).

Both responses – that of severe punishment and that of birth control by abortion and infanticide – were traditional forms of solving crisis and not exclusively used in the Tokugawa society. However, by the second half of the Tokugawa regime, a shift towards the fostering of life can be discerned.

2.2 Disciplinary Power

On the official 'legal' level the interest in life is represented by a relaxation of the severest forms of torture, corporal and capital punishment. A customary legal code – the *osadame gaki* – was established.[4] At the end of the 18th century the first 'work houses' (*ninsoku yoseba*) emerged. They quickly started to spread throughout the country. These work houses were the first attempts at social reintegration in Japanese history. They developed their complex strategies without any influence from the West. Therefore they can be considered an indicator for independent modernisation processes in feudal 'pre-modern' Japan: Their reintegrative methodology functions along the following five principles: a) labour and apprenticeship, b) moral education, c) developmental stages of reformation, d) social learning outside the institution, e) after care program.[5]

---

4   The Great Laws of the Tokugawa Government. At that time, penal measures started to transform gradually from mainly capital and corporal punishment to corrective and reintegrative forms of punishment.

5   Based on corrective and reintegrative approaches, the work houses intentionally concentrate on young offenders. (At the end of the Edo-period 45% of all inmates were younger than 20 years old while 70% were younger than 25 years old [Bindzus 1977, p. 9.]) The Confucian perception of childhood typical for the Tokugawa era postulates the 'original good' inherent in the child. The most popular folk religion of that time, the *shingaku* movement, refers to this Confucian idea of the original good in men and transforms it into its central doctrine. One of the most characteristic features of reformative and reintegrative institutions in general is the *moral indoctrination* of inmates. Even the earliest work houses of the Tokugawa period are characterised by intensive moral teachings by the most popular teachers of the *shingaku* movement. Beside this remarkable feature the work houses are characterised by offering *apprenticeships* in a variety of professions. (These are for example: paper and briquette production, metal work, carpentry, farming and oil pressing for lamp oil. However, oil pressing remained as the most strengthened branch of production – as it is also the most exhaustive one. Female inmates were engaged in laundry, weaving and tailoring.) For the fostering of a productive and morally cor-

In terms of Foucault's 'bio power', the work house institutions represent one of the conceptual polarities described. Disciplinary power is concerned with the individual in terms of his physical and social resources. By elaborate processes of correction and reformation it transforms the offender into a docile body – which is simultaneously a productive body.

2.3 The Interest in the Reproduction of Life: The Bio Power

In accordance with the needs for docile and productive man power, the bio power concept depicts the interest in the fostering of the vitality of life as such. Therefore a vivid discursive campaign against the traditional forms of birth control (abortion and infanticide) was launched. Abortion and infanticide were increasingly criticised by juridical and religious-moralistic

---

rected participation in social processes the work house developed further strategies: Firstly, *release is depending on reformation* of the individual inmate. Generally confinement lasted for three years on the condition of correction and reformation. In correlation to the doctrine of the *shinagku* movement (the teaching of the heart), reformation, however, was not to be a superficial one in terms of behaviour – it had to be an entire qualitative transformation of the soul. Further the reformation process was designed as a developmental conception in various steps. Thereby it simultaneously instrumentalised and transformed the central cultural and social characteristics of the feudal Tokugawa society. It was structured along hierarchical conceptions – but only in order to transgress them and to overcome them. The progress in gradually transgressing the various steps of this hierarchy is reflected by *uniforms* that are different in colour and design. By the utilisation of the medium of the sign the reformative process is constantly visible and posed on display to other inmates – but what is even more important, it is a constant reminder to the offender himself. The culmination of the elaborate strategy of developmental reformation on the behavioural and professional level as well as on the internal, moral level is represented by *social learning and training* for resocialisation before release. During this stage, the inmate is entrusted with tasks requiring trust and responsibility. For instance, he is involved in selling products produced in the institution as well as entrusted with purchases outside the work house. At the same time he becomes part of the surveillance and monitoring system. His functions include controlling and instructive tasks within the cells and in the production area. The double bind situation is further fostered by material and physical privileges. This first reformative conception in early Japanese history, even provides official financial and material support after release. The *after care program* offers work, provides tools and even rents houses for the individual offender.

272

argumentation. On a 'socio-political' level opposition is structured along social control.[6]

In terms of childhood perception, discourse about the fostering of life leads to a new understanding of the child.[7] As said previously, in the former synchretistic folk belief the child belonged partly to the world of the gods. It could immediately be given rebirth without entering the circle of reincarnation. This means that the soul of the child was perceived independent and sovereign to a very high degree. With the rationalistic argumentation of the 'bio power' discourse, however, it is reduced to its mere physical and material existence. It appears as weak, needing protection and depending on its earthly, singular conditions of existence. The soul of the child is no longer sovereign due to its freedom of any physical condition. It needs protection. Under the central Tokugawa shogunal government this protection is generally prescribed by law.

The overview of the emergence of an intensified interest in the maintenance and fostering of life enables us to discern the formation of a discourse and of institutional practices which can be analysed along the analytical concept of bio power. Disciplinary power as well as bio power emerge and develop throughout the Tokugawa period of the so called 'premodern' feudal Japan. If one takes these two distinct power types as indicators for early modernisation processes, major transformations took place during this period of Japanese history.

---

6   Prohibition of abortion and infanticide are based on *moralistic argumentation* referring to the notion of 'humanity' (*ningensei*). In order to guarantee observance of the various regulations against these practices an amazing network of *social controls* is inaugurated. A well defined program for mutual control prescribes the number of persons who have to be present in case of child birth. It further requires official records of the birth, its progress and possible complications. The most remarkable feature in the surveillance system, however, is the threat of penalty in case of ignorance of the surveillance and control functions by the community members. With this reflexive system of mutual control the 'public' is not simply taking steps of intervention in the sex and reproduction activities of individuals, instead, the public defines a most effective form of social control: the mechanism of controlling in order to become controllable. In order to strengthen regulations and, in particular, fief laws the moral level of discourse is stressed. One province argues by comparing cosmic mutual relations and interdependence of heaven and earth to family relations (cf. Formanek 1986). By this analogy, the maintenance of the life of children turns into a *religious duty*.

7   Which does not mean that the former automatically perishes. It simply shows that a complete new form of perception appears at a certain point of discourse formation.

273

3. The Paradoxical Trap of Westernisation in the Meiji-Period

Despite the various steps towards corrective punishment instead of capital punishment, legal and social efforts of the Meiji government (1868-1912) cannot be regarded as a continuous development from the 'pre-modern' forms of social reintegration. On the contrary, they are the product of the reception and adaptation of modern European juridical systems. However, the motivation for the reception of modern penal and civil codes was a highly ambivalent one as it correlates to the paradoxical situation in which Japan was caught by Westernisation.

3.1 The Implication of the 'Unequal Treaties' with Western Powers

The seclusion policy inaugurated by the Tokugawa government was brought to an end in the middle of the nineteenth century. Japan had to open its harbours under pressure of American commercial interests in the region. After the establishment of consular representation and commercial relations with Japan, the USA authored and instituted 'The Treaty of Amity and Commerce Between the United States and Japan'.[8] Besides tariff autonomy, extraterritorial jurisdiction should protect foreign interests. The claim – first by America and later on by European nations – for extraterritorial jurisdiction was based on the 'barbarian system of law and punishment'. Foreign reluctance to acknowledge of the customary legal system was due basically to the 'inhuman' forms of criminal punishment. Torture and corporal and capital punishments were gradually limited, but still represented the major forms of punishment. Japan, however, perceived the 'unequal treaties' as deeply humiliating (cf. Kawashima, cit. in Rahn 1978, p. 17). She eagerly sought the revision of the original treaties.

Foreign demands for the inauguration of a modern 'humane' law system implied fundamental challenges to Japanese society.[9] Consequently the country found itself caught in a paradoxical trap: In order to regain and maintain inner and outer political independence and autonomy, Japan was

---

8   The treaty was signed in 1858.

9   This was even of greater concern in terms of demands for the establishment of a modern civil code than for the criminal code. The civil code would transform the complete social structure. In this sense, it was perceived as a danger to society as a whole.

forced to accept the demands imposed upon her by just those nations from which she sought to gain independence.

3.2 The Paradox of Westernisation

According to the logical structure of paradoxes, a 'de-paradoxation' can be gained only by the collapse of the system or a lifelong oscillation process (cf. Gumbrecht, cit. in Lenzen 1996, p. 262). The collapse of the system, if taken to its final consequences, would have meant colonisation by Western nations (cf. Nishihara 1973, p. 171). Japan wanted to avoid this option by all means. Therefore the country was exposed to 'lifelong' oscillation between her own interests and demands from the West. The emergence of the theory of the uniqueness of the Japanese people (*nihonjin ron*) expresses this ambivalence.

Due to the inner structure of the paradox, Japan had no other chance than to adjust to foreign demands if she wanted to retain sovereignty. Therefore an intensive inquiry into European systems and theories of law began.[10] During the first years of the Meiji period, it was the French civil and criminal code that functioned as a model for the establishment of a modern legal system. However, later on the German juridical system became dominant in Japanese law reception. The withdrawal from the French model already reflects the ambivalence inherent to the reception: a draft of the penal code was defined by a French lawyer, G. Boissonade. This was rejected 'because it did not take Japanese characteristics sufficiently into consideration' (Nishihara 1973, p. 171). The shift in interest towards Prussia can be observed in many disciplines of reception.

Further legal reforms were influenced strongly by Imperial Germany. The German Japanologist Martin states: 'The Japanese regarded the young aspiring Imperial German Reich as the model of an orderly *nation state* with a *patriotic* folk loyal to its monarch' (Martin 1990, p. 79; italics mine, S.H.).

This rough sketch of the oscillation process shall be sufficient as an explanation. It clearly depicts the oscillation from the first forced impetus towards modernisation imposed by the treaties and the immediate turn-

---

10 The German jurist and japanologist G. Rahn (1978, p. 17) dryly states 'that the actual motives decisive for the reception of Western juridical systems were not to be sought in the Japanese conviction that the European system of law were superior'. They are to a far higher degree related to the 'unequal treaties' and their implications.

around. This movement led Japan to more closely approximate its tradi-
tional origins – which she hoped to find in the model of the Prussian nation
state and its patriotic population. In this figure it must not be overseen that
Japan is not simply turning back to the traditional. That would not be pos-
sible, anyway. Due to the structures of the paradox imposed by the treaties,
Japan has to *manage approximation to the own through the foreign*!

4. The Inauguration of a Modern Criminal Law[11]

This overview so far might lead to the impression of full support for the
repressive hypothesis based on the treaties with the West. On a *structural*
level, Japan indeed is caught in the net of paradoxes imposed by the trea-
ties. The *internal* aspects of reformation and social reintegration in sub-
stance, however, do accord well with Japanese interests. They find a wide
range of vivid supporters on the governmental level as well as on the indi-
vidual 'idealistic' level. This is due to the fact that they follow the logic of
the maintenance of life and the utilisation of disciplined man power.

---

11 It has already become obvious that traditional Japanese customary law and its ex-
   tensive usage of torture were of central importance in the earliest history of the
   confrontation with Western nations. Thus, the degree of decrease in torture practice
   can be regarded as an indicator for reforms in penal law and procedures. Despite the
   collapse of the Tokugawa feudal regime, its customary law practice defined by the
   osadame gaki of 1740 remained effective until 1870 when a law reform was firstly
   inaugurated. The *shinritsu kôryô* (the New Penal Code) and the *kaiteiritsu* (the Re-
   vised Penal Code) of 1873 were expressions of the new government and its earliest
   orientations for a restoration of the imperial rule. Nevertheless, it was not until 1879
   that legalised torture was abolished. Preparation to the statutory abolishment of
   torture in 1879, however, was pushed ahead by a French advisor to the establish-
   ment of the criminal and civil code, G. Boissonade. Due to his engagement in the
   abolition of torture, Article 316 of the *kaitei ritsurei* was revised in 1876. Article
   316 substitutes guilt by confession with guilt by evidence (cf. Abe 1956, p. 316),
   which made torture as a means for confession (as evidence for guilt) ultimately ob-
   solet. After the promulgation of the Imperial Constitution of Japan in 1889, the
   Code for Criminal Procedure was enacted and followed by the Penal Code of 1907.
   In correlation to the gradual decrease of torture practice, penal measures trans-
   formed into prison sentences combined with hard labour (cf. Bindzus/Ishii 1977,
   p. 12). Though developments concerning the establishment of modern penal proce-
   dures cannot be referred to in detail, their interrelation to the political situation im-
   plemented by the 'unequal treaties' becomes obvious.

As the first part of the presentation depicted, maintenance and utilisation of life and productive man power were not completely new to Japan. Yet it is reformatory education for juvenile delinquents which reflects the complexity of the modernisation process in the field of modern penal, social and educative measures and intervention.

4.1 Reception and Establishment of Reformatory Education for Juvenile Delinquents

One essential feature of modernisation processes is represented by the interest in life and disciplined human social potential. In this sense reformatory education most fully unifies the two polarities of bio power.

In the first instance, this hypothesis is supported by the fact that reformatory institutions concentrate on the value of the potentialities of life. This is regarded to be most stratified in children and youth. Furthermore, based on modern child perception the potentials of the child are regarded as most pliable – they are capable of being corrected, reformed, and re-educated.

Foucault (1977, p.293) concentrated rather on the polarity of the disciplinary power. He refers to the outstanding position of reformatory institutions for juvenile delinquents when he states:

Were I to fix the date of completion of the carceral system ... [the date] I would choose would be 22 January 1840, the date of the official opening of Mettray ... Why Mettray? Because it is the disciplinary form at its most extreme, the model in which are concentrated all the coercive technologies of behaviour.

Despite the fact that the reformatory of Mettray in France actually was as one of the earliest institutions of its kind and therefore was copied by many others, it was by no means 'unique' or singular in its existence. However, Foucault is right, when he mentions its outstanding position in the middle of the 19th century and its social intervention mechanisms. This is due to the fact that Mettray *combines* what Foucault calls 'coercive technologies of behaviour'.

Therefore, it comes as no surprise that Japan looks for Mettray in her plans to establish a modern penal system. However, it is not only Mettray which is intensively studied by Japanese religious and 'philanthropic' representatives. It is even criticised for its 'militaristic' structure and system.

The Philanthropic Society and the 'Red Hill Farming School', the Children's Friends Society and its 'Brenton Home' in England as well as the 'Rauhes Haus' in Germany are taken into equal consideration as possible models for Japan.

Japanese prison reformers were well acquainted with the practice of separation in the earliest penal tradition of the Tuchthuis in Amsterdam. Equally they were concerned with the most updated reformatory practices in the USA as well as in Europe. One of the central figures in prison reform as well as in the establishment of reformatory education was Tomeoka Kôsuke. In 1895, during a research trip in the USA, he writes in a letter to Johann Wichern, the founder of the Rauhes Haus in Germany:

I am very desirous to visit Europe also, to study the prisons of Great Britain and of the continent. (...) In the meanwhile, I am collecting as full as possible, the literature of the subject, to take back with me to Japan; – where I propose to devote my life to this great cause of Prison Reform, and hope to serve my country by calling attention to *the latest and best results of Western experience* on the subject (Tomeoka 1895, cf. Archiv des Rauhen Hauses Hamburg).

The prison system as well as reformatory education were modelled along the lines of the most updated institutions, reformatory practices and methodologies in the West. Tomeoka, for example, is the founder of the *Family Schools (katei gakkô)*. They were based on the most effective models of Western reformatory education. After the *Sugamo Family School* in Tokyo was founded, he gradually differentiated his reformatory experiment: based on cottage-like family structures, a farming school was founded in the most northern island of Japan, in Hokkaidô (*Hokkaidô Katei Gakkô*). Besides family structure and agriculture it provided compulsory school education and Christian education. Furthermore, a similar institution for girls was established representing the first of its kind in Japan. A continuous and rapid classification, differentiation and individualisation inaugurated by reforms in the penal system additionally lead to the foundation of a normal school for educators in reformatory institutions.

Formally, the Japanese development of reformatory education and social integration reflects a symbiosis of the most effective methodologies and institutional practices in the West. However, the oscillation movements described above can also be discerned within the further developments of the reformatory system. Ambivalence is reflected in the concern on the religious involvement of Christianity, the idea of the Western type

278

of family and different types of emotional family bounds as well as insecurity concerning the 'imported work ethic'. Finally these moves lead to the search for similar or different ideals inherent to the own culture.

5. Conclusion

To take Japan as an example for modernisation processes and *the overall ambivalence* inherent in them might appear cynical. There is hardly any other country which is better known for its successful adaptation to the West and its 'modernity'. That is unquestionably true. Yet it is maybe for that reason that Japan *is* most suitable in exemplifying the vulnerability which the confrontation with the West imposed on her more than 100 years ago. Long ago we started to be engaged in a re-reception process from Japan. Still the 'theory of the uniqueness of the Japanese people' functions as a stabilising mechanism in the movement of oscillation. The atmosphere is not one of complaint, maybe there are some slight regrets.

Nevertheless, the example of Japan provides us with the possibility of insight into the cultural complexity modernisation processes may represent – even in our contemporary highly globalised world.

References

Abe, H. (1956). 'Self-Incrimination – Japan and the United States.' *Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology and Police Science*, 5, 613-631.

Bindzus, D./Ishii, A. (1977). *Strafvollzug in Japan*. Köln, Berlin, Bonn, München: Heymann.

Dreyfus, H. L./Rabinow, P. (1982). *Michel Foucault. Beyond Structuralism and Hermeneutics*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Formanek, S. (1986). *Fortpflanzungskontrolle im vormodernen Japan*. (Diplomarbeit; unpubl.) Wien.

Foucault, M. (1977). *Discipline and Punishment*. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books.

Foucault, M. (1990). *History of Sexuality. Volume I. An Introduction*. New York: Vintage Books.

Hanley, S. B./Yamamura, K. (1977). *Economic and Demographic Change in Preindustrial Japan. 1600-1868*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Lenzen, D. (1996). Zwischen Stabilisierung und Differenzierung: Paradoxien im Erzie-hungssystem. In Luhmann, N./Schorr, K.-H. (eds.), *Zwischen System und Umwelt* (pp. 256-278). Frankfurt/M.: Suhrkamp.

Martin, B. (1990). 'The German Role in the Modernization of Japan.' *Oriens Extremus*, 1 (33), 77-88.

Nishihara, H. (1974). Der Einfluß des deutschen Strafrechts auf die Strafrechtsreform in Japan. Referate und Diskussionen eines Symposiums der Alexander von Humboldt-Stiftung, Bonn-Bad Godesberg, veranstaltet vom 7. bis 12. Oktober 1973 in Lud-wigsburg. In Madlener, K./Papenfuss, D./Schöne, W. (eds.), *Strafrecht und Straf-rechtsreform* (pp. 171-177). Köln, Berlin, Bonn, München: Carl Heymanns Verlags KG.

Ôkubo, Y. (1977). *Nihon kinai-hô no chichi. Boissonade.* Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten.

Ôkubo, Y. (1981). 'Gustave Boissonade, père français du droit japonais moderne (1825-1910).' *Revue historique de droit français et étranger*, 1 (59), 29-54.

Rahn, G. (1990). *Rechtsdenken und Rechtsauffassung in Japan.* München: Beck.

Tajima, I. (1976). ' "Kindai" izen no nihonjin no kodomo-kan.' Nana-sai made wa kami no uchi. *Minkan kyôiku shiryô kenkyû*, 13, 2-13.

Cora-Yfke Sikkema

Changes in Characteristics of the Dutch Student Population between 1982 and 1995

1. Introduction

In the Netherlands the number of students participating in higher education has increased enormously over the last two decades. Very few women followed courses of higher education twenty years ago, whereas nowadays male and female students are represented in equal numbers. However, unlike gender, it is not as easy to tell from simple observation how the social background of these students might have changed. The question addressed in this paper is: to what extent has the elite character of higher education in the Netherlands changed? Research has shown that students' socio-economic backgrounds affect their educational aspirations, this being particularly true of specific disciplines like medicine. Students who study medicine come from families that score significantly higher on the socio-economic ladder than students reading other subjects.

These two issues, the massive increase in student numbers and the influence of students' socio-economic backgrounds on their aspirations will be examined for each of the selected disciplines separately. The following research questions will be dealt with in this study:

1. To what extent did the socio-economic status of students' parents change between 1982 and 1995?
2. To what extent did students mental capacities change between 1982 and 1995?
3. To what extent did students' attitudes towards studying (goals and study behaviour) change between 1982 and 1995?
4. To what extent do the cohort and the discipline studied have an effect on goals and investment after background characteristics have been included?

Data from four different longitudinal data-sets have been used for the analysis: 1982 cohort, 1986 cohort, 1991 cohort and the 1995 cohort.

2. Theory

Introduction

The problem described in this paper relates to the change which has taken place in the composition of the student body following higher education. The massive number of students and the selective background of the group of medical students motivated us to examine the student population, their socio-economic backgrounds, their capacities and their study behaviour.

In order to answer the research questions, it is important to find out why people decide to go to university and, once the decision has been made, why specific fields of study are chosen. A theory is needed which can explain decisions taken at individual level and one which also takes into account the effects of the students' backgrounds on those decisions.

Before looking into the question of how students' socio-economic backgrounds developed between 1982 and 1995, it is important describe the historic changes in governmental policy affecting higher education (Ministry of Education and Science, 1997). Then these changes have to be combined with the theoretical insights.

In 1982, a new law was introduced known as the 'Two Tier Structure', limiting university courses to 4 years and the maximum period of study to 6 years. After this law was adopted, study grants were made available for students from lower income families. Payment was received in an indirect way by means of tax-reductions and child-allowance payments made to parents. In 1986, this form of financing changed. The 'Educational Financing Act' (WSF) was adopted. Study grants were given to all students. Also additional grants and loans were available for students from lower income families. The main purpose of this act was to guarantee the accessibility of higher education for students from all walks of life. Therefore every student received a basic grant. The introduction of the WSF meant greater autonomy for students, because it made them less dependent on their parents.

The 1991 cohort started their studies under a different financial regime. Students could not receive grants for a period lasting longer than 5 years; if they needed more time, they were eligible for loans for another 2 years.

282

These loans became increasingly important. Students aged 27 or older were only eligible for loans, not grants. Interest rates had to be paid on all types of loans.

Another important change was the introduction of the 'tempo-grant' in 1993. This stipulated that students had to make a certain minimum amount of progress in their studies otherwise the grant they had received for the academic year would be altered into a loan, for which interest would be payable. In 1995, students had to gain credits in the form of study points for at least 50% of the total annual course.

After 1995, the system of financing changed again. The basic grant for all students was lowered once again, but students from low income families received compensation in the form of supplementary grants.

If all the measures taken in this period are combined then it is clear that in general students were entitled to fewer years of study and lower amounts of money in the form of grants whilst the pressure to pass exams increased.

Another historic factor was the increasing demand for graduates on the labour market which meant that an ever increasing number of students was required to enrol at the university.

The Amsterdam Model

The Amsterdam model (de Jong et al., 1997) combines insights from bounded rationality theory with Tinto's theory (Tinto 1975; 1987), which is widely used in research on educational careers in higher education. Tinto describes the longitudinal process of the educational careers of students in higher education. His theory incorporates background characteristics of aspirant students, like age, gender, socio-economic status and educational results of students before entering higher education. Students enter higher education with certain goals and commitments. These characteristics are assumed to influence the intentions of students when entering higher education. Tinto's theory stresses the interaction between students and institutions. Integration in institutions is a central factor in his theory. In this paper I focus on university entrance and therefore I shall only use the first part of his theory.

Bounded rationality theory combines insights from sociological and economic theories (Lindenberg, 1990). The paradigm of the wanting and

choice-making person is integrated in a theory which stresses the deterministic influence of the social structure on human behaviour.

Economic theories, especially human capital theory, state that people will examine all alternatives and corresponding outcomes, weigh them up and choose the alternative with the highest benefit. This theory does not take into account that individuals are restricted in their observations, since they cannot see all possible alternatives and outcomes (Lindenberg, 1990). Secondly, some outcomes may be uncertain. For example, it is unsure whether a student will find a job after graduation. Another pitfall in human capital theory is the assumption that individuals decide only on the basis of rational beliefs, whereas moral and affective motivations may also play a role (Turkenburg, 1995; 1997). A fourth point is that human capital theory does not address the fact that people have a tendency to avoid risks. In order to avoid risks, people may choose alternatives that are not the optimal rational ones (Elster, 1986).

Sociological theories describe the influence of social norms on human behaviour. The problem with these theories is that they are static and ignore the freedom of the individual's own desires. Therefore the choice aspects of the economic theories are included in bounded rational choice theory.

Bounded rationality theory states that people are restricted in their decision making. They perceive situations in a subjective way. Cognitive restrictions lead people to focus on one main aspect, or goal, which is called the frame. This focus on one main aspect leads people to select alternatives and their projected outcomes, and to select the situation which goes with them. If the situational goal is adopted then all situational outcomes are ordered in terms of how likely they are to reach the goal. Each alternative is given a certain chance and each outcome is given an expected value. The sociological theories are hidden in the term 'frame'. The frame is the subjective perceptual boundary of the situation in which social norms play a role. By combining the influence of the social environment with an individual's scope to choose the alternative he wants within his own limitations, bounded rationality theory gives a better picture of processes at an individual level.

The Amsterdam model combines the insights of the bounded rational theory with Tinto's theory. De Jong et al. (1997) concluded that Tinto's theory fails to address some aspects, which are pinpointed in bounded rationality theory. Tinto fails to rate alternatives and fails to estimate the chances of success for each alternative. Therefore de Jong et al. added several factors to the theory that capture these missing aspects.

The Amsterdam model, like bounded rationality theory, assumes that within a given context individuals understand the rules of the social game so well that to a certain degree they can predict the outcome of alternative courses of action.

Hypotheses

According to the economic human capital theory, individuals enrol in higher education in order to get a degree. Education is an investment which will enhance their capacities. A higher education diploma means better opportunities on the labour market. The more they invest, the more productive they will be, hence the higher their income and status will be. Over time, getting a degree has become more important. Therefore people with fewer capacities will enter higher education more often over time. From the human capital theory, the following hypotheses can be derived. The first hypothesis refers to the first research question in this study, the second to the second research question.

1. *There will be no differences in the socio-economic backgrounds of students between disciplines and over time.*
2. *People with fewer capacities will enter higher education more often over time.*

The Amsterdam model assumes that individuals are restricted by their frame. Their socio-economic background, gender and educational background influence the way students enter higher education in terms of their intentions and expectations. Aspiring students from lower socio-economic backgrounds have fewer means of access to financial support, hence they experience higher risks. They depend more on loans, resulting in higher debts after graduation. A higher risk means that they are more likely to choose a different alternative, e. g., a course of study at a lower level.

Over a longer period of time, lower scholarships may result in fewer students entering universities, especially students from poorer socio-economic backgrounds. Compensation for the cuts in grants for students from less privileged socio-economic backgrounds may soften the blow of receiving lower grants. Secondly, students have been allowed less time to study. Therefore students will be more motivated to graduate in time and they will work harder to reach their goals. The assumptions of the Amster-

285

dam model are worked out as hypotheses 3 to 5 described below. Hypothesis 3 refers to the first research question of this study, hypotheses 4 and 5 refer to the third question and hypotheses 4a and 5a refer to the fourth question in this paper.

3. *Between 1982 and 1986 the socio-economic backgrounds of students will show a drop in level; after 1986, the socio-economic backgrounds of students will show a rise in level.*
4. *Over time, students will be more motivated to graduate in time.*
4a *This will be especially true for students from lower socio-economic backgrounds.*
5. *Over time, students will work harder to reach their goals.*
5a *This will be especially true for students from lower socio-economic backgrounds.*

It should be noted here that over time the educational level of the Dutch population has increased. Therefore over time the educational level of parents will increase. This trend has to be taken into account when interpreting the outcomes of the analyses.

Bourdieu's Theory

As stated above, the socio-economic background of the student influences his choice. Bourdieu's theory offers a broader view of how students from different backgrounds 'frame', that is how they make different decisions under the same circumstances. In *Homo Academicus* (1988), Bourdieu describes selection processes within higher education which do not follow the principles of meritocracy. Two kinds of selection are hypothesised. First, selection occurs on the part of institutions (e. g., a diploma is required showing attainment levels at a specific form of secondary education). Some disciplines also have additional selection criteria (specific subjects are required). Self-selection is a second type of selection. The aspirations, motivations and personal characteristics of individuals influence their choices. These choices correlate with their socio-economic and ethnic background, with gender and with the amount of cultural capital they possess (Bourdieu, 1988).

Bourdieu states that social bias underlies selection, which causes vertical and horizontal segregation. Individuals from lower social backgrounds

286

will take up studies at lower levels and in different disciplines than individuals from higher socio-economic background.

Bourdieu explains this finding as follows: in universities two poles can be distinguished, the mondaine pole and the scientific pole. The mondaine pole centres around social reproduction and hierarchy. In this pole the main issue is the intellectual organisation and cultural traditions governing the scientific areas, which determine the social order. Within socially dominant disciplines, for instance medicine and law, it is important to have certain characteristics, namely symbolic and cultural capital. These characteristics are demanded explicitly or tacitly by members of these institutions. The distance between them and the 'normal world' can be sustained in this way. The scientific pole emphasises the production and reproduction of knowledge. Within this hierarchy, integration in the social order is stimulated.

The likelihood of success in a specific discipline increases when the demands are more formalised and universal. A hierarchy of academic areas mirrors the hierarchy in society. In this hierarchy you find on the one hand disciplines in which social reproduction plays a role, like medicine and law; on the other hand, studies where cognitive reproduction is dominant, for instance technical studies. The remaining studies are distributed between these two.

Hypotheses

Bourdieu explains why aspirant students from different backgrounds choose different studies. Some disciplines demand specific capacities which are not taught at secondary schools, like cultural capital, and which are not equally divided over aspirant students from different socio-economic groups. According to Bourdieu, law and medicine in particular are studies where such demands are formulated. Aspirants students from lower socio-economic backgrounds are less familiar with the demands made on those attending courses in these disciplines. Therefore they will be more likely to choose courses in which norms and values are formalised. Studying law may be an exception to the rule in the Netherlands, because the subject has attracted increasing numbers of students who do not really know what they want to study. The elite character of the law department will therefore decrease over time.

Hypothesis 6 and 7 refer to the first question in this study.

6. *Medicine and law will enrol students from higher socio-economic backgrounds. Chemistry and biology will enrol students from lower socio-economic backgrounds. Dutch language, history and psychology will lie somewhere between these two poles.*

7. *The elite character of law will decrease over time.*

3. Data

Four cohorts are examined in this paper, namely the 1982, 1986, 1991 and 1995 cohorts. Students were questioned over time in four different studies. Our study concerns a secondary analysis of these data. In all cohorts information is available about students studying six subjects. These subjects are: biology, history, psychology, law, chemistry and Dutch language and literature. In the latter three cohorts, information was available about students of medicine. The samples are weighted by a factor so that the totals in each discipline equal the real number of students for each cohort. Table A in appendix 1 shows the number of students in the samples and the number of students in reality. It should be noted that the sample in the 1991 cohort is rather small. Therefore effects found for the 1991 cohort will be interpreted with caution.

Indicators of Socio-Economic Status and Gender

Three indicators are used to describe the socio-economic background of the students. First, the highest educational level of the mother (educ. mo.) and the father (educ. fa.) are used. Five categories are distinguished: 1. primary school and lower secondary education; 2. intermediate secondary education; 3. other secondary education and intermediate professional education; 4. higher professional education; 5. university.

There is no information about the parents' income, therefore an alternative measure had to be used. Students were asked whether they received financial support from their parents, because parents with higher incomes are obliged to support their children. When 5% of the students' income or more is received from their parents, the variable parental financial support is given the value 1. In other cases the value is 0.

In each questionnaire students were asked to report their gender (0=female; 1=male).

Indicators of Educational Background

Five indicators are used to describe students' educational background. First, the average grade at secondary school expressed in points is used. Secondly, the number of non promotions in secondary education (years repeated). Both variables indicate the extent to which the students performed well in secondary education.

The third measure in this study is the level of secondary education (vwo-yes). When students have finished the pre-university secondary education (vwo), the variable vwo-yes is 1. Students, who enter university via another track, have the value 0. The number of scientific courses at secondary school (nbvak) and whether the student has participated in higher education before (prehe-yes) are the other variables.

Goals, Motives and Investment

Three indicators are used to measure the goals of the new students. How strongly is the student motivated to obtain a propaedeutic degree (pass the first year foundation course) and/or does he aim to achieve this in one year? The third indicator is whether the student is motivated to graduate. These indicators were not included in 1982.

In the 1986 study, the wish to obtain a propaedeutic degree and to do so in one year is divided into 4 categories (1= absolutely not 4 = yes, absolutely). In 1991 and 1995, 11 categories (0-10) were used. These categories have been recoded into four categories. The wish to get the propaedeutic degree in one year is expressed in percentages in 1991 and 1995. These percentages have been recoded into four categories.

Finally, the wish to graduate is a dummy variable in 1986. In 1991 and 1995 a scale from 0 till 10 was used. These scale values are recoded into a dummy. Appendix 2 shows how the values of 1991 and 1995 are recoded in order to be able to compare the three cohorts.

Finally, a variable is included which describes students' actual behaviour. Study investment refers to items that indicate the extent to which students are willing to study hard in order to get good results. This variable is a scale consisting of 5 items (described in appendix 3). The alpha of this scale is .65, which is not very high. In the 1991 and 1995 cohorts more items are available, leading to a very good scale (see de Jong, 1992; Web-

bink, 1993, and Roeleveld, 1994). These additional items have not been included in the scale used here, thus enabling us to compare the cohorts.

4. The Analyses

In this section the outcomes of the analyses will be reported. Differences between cohorts and disciplines are described. First, the mean scores are calculated for each variable per cohort. Also, an examination has been carried out to see whether there are differences between disciplines for each variable. In this section the outcomes will be discussed for each variable.

Socio-Economic Status (first question)

The *educational level of the mother* has increased over time (see table 1). The *educational level of the father* decreased in 1986 but increased after 1986. Finally *parental financial support* decreased from 1982 to 1991, and increased in 1995. In table 1 the means of the educational level of mothers and fathers is presented, and the level of parental financial support for each discipline per cohort.

The table shows that in all disciplines and cohorts the educational level of fathers is higher than the educational level of mothers. Secondly, the parental educational level increases in most cohorts, except in the second cohort. The educational level of fathers decreased compared with the first cohort for biology, history, psychology and law. Thirdly, the educational level of both parents has decreased relatively for law students. In 1982 parents of law students had the highest educational level. In 1995 law has the lowest parental educational scores. Medicine students come from families where parents have followed more education in all cohorts.

Anova analyses showed significant differences between disciplines and between cohorts (p=.000). For both the educational level of mothers and fathers the multiple R squared is .03.

The third indicator for socio-economic status is parental financial support for their child's study. Table 1 shows that parental financial support is highest in 1982. In 1986 the new funding system has led to a decrease in the proportion of parents who support their children financially during their studies. In 1995 parental support increased again, which may be a re-

sult of the cuts in grants. Only one effect can be found: medical students are more often supported by their parents than other students. This conclusion supports the hypothesis that medical students are a selective group. Anova analysis shows a significant effect in terms of cohort and discipline. However, these two factors explain only 1.5% of the variance in parental financial support.

Conclusion

Over time, differences are to be found in the socio-economic backgrounds of students at universities. The educational levels of both parents have increased. However the explanatory power of cohort and discipline is minimal. Hypothesis 1 is falsified, because changes in socio-economic backgrounds are found over time.

The analysis partly confirm hypothesis 3. The socio-economic background of parents became higher after 1986. One exception is the decrease in parental financial support between 1986 and 1991. Between 1982 and 1986, the educational level of the father became lower and parental financial support decreased, which may have been the result of a change in the law. Thus hypothesis 3 is partly confirmed. It is not clear whether the improvement in socio-economic status is a result of the rising educational level of the Dutch population or a result of an increase in social selection. The increase in the number of students receiving financial parental support might indicate that social selection increased in 1995.

According to Bourdieu's theory, medicine and law will enrol students from higher socio-economic backgrounds (hyp. 6). However the elite character of law will decrease over time (hyp. 7). Table 1 shows the outcomes according to each discipline. The educational level of mothers is highest for law students in 1982 and in 1991. The other two cohorts show the highest scores for medical students. The educational level of fathers also show high scores for medical and law students. Both variables show the lowest scores for law students in 1995. The ranking of the other disciplines is less clear. In some cases biology and chemistry show high scores (in 1982), in other cohorts they have low scores (1995). The only clear outcome is the high level of selectivity for medical students and the decline in the elite character of law students. This means that hypothesis 6 is partly confirmed and hypothesis 7 is confirmed.

291

Table 1: Educational level of mother and father, and financial parental support by cohort and discipline

disc. variable	mean	biology	history	psycho-logy	law	chemistry	Dutch language	medi-cine
educ.mo.								
1982	2.53	2.52	2.31	2.23	2.66	2.52	2.47	-
1986	2.57	2.52	2.20	2.42	2.63	2.59	2.67	2.77
1991	2.72	2.78	2.67	2.60	2.81	2.53	2.41	2.77
1995	2.95	2.94	3.11	2.96	2.82	3.02	3.03	3.27
educ. fa.								
1982	3.23	3.21	2.99	3.07	3.36	3.18	3.05	-
1986	3.12	3.01	2.78	2.87	3.16	3.20	3.25	3.47
1991	3.44	3.30	3.05	3.26	3.62	3.16	2.95	3.75
1995	3.48	3.46	3.70	3.51	3.34	3.50	3.60	3.79
fin.supp.								
1982	.65	.75	.65	.58	.63	.82	.67	-
1986	.57	.60	.46	.58	.54	.62	.61	.71
1991	.52	.44	.52	.42	.59	.38	.50	.54
1995	.62	.70	.70	.68	.55	.55	.59	.76

Educational Background (second question)

Table 2 shows the means of the educational backgrounds.

In general the *gpa* decreased in 1986 and 1991 when compared with 1982, but increased in 1995. Chemistry students have high grade point averages, whereas psychology students usually have the lowest scores.

Anova analyses show that the differences between cohorts and disciplines are significant (p=.000). The factors explain 6.2% of the variance of the gpa.

The *non-promotion* during secondary education increased a little in 1991 compared with 1986. Most disciplines show lower non-promotion rates, but psychology and medicine have increased a lot (.47 to .62 and .28 to .48 respectively), and history a little (.38 to .40). The 1995 cohort shows a lower proportion of non-promotion. All disciplines show lower rates.

The differences in means between cohorts an disciplines are significant (p=.000). Only 2.2% of the variance is explained by the factors cohort and discipline.

The number of scientific courses (*nbvak*) has increased over time. This was to be expected, because maths is an obligatory requirement for studying many other subjects and it has to be passed at secondary school level.

Disciplines like chemistry, biology and medicine demand a pass in at least two scientific courses at secondary school level. Therefore it is no surprise that these three disciplines have students with higher numbers of passes in scientific courses than do the other disciplines. The differences between cohorts and disciplines are significant (p=.000) and these two factors explain 48.6% of the variance in the number of scientific courses.

Table 2: Educational background of the students by cohort and discipline

disc. variable	mean	biology	history	psycho-logy	law	chemistry	Dutch language	medi-cine
Gpa								
1982	6.79	6.82	6.95	6.83	7.01	7.23	6.92	-
1986	6.90	7.01	7.04	6.81	6.78	7.26	6.90	7.12
1991	6.78	6.98	6.84	6.59	6.73	7.21	6.76	6.90
1995	6.80	6.87	7.00	6.67	6.71	7.31	6.90	6.99
nonprom.								
1986	.34	.39	.38	.47	.48	.29	.56	.28
1991	.45	.33	.40	.62	.44	.13	.50	.48
1995	.32	.24	.33	.32	.36	.11	.40	.23
nbvak								
1986	1.34	2.90	.75	1.36	.90	2.98	.85	2.83
1991	1.47	3.87	1.47	2.17	1.33	3.94	.95	3.85
1995	2.11	3.92	1.43	2.03	1.49	3.95	1.53	3.84
	2.19							
vwo-yes								
1982	.95	.97	.97	.85	.96	.92	.95	-
1986	.85	.94	.70	.85	.85	.81	.82	.94
1991	.66	.68	.48	.60	.68	.72	.68	.74
1995	.88	.96	.86	.79	.86	.97	.90	.97
prehe-yes								
1982	.18							.35
1986	.34	.20	.45	.37	.33	.33	.36	.30
1991	.33	.12	.67	.37	.28	.28	.55	.31
1995	.24	.11	.23	.29	.24	.08	.18	

The proportion of students who followed vwo (*vwo-yes*) before they entered higher education, decreased in 1986 and 1991 compared with 1982, but increased strongly in 1995. This trend is a result of government policy. By introducing the new grant policy in 1982 it became easier for students to enter university through the back door by taking a foundation year degree at higher professional education which gave automatic access to uni-

versity or a degree at higher professional education level followed by a shortened university course, instead of staying on an extra two years at secondary school to gain a pre-university level diploma. The 1995 cohort only received scholarships for 5 years, which makes it harder (more expensive) to first attend higher professional education before entering university.

In general, it can be said that scientific disciplines (biology, chemistry and medicine) have the highest rates of students with a vwo-background. Psychology (in cohort 1 and 4) and history (in cohort 2 and 3) show the lowest proportion of students with a vwo-background.

The results of an Anova show that differences between cohorts and disciplines are significant (p=.000) and 9.7% of the variance of vwo-yes is explained by the factors cohort and discipline.

The 1986 and 1991 cohort do not differ very much in numbers of students who had attended higher education courses before. Only in 1995 had fewer students entered higher education before. Biology shows very low rates of students who had entered higher education before they started to study biology. Far more history students had studied in higher education before they started history, especially in the 1986 and 1991 cohort. Interesting is the decrease in numbers in 1995, except for medicine. Medicine has a student quota, so many students who fail to gain a place try again a year later. This percentage does not change very much over time.

The differences between the two factors cohort and discipline are significant. These two factors explain 3.3% of the variance of the variable prehe-yes.

Conclusion

The educational backgrounds of students have changed over time. They differ significantly between cohorts and disciplines. Together, cohort and discipline explain more variance of educational background than they explain variance of socio-economic backgrounds. Especially the number of scientific subjects, vwo-yes and grade point average are explained by the two factors.

Hypothesis 2 states that people with fewer capacities will enter higher education more often over time. This hypothesis can be partly confirmed. From 1982 to 1991 the grade point average decreased, the percentage of non-promotion increased and the number of students with a vwo-back-

ground decreased. These outcomes indicate that aspirant students with fewer capacities enter universities more often. But this trend changed in 1995. It seems that the selection criteria have become stronger, which may be a result of changing policies.

Goals and Investment (third question)

Goals

Table 3 shows the average of the following variables per cohort and discipline: the wish to obtain a propaedeutic degree, to obtain it in one year and the wish to graduate.

Over time, more students want to obtain a *propaedeutic degree*. In 1995 some disciplines show a lower desire to obtain this degree, namely biology and chemistry. These disciplines had the highest scores in 1991, but relatively the lowest scores in 1995. In the first two cohorts psychology shows the lowest outcomes, but in 1995 a high score is to be found. Medicine has high scores in all cohorts.

The differences between cohorts and disciplines are significant. The explained variance in the intention of obtaining a foundation course degree is 14.5%.

Table 3: Students' goals according to cohort and discipline

disc. variable	mean	biology	history	psycho-logy	law	chemistry	Dutch language	medi-cine
Prop.								
1986	3.41	3.50	3.48	3.24	3.28	3.51	3.49	3.71
1991	3.85	3.96	3.85	3.75	3.87	3.90	3.80	3.89
1995	3.88	3.84	3.90	3.93	3.87	3.73	3.91	3.94
Prop.1yr.								
1986	.63	.75	.72	.52	.55	.67	.78	.84
1991	.95	.92	.90	.85	.93	.94	.90	1.00
1995	.94	.94	.93	.90	.95	.90	.96	.96
graduate								
1986	3.31	3.24	3.33	3.13	3.28	3.40	3.14	3.60
1991	3.48	3.72	3.43	3.35	3.53	3.53	3.23	3.43
1995	3.66	3.68	3.61	3.69	3.64	3.47	3.76	3.70

The second indicator, the intention of obtaining a *propaedeutic degree in one year*, also increases over time. Students have a stronger desire to get this degree as quickly as possible. Especially medical students are keen to obtain this degree in one year. Psychology students show the lowest rates. In 1986 law students are also less keen to obtain a foundation course degree in one year.

The differences between disciplines and cohorts are significant. Together these two factors explain 15.7% of the variance in the variable foundation course degree in one year.

The last goal-indicator is whether the student wants to *graduate*. Table 3 shows that differences between cohorts show a rise in the students' intention to graduate. The same conclusion can be drawn according to discipline. There are two exceptions. Medical students of the 1991 cohort show a lower degree of motivation for obtaining a degree than the 1986 cohort. Secondly, chemistry students of the 1995 cohort have a lower score than the chemistry 1991 cohort.

When examining the differences between disciplines a very moving picture can be seen. Dutch language shows the lowest scores in 1986 and 1991, but the highest in 1995. Chemistry students have almost the highest score in 1986, but the lowest in 1995. Medicine students have high scores in 1986 and 1995, but their score in 1991 is not really impressive.

Despite these unstable developments, significant differences are to be found between cohorts and disciplines. The factors explain 4.1% of the variance of the variable graduation.

Investment

Investment is a scale which consists of 5 items with á = .65 (see appendix 3). Table 4 shows that the 1986 cohort has a lower investment rate than in 1982. After 1986 the investment rate increases. Table 4 shows the average investment by discipline and cohort.

Each discipline has lower scores in 1986 compared with 1982. In 1991 the values in all disciplines but psychology have increased. The 1995 cohort show that in all disciplines the values have increased.

It is hard to find structural tendencies in the values in disciplines over time. Psychology students invest less in their studies compared with other students. Biology and medicine students invest more in their studies.

The differences are significant and the explained variance is 4.6%.

Table 4: Investment of students by cohort and discipline

disc. variable	mean	biology	history	psycho-logy	law	chemistry	Dutch language	medi-cine
investm.								
1982	2.99	3.00	2.96	2.88	3.04	3.02	2.91	-
1986	2.79	2.97	2.93	2.72	2.74	2.85	2.62	2.92
1991	2.89	3.14	2.95	2.55	2.91	3.09	2.63	3.09
1995	3.18	3.26	3.00	3.05	3.22	3.13	3.10	3.31

Conclusion

Goals and investment have changed a lot over time. The factors cohort and discipline explain significantly the variance in goals, motives and investment. Hypothesis 4 and 5 are confirmed by the analyses: over time, the intention of students to graduate, their extrinsic motives and their investment have increased.

In this section different aspects of the students, their backgrounds and attitudes have been described. Now it is time to examine how cohort and discipline have an effect on goals, motives and investment after controlling for background characteristics.

5. Inclusion of Covariates

The fourth question in this paper is: *To what extent do cohort and discipline have an effect on goals and investment after the inclusion of background characteristics?*

In order to answer this question covariates are included in the analyses. These covariates are the socio-economic characteristics (educational level of the mother and the father and parental financial support), educational background (grade point average, number of non-promotions, number of scientific courses, finished pre-university education and whether higher education had been entered before) and gender. The dependent variables are the goals and investment. Table 5 shows first of all the percentage of variance between cohorts and disciplines. Secondly, the change in variance between cohorts and disciplines after inclusion of the covariates is shown. Finally, the regression coefficients of the covariates with a significant effect are expressed in table 5.

Goals

Table 5 shows that the variance of all three goal-indicators are explained more by the factor cohort (13.7%, 14.2% and 3.5%) than by the factor discipline (1.1%, 1.9% and 0.6%). This indicates that students from different disciplines do not differ very much in their desire to obtain a propaedeutic degree and in their desire to graduate. The new policies stimulate students to be more motivated to obtain their propaedeutic degree. Graduation differences are explained to a far lesser degree by cohorts. This may indicate that students do not dare say much about long term goals.

After inclusion of the covariates, the variance component of discipline decreases much more than the variance component of cohort. In other words, differences between disciplines are largely due to the different students they attract than to the differences between cohorts.

Girls are more motivated to obtain a propaedeutic degree but less motivated to graduate.

Students from higher socio-economic backgrounds are more goal-minded than students from lower socio-economic backgrounds. Parental support and grade point average do not have significant effects on goals, except for the intention of obtaining a propaedeutic degree in one year. Higher grades and more parental financial support increases the intention to obtain a propaedeutic degree in one year.

Non-promotion, attended vwo and higher education before, decrease the intention to obtain a propaedeutic degree and to obtain it in one year. Students who have finished vwo or have followed higher education before are more willing to graduate. It seems that these students are more positive about long term goals than about nearer goals (like obtaining a propaedeutic degree). Finally, students who followed more scientific courses at secondary school are more willing to reach the three goals.

In order to answer hypothesis 4a, which states that especially students from lower socio-economic backgrounds will be more motivated to graduate in time, the significant coefficients have to be examined more specifically. Table B1 in appendix 4 shows the coefficients by each cohort for two variables: obtaining a propaedeutic degree and obtaining it in one year. The higher the educational level of the mother in 1986, the higher the intention of obtaining a degree. In 1991 a negative effect can be found, indicating that students from higher positioned families are less intent on obtaining a propaedeutic degree. In 1995 the effect is not significant. The educational level of the father is positive in 1991 and 1995, but the value

has decreased. These outcomes suggest that the increase in intention of obtaining a propaedeutic degree was higher for students from lower socio-economic families than for students from higher socio-economic backgrounds.

The effect of the parental educational level on the intention to obtain a degree in one year is negative in 1986 and increases between 1986 and 1991, indicating that the intentions of students from higher socio-economic families have increased more over time. The effect of parental financial support does not change much over time. The positive effect only decreases a little in 1995. Hypothesis 4a is partly confirmed. The intention to obtain a propaedeutic degree has increased more for students from lower socio-economic backgrounds. The intention to obtain a degree in one year has increased more for students from higher socio-economic backgrounds.

Investment

Table 5 shows that variance in investment is also better explained by cohort than by discipline. This again confirms the change in students' attitudes over time. They have fewer years to study in and fewer scholarships. Very interesting is the increase in variance between cohorts after the inclusion of individual characteristics. This indicates that the differences between cohorts have been reduced by the selection of university students over time.

Women invest more, students with higher socio-economic status invest less in their studies.

Students with higher grade points and more scientific courses invest more in their studies, contrary to students who finished vwo or who have entered higher education before. Finally, students who repeated years also invest less in their studies.

Table B2 in appendix 5 shows the regression coefficients of educational level of father and parental financial support on investment. The coefficients of both variables decrease in 1991 and increase in 1995. The increase in investment was lower for students from higher socio-economic backgrounds in 1991 and higher in 1995. Hypothesis 5a is falsified. It is true that the highest socio-economic group invest less over time, but it is not true that the increase in investment is the highest for the lowest socio-economic group.

Table 5: Analyses with covariates

	prop.	prop 1 yr	graduation	leading	autonomy	Investm.
explained variance						
-cohort	13.7%	14.2%	3.5%	5.2%	1.7%	3.4%
-discipline	1.1%	1.9%	0.6%	10.0%	3.8%	1.3%
-interact.	1.5%	1.8%	1.3%	3.3%	1.5%	0.7%
changed variance						
-cohort	-20.6%	-8.7%	-22.3%	-1.6%	-2.1%	+ 15.9%
-discipline	-31.6%	-28.8%	-52.8%	-15.7%	-11.6%	-3.8%
gender	.055	.065	-.055	-.712	.162	.098
educ. mo.	.017	-.007	.018	.212	n.s.	n.s.
educ. fa.	.040	.020	.074	.332	.244	-.075
par. supp.	n.s.	.021	n.s.	.534	n.s.	-.150
gpa	n.s.	.024	n.s.	-1.203	-.479	.184
non.prom.	-.086	-.034	-.060	.296	.264	-.059
nbvak	.048	.029	.030	-.221	-.164	.042
vwo-yes	-.136	-.033	.031	-.287	n.s.	-.085
prehe-yes	-.113	-.046	.026	n.s.	n.s.	-.064

Conclusion

The change in background characteristics of students does affect the change in goals and investment. In all cases the inclusion of background characteristics changed the variance component of the factors cohort and discipline. Differences between disciplines are better explained by background characteristics than differences between cohorts. The most striking outcome is the increase in variance between cohorts of investment when background characteristics are added to the model. To summarise, both changes in background characteristics of students and cohort effects influence differences in goals and investment.

6. Summary

Outcomes of analysis confirm that the socio-economic background of students has become more elevated. It is not clear whether this rise has been brought about by stronger social selection or by a general rise in social standing in society at large. There are differences in socio-economic backgrounds between students studying different subjects. Medicine and law

students come from higher socio-economic backgrounds. The 1995 cohort of law students do not come from higher socio-economic backgrounds.

The initial capacities of students declined between 1982 and 1991. After 1991, the educational backgrounds improved again. The changing policies have resulted in stronger selection criteria.

Over time, students are more willing to obtain a propaedeutic degree, to obtain it in one year and to graduate. Students from lower socio-economic backgrounds have less firm intentions to reach goals. Over time, differences in intentions between socio-economic groups do not change.

Students also invest more time in their studies. Students from higher socio-economic backgrounds invest less in their studies than do students from lower socio-economic backgrounds. The increase in investment is almost equal for the different socio-economic groups.

The outcomes show that human capital theory is rather naive. Socio-economic backgrounds of students influence their goals and behaviour along with their educational capacities. Students from different socio-economic backgrounds define their goals in different ways. Students from higher socio-economic backgrounds are more intent on obtaining a propaedeutic degree and on graduating. They invest less in their study. This might indicate that they have more academic self esteem. The Amsterdam model assumes that individuals are restricted by their (socio-economic) frame. In this study it has been shown that this is true. Contrary to Amsterdam model expectations, no striking changes between socio-economic groups have occurred over time.

Bourdieu assumes that differences will be found between disciplines. The outcomes in this study showed that medicine and law do enrol students from higher socio-economic backgrounds. However the elite character of law has declined over time. It is striking that medicine enrols such a selective group of students, because it is one of the only studies in the Netherlands with a student quota, based on grade point average in secondary school examinations. Differences between other disciplines do not run according to the hierarchy Bourdieu assumed.

In future studies it might be interesting to examine how differences within the law faculty have developed over time. Given that law has become more and more popular, it might just be that the social elite has moved to specific areas within the faculty.

To summarise, students from different socio-economic backgrounds enter university with different approaches. Disciplines differ in selecting

students. Therefore differences between disciplines are mainly caused by differences in their socio-economic mix.

Finally, recent policies have forced students to have better intentions and to invest more in their study. This holds for all students, irrespective of their socio-economic backgrounds.

References

Bourdieu, P. (1988). *Homo Academicus*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Elster, J. (ed.) (1986). *Rational Choice*. Blackwell Publisher. Oxford.

de Jong, U./Oosterbeek, H./Roeleveld, J./Webbink, H. D. (1992). *Voornemens van eindexamenkandidaten 1991*. Serie Verder Studeren, een panelstudie onder scholieren en studenten. deel 1. Ministerie van Onderwijs en Wetenschappen. Den Haag.

de Jong, U./Roeleveld, J./Webbink, H. D./Oosterbeek, H. (1997). *Het Amsterdamse studieloopbaanmodel*. Serie Verder Studeren, een panelstudie onder scholieren en studenten. deel 6. Ministerie van Onderwijs Cultuur en Wetenschappen. Den Haag.

Lindenberg, S. M. (1990). 'Homo socio-economicus: The Emergence of a General Model of Man in Social Sciences.' *Journal of Institutional Economics*, 146: 727-748.

Ministerie van Onderwijs en wetenschappen. (1997). *Toekomst studiefinanciering. Achtergrondinformatie*. Den Haag.

Roeleveld, J./de Jong, U./Oosterbeek, H./Webbink, H. D. (1994). *Studievoortgang en onderwijskeuzen 1992*. Serie Verder Studeren, een panelstudie onder scholieren en studenten. deel 3. Ministerie van Onderwijs en Wetenschappen. Den Haag.

Tinto, V. (1975). 'Drop-out from Higher Education: A Theoretical Synthesis of Recent Research.' *Review of Educational Research*, 45: 89-125.

Tinto, V. (1987). *Leaving College: Rethinking the Causes and Curses of Student Attrition*. Chicago: University of Chicago.

Turkenburg, M. (1995). *Een baan en een kind. Aspiraties en strategieën van laag opgeleide vrouwen*. Tilburg. Tilburg University Press.

Turkenburg, M. (1996). 'Flirten met een spierballentheorie.' *Tijdschrift voor Vrouwenstudies*, 17(3): 305-313.

Webbink, H. D./de Jong, U./Oosterbeek, H./Roeleveld, J. (1993). *Studiekeuzen van scholieren en studenten in 1991*. Serie Verder Studeren, een panelstudie onder scholieren en studenten. deel 2. Ministerie van Onderwijs en Wetenschappen. Den Haag.

Appendix 1: Numbers of students by discipline and cohort

	1982	1986	1991	1995
Biology	110 (796)	145 (712)	25 (730)	157 (879)
History	136 (706)	131 (726)	21 (862)	120 (616)
Psychology	72 (1029)	174 (2008)	43 (2008)	111 (1621)
Law	274 (4004)	141 (4266)	96 (4777)	196 (4551)
Chemistry	104 (483)	149 (566)	32 (566)	132 (350)
Dutch lang.	57 (618)	133 (570)	22 (453)	123 (449)
Medicine	-	185 (1194)	54 (1258)	141 (4225)

Appendix 2: Recoding of values of goals in 1991 and 1995

Propaedeutic degree
1986   1-4
1991 and 1995   0-10   0-2=1, 3-5=2, 6-8=3, 9-10=4.

In one year
1986   1-4
1991 and 1995   %   < 26=1, 26-50=2, 51-75=3, 76-100=4.

Graduation
1986   0-1
1991 and 1995   0-10   0-5=0, 6-10=1.

Appendix 3: Investment scale

The items are:
1. graduate as quickly as possible
2. getting as high grades as possible
3. activities outside study restrict me from studying very hard (recoded)
4. it's hard to invest in non-interesting subjects (recoded)
5. I tend to postpone obligations (recoded)

1986   1-5
1991 and 1995   1-10   1-2=1, 3-4=2, 5-6=3, 7-8=4, 9-10=5.

Table B1: Regression coefficients of background characteristics
         by goal indicator per cohort

	1986	1991	1995
Prop. Degree			
educ. mo.	.02	-.01	.01*
educ .fa.	.00*	.05	.03
Prop. 1 year			
educ. ma.	-.03	-.01	-.01
educ. fa.	-.01	.04	-.00*
par. supp.	.04	.04	.03

Table B2: Regression coefficients of background characteristics on investment per
         cohort

	1986	1991	1995
Investment			
educ. fa.	.01*	-.02	-.06
par. supp.	-.08	-.10	-.04

Einhard Rau

Individualisation in Higher Education – Trends and Perspectives

Introduction

A glance at recent discussions and controversies on social change and the state of society shows that social conditions and developments are characterised rather differently. Our time is coded, narrated and explained as 'modern, anti, post and neo' (Alexander 1995), has been described as 'risk society' (Beck 1986) or 'post-traditional society' (Giddens 1996). Other descriptions and more labels could be found. At the same time and besides controversies on definitions and descriptions, some widely accepted general social changes can be identified too. The respective tendencies in society have been labelled as 'disembedding' (Giddens 1990) and 'individualisation' (Beck 1986).

Evidently, individualisation is nothing new in social history or the observation of social change. Still interesting are the dimensions with which Beck conceptualises his view on recent social developments. Beck describes individualisation in three dimensions, as the loosening of traditional forms of social action and conventional social ties, as the loss of traditional certainties and not at least as a new linkage to unavoidable societal requirements and necessities (Beck 1986).

This paper's reference to individualisation does not necessarily imply the identification with Beck's concept nor the consequences he had sketched. In spite of a number of relevant reservations the concept is used mainly because of its 'observations' which can be made in subsystems of society too and which, because of that, make it possible (and useful) to throw a different view on interesting subsystems.

In this paper higher education will be described as such a subsystem. Higher education, world wide, but certainly in Germany too, suffers from the loosening of traditions and certainties as well as from new requirements and necessities with which it has been saddled during the last couple

of years. The paper will point out to what extent the dimensions of individualisation, as they had been described by Beck, could be useful for the description and analysis of some recent problems in German higher education. The focus will be on the studentry but the prerequisites and consequences of the loss of traditions and certainties on the one hand, the new societal requirements on the other, will be reflected as well.

If the lack of rules and institutionalised means requires individual decisions, if 'normal biographies' had to be replaced by 'biographies by choice' (Beck/Beck-Gernsheim 1994) it is likely that today's student is not a 'traditional student' anymore. And that isn't something that only bothers the individual student. The individual student's release from social ties and traditional commitments has far reaching consequences for the institution, that is the university, the 'individualised student' is still a member of. That is especially true if the institution continuously relates its mission and purpose to 'the tradition' and following from that to the 'traditional student'.

The question is if and how the university deals with this problem. Does it deal with it? Can it deal with it? Should it deal with it?

Not at least these are questions about 'social cohesion and inclusion', questions which in general had to be answered on different societal levels. But answers found for the university could possibly give some hints for solutions at other levels as well.

Change and Differentiation in Higher Education

Even if change and differentiation in higher education are characterised differently in different national systems and different contexts, a number of relevant aspects are shared by analysts and observers. Probably the most widely accepted feature of change during the last 35 years in this field is expansion, a development which Martin Trow described as the 'Transformation from Elite to Mass Higher Education'.

Before expansion started in Germany about 5% of the relevant age group went to university studies. Students at this time were young, single, often left their family home to study abroad, lived in rented rooms or dormitories on rather scarce resources focusing their lives on the offerings of teaching, research, the promises of student life (Huber 1987) and the certainty of getting an adequate job after graduation. Professors too were a rather rare species at this time. Charismatic, authoritarian, educated men who covered whole fields of study in teaching and research.

306

About 30 years later all this has changed enormously. The number of students in the Federal Republic of Germany is about five times higher than in the early 60s. Even more important are the changes with respect to the structure of the student body, to the recruitment of students, their motivations and expectations. Probably most important seems the fact 'that a successful period of study no longer guarantees a highly privileged status' for the later stages of occupational life (Teichler 1981). Especially this fact has enormous consequences for the organisation of university education and training.

Evidently, today the status of a student no longer has the same subjective meaning for many students that it generally used to have. Many students treat both their period of study and the material to be learnt with a consciousness of role which is functional and an attitude which is correspondingly instrumental. Studying becomes training and no longer relates to the form of life as a whole. One is no longer 'immersed' in the student or academic world (Liebau 1984, p. 276).

Studentry has never been a totally homogeneous group of young men and women with uniform goals and intentions. Burton Clark wrote already in 1966:

As we opened the doors of American higher education, we admitted more orientations to college – college as fun, college as marriage, college as preparation for graduate school, college as a certificate to go to work tomorrow, college as a place to rebel against the Establishment, and even college as a place to think. These orientations have diverse social locations on campus, from fraternity house to coffee shop to Mrs. Murphy's desegregated rooming house (Clark 1966, p. 285).

The point is, it is not so much heterogeneity as such (which probably had always been bigger in the American system of higher education) but the quantitative relevance of heterogeneous motives and orientations which developed in the traces of expansion in Europe and Germany as well. The chances and perspectives for a creative modernisation and the up-to-date shaping of today's higher education which are potentially connected with heterogeneity (Hondrich 1994) had not been taken yet. To the contrary! Wilhelm von Humboldt's 'idea' of the university today still governs the mission and purpose of the German university as well as the 'hearts and souls' of the German professoriate's huge majority. This is nothing it has to be blamed for. This idea, it has been argued since long, laid the foundations for Germany's 'Golden Age' in research and university development.

The problem is that this idea and its functional and organisational consequences contradict the interests and expectations of the majority of today's students. There is no room for 'solitude and liberty' anymore, only little interest in the unifying of teaching and research on the students' side. Consequently, different interests clash. On the one hand the 'individualised' student who no longer commits himself to education ('Bildung') but much more to training and a successful preparation for life, on the other the professor who sees himself primarily obliged to the community of scholars, to research and a couple of excellent students.

In a more generalised perspective it becomes obvious that those objectively differentiated prospects for future goals in work and life must lead to consequences with respect to university studies.

Not only a differentiation according to social origin but also a differentiation according to personal and social future are characteristic for the situation of students in the Federal Republic today. Accordingly, it is becoming more difficult to look at university courses as a means to a single end since students associate completely different objectives with them (Liebau 1984, p. 275).

Individualisation in Higher Education

The university through all its history has probably never been a really homogeneous institution. Neither have the members of the institution – teachers and students – ever been uniformly acting groups. Structured processes of differentiation are normal consequences of developments toward institutional complexity. As long as those processes only concerned societal niches and minority groups of a country's population they did not endanger the university. Departures from governing ideas and agreed upon procedures were not necessary under such circumstances. But this changed through the times and especially with the last 35 years of expansion. Expansion, it seems, not only provided chances and opportunities for society and its members. In many respects it also brought discontent, disturbances and critique.

There had been times – during the late sixties and early seventies – when those disturbances had been pacified through the generous distribution of money. And this – we are told – isn't possible anymore. At the same time it is – for different reasons – rather unlikely that individual investments in education will be stopped, that the necessities of higher

qualification will be doubted, that 'social cohesion and inclusion' will (consciously) be turned back. Higher education will have to deal with 'individualisation' and the related disturbances.

The supersession of 'normal biographies' by 'biographies by choice' has been emphasised as one feature of individualisation (Beck/Beck-Gernsheim 1994). The identification of 'biographies by choice' among students could be seen as a hint to individualisation in higher education. Here, it has to be admitted that it is not easy to proof this empirically. But still there are convincing information. .

The 'normal biography' of a student of the sixties would describe a person having taken the 'Abitur' between the age of 18 and 20, starting studies directly after successfully finishing the 'Abitur', having rather consciously chosen the field of study, rarely transferring to another field of study, not being obliged to earn the living besides the studies and not yet 'playing' an adult role in life (Haider 1986).

The 'new student' who chooses his or her biography must be characterised differently.

At the beginning of the 1980s, the adult student over 25 years of age formed a majority in all separate courses and most general and degree-oriented study programmes. The ordinary student has been working for a number of years, he or she might be married, and rather often set birth to new potential students (Abrahamsson 1984, p. 287).

Already back in the early 1980s, Geoffrey Squires proposed a classification of 'new groups', 'a new clientele', 'non-traditional students' among the student population of OECD countries. In terms of age and qualification he described

- young qualified school leavers as the traditional intake of higher education,
- young persons who enter higher education from vocational streams in secondary education,
- qualified ·adults who, for different reasons, deferred studies or prolonged them while combining studies and other activities,
- formally non-qualified adults who enter higher education under special admission policies (OECD 1983).

William Massy referred to non-traditional students as representing the 'new majority in American higher education' and defines them as '(1) all

currently enrolled undergraduates aged 25 or older; (2) all undergraduates under 25 years old who did not proceed directly from high school to college, who attend part-time, or who have 'stopped out' for more than one year' (Massy 1996, p. 18).

Already in 1987, according to Massy, nearly half of all undergraduates belonged to that group, and its steady expansion was predicted. Especially important in this respect are developments that had been described as 'vocationalism'. It refers to the fact that a majority of students 'focus especially on vocational objectives, but the fear of not finding a job after college is redefining the college years even for 'rite-of-passage' students who proceed directly from high school to college' (Massy 1996, p. 19) with enormous effects on colleges and universities (Karabell 1998; Lucas 1996; Readings 1996).

Recent German statistics show that the German student's average age is 25.5 years. In 1994, 46% of the male and 38% of the female students had been 26 years of age and older. In 1979 the respective numbers had been 32% and 19%. In 1979, 16% of all German students had finished vocational training before starting their studies. Until 1994 this quota grew to 23%. About 12% of all students tell that they work for more than 15 hours a week to earn their living. This number had been rather constant through the years. But there are indications to huge differences with respect to fields of study on the one hand and weekly workloads on the other.

The new students can also be characterised by a new study pattern: more part-time, more evening classes and decreasing degree-orientation (Abrahamsson 1984, p. 292).

According to Benshoff/Lewis (1992) these students are generally more achievement oriented than traditional students. They try to link their studies with their work experiences, their non-study-related commitments and responsibilities with their academic requirements which they approach actively and often rather pragmatically. They are highly motivated, view their studies as an investment and are strongly concerned about financial and family-related issues. The decisive factors pushing them to return to higher education are continuously changing job demands, career options as well as family life transitions, wishes for self-renewal and self fulfilment. Women, much more than men, believe themselves ill-prepared for university studies and experience much more often feelings of guilt with respect to family and children which obviously is a result of the competing requirements of family care on the one hand and school responsibilities on

the other. Men more often tend to change careers as a result of their studies, while women want to advance within the field they've been in before.

A special group among the non-traditional students are those which Squires in the OECD paper described as 'formally non-qualified adults who enter higher education under special admission policies' (OECD 1983, p. 166). This group of students, which became relevant with the establishment of 'distance education' and especially with the Swedish higher education reform of 1968 is with respect to individualisation in higher education of interest too.

In Germany these students gained some interest during the late 1980s and early 1990s. Even if complete and differentiated numbers on these students are not available do we, because of a number of studies which had been conducted, have some valid information on them (Rau 1999).

Data indicate that the majority of students with no formal qualification are women. The average student is in his early thirties and has his socio-economic roots in lower middle-class or middle-class families. Their careers in school and working life has led them to a demanding, highly qualified and rather prestigious employment often in service and administration were they, on the average, had been employed for more than ten years before they applied for higher education studies. Most of them describe their jobs as demanding and tell that they often had to deal with complicated tasks and supervisory responsibilities. On the other hand they've realised that they had no opportunities for advancement neither for further education. Many of them didn't experience their work as personally challenging anymore. In general, it can be said that they are familiar with the motivational and cognitive requirements of a qualifying education. This is not to say that these students do not experience problems in their studies. Quite naturally they lack competencies with respect to methodology, foreign languages and mathematics. But at the same time there are indications that most of them are able to deal with such problems successfully. Beyond that, they have a number of advantages – compared to traditional students – with respect to motivation, concentration and the organisation of their work.

They want more flexibility in their employment, want to work more independently, to make better use of their talents, preferences, interests and curiosities. Job security or a job's prestige are, on the other hand, rarely mentioned as decisive motives for application for higher education. The personal situation seems to influence such a decision. Quite often the applicant's personal circumstances have changed, friends and/or partners

311

have advanced in their jobs, they've met people with different, attracting life-styles, partners left, families disintegrated making room for new life-perspectives.

Data on comparable groups of students in other national systems of higher education point to similar results (Tuijnmann 1990; Kasworm 1993; Richardson 1994).

Disciplinary, Institutional and Student Cultures

The loosening of traditional forms of social action and conventional social ties as well as the loss of traditional certainties are two of the three dimensions with which Ulrich Beck has characterised individualisation as a feature of our recent society.

The argument of the paper is, that traces of these developments can be observed in higher education and that consequences result from these developments which are rarely discussed. Some of these traces are related to students which, as has been shown, no longer study according to traditional forms of studying. Expansion in higher education brought new students into the universities which don't have conventional ties to Academe. They are confronted with a generally rather homogeneous climate which, besides all variations and differentiations, still dominates the universities in most national systems of higher education.

The following paragraphs will refer to some of the features of variation. Even if not being of recent nature they still should be seen as relevant aspects of individualisation in higher education.

It was the American system of higher education which was the first to identify different groups of students inside the colleges and universities. Following from that, American higher education research already in the 1960s developed concepts and procedures for the description and analysis of institutions, their climates and environments (Astin/Holland 1961; Baird/Hartnett & Associates 1980). About two decades later, organisation theory and organisation studies developed the concepts of 'corporate culture' and 'organisational climate' which were quickly adapted to higher education. 'Student cultures', 'disciplinary cultures', 'the cultures of the academic profession', 'the culture of the institution' as well as 'cultures of national system of higher education' became hot issues in higher education research (Kuh/Witt 1988).

312

... the culture of an institution of higher education evolves from an interplay between the external environment and an institution's history, its formal organization, the attitudes faculty and students bring with them, and the beliefs they acquire about the college. Thus, a college reflects, to varying degrees, the values and accepted practices of the host society and those of constituents external to the institution (e. g. parents and governmental officials) and internal (faculty, administrators, and students). The conditions under which an institution was established and the convictions of founders and subsequent leaders may nurture that development of a distinctive ethos that is then reinforced by faculty and student beliefs and behaviors consistent with the sense of purpose and values on which the ethos is based (Kuh/Witt 1988, p. 52).

On a more general, a genuinely theoretical basis, Talcott Parsons and Gerald Platt in their study on *The American University* analysed the functions of the university, 'graduate training and research', 'general education and student socialisation', 'training for applied professions' and 'contributions to societal definitions of the situation by intellectuals as generalists' (Parsons/Platt 1973).

The interdependencies of these functions with structural features of the American university offer interesting insights into the variety of American higher education.

It was the American system of higher education which developed as a highly differentiated system. It grew from two sources, the English tradition of 'liberal education' and the German tradition of the 'research university'. Those traditions, as well as the conquest and colonisation of the land and every person's right to establish an institution of higher education laid the base for the diverse and highly differentiated system. Today there are more than 3000 institutions of higher education in the United States of America. Those institutions are categorised into six groups with altogether 19 sub categories and many other ways of classifying the institutions are discussed (Rau 1986). These classification schemes mostly refer to organisational features or missions of respective institutions.

The discovery of 'organisational climates' and 'corporate cultures' opened the observers' eyes for a new and fresh look at the peculiarities of institutions and academic disciplines. They can be analysed in a broader perspective and in much more detail.

Disciplinary cultures are described as 'hard-pure', 'soft-pure', 'hard-applied', and 'soft-applied' (Becher 1989) or as 'local-cosmopolitan', 'pure-applied', and 'humanistic-scientific' (Clark 1963).

Institutional cultures can be related to different backgrounds:

313

(1) historical roots, including religious convictions of founders, and external influences, particularly the support of the institution's constituents (e.g., alumni, philanthropic sponsors); (2) the academic program, including curricular emphases; (3) the personnel core, including faculty and other institutional agents who contribute to the maintenance of the institution's culture; (4) the social environment, particularly the influence of dominant student subculture(s); (5) artifactual manifestations of culture, such as architecture, customs, ceremonies, and rituals; (6) distinctive themes that reflect the institution's core values and beliefs transmitted by the ethos, norms, and saga; and (7) individual actors, such as founders or charismatic leaders (Kuh/Witt 1988, p. 53)

It should be obvious that those features derive from circumstances in the American system of higher education. In such detail they only can be found there.

Nevertheless, variety can be found in other national system of higher education too. It has been shown in studies on higher education's influence on students' attitudes and the socio-political development of young adults at institutions of higher education.

Since a couple of years, German higher education research has tried to adapt Pierre Bourdieu's concept of 'habitus' to the study of the socialising effects of higher education. Results show, that not only academic disciplines vary along the lines of disciplinary cultures. Even more so, students in those disciplines and fields develop (or already have) distinct dispositions and forms of action and behaviour. These make them unique and distinguishable from their fellow students in other fields (Huber/Liebau/Portele/Schütte 1983).

Student cultures and subcultures have been described as 'collegiate', 'vocational', 'academic' and 'nonconformist' (Clark/Trow 1966), by others as 'careerists', 'intellectuals', 'strivers' and 'unconnected' (Katchadourian/Boli 1985). Similar, sometimes even more elaborated typologies have been developed in European systems of higher education. Instructive for the German system are the results of Kellermann and Windolf (Kellermann 1986; Windolf 1992).

This is not the place to elaborate on the complexities of disciplinary, institutional and student cultures. Much more important is, what follows from the existence and the interdependence of the various cultures. What follows from the fact that the members of the university cannot agree on the university's mission' anymore? What does it mean that standards, norms, values are not accepted by all members of the university? What does it lead to when traditional forms of social action, conventional social

314

ties are no longer guiding higher education? What consequences are connected with the loosening of formerly existing certainties?

There can be no doubt that these problems are seen and analysed and these questions are answered. They are, of course, answered differently by the different members of the university, even more so by politicians and people outside the university. Doubts must be raised if only those answers should be discussed which are based on seemingly modern solutions which are connected with concepts like 'competition', 'efficiency', or 'effectiveness'. This is not to argue against such concepts, it is much more to argue for a constructive, adequate and proper use of those concepts.

Inclusion or Exclusion

The individualised society as well as its parts which 'suffer' from individualisation have not only lost their traditional forms of social action, their conventional ties and formerly existing certainties. At the same time – according to Ulrich Beck – new linkages to unavoidable societal requirements and necessities have been developed.

In German higher education these requirements are – among others – described as 'internationalisation', 'cost-effectiveness', 'excellence' and 'market orientation'. The German universities are challenged to regain the world-wide reputation they've had at the beginning of the 20th century. Most of the members of the scientific community are willing to accept this challenge. Probably many of them are even able to meet it.

But will they meet the other challenge too? Will the university at the same time be able to offer a decent education, a useful training and not at least an interesting time for the masses of individualised students? Will the university be able to prepare masses of young adults for an uncertain future where no guarantees for decent jobs can be given anymore?

Of course, there are plans and proposals which are intensively discussed and often even quickly implemented. There are models and seemingly stunning successes which can be adapted. And this is done too. But is this done thoughtfully, constructively? Have the models, their prerequisites and conditions, their historical and cultural patterns really been reflected, have their consequences really been studied? Or are all the activities more or less symbolic actions, nothing more than a signal that something is been done?

315

The 're-invention' of short cycled study programs (Bachelor of Arts) is nothing more than a fake as long as those programs do not reflect and take into concern the individualised motives and diverse intentions of today's students. The renaming of study programs does not guarantee a better, neither a faster nor a more suitable education. It does not create a single job.

Excellence in teaching and research cannot be reached only through the implementation of performance oriented budgeting, through reward or punishment as long as it has not been decided what should happen with the 'loosers' in such a race. Where excellence is there have to be ordinary standards too! What happens to the ordinary who do their work as good as they can? Until today, nobody wants to get rid of them. At least, nobody says so! To the contrary! Qualified education and training, as a necessity to survive the world wide competition, is praised by politicians and industry people. So what can be done?

The challenge the universities are confronted with is to develop and secure highest quality in teaching and research and at the same time deliver and guarantee a decent and properly qualifying education and training for huge amounts of young (and not so young anymore!) people. The challenge is to serve and satisfy a relatively small number of highly motivated, research driven, extremely specialised experts (students, professors and scientists) as well as the large number of students who are not so much interested in research and scientific discoveries, who rather pragmatically look for advice, support and help with their search for a future perspective on the labour market as well as in life.

I don't think that the challenge is, to be 'equal and excellent too', at least not in a sense which relates equality with identical rewards and payments. I am convinced that students see, respect and accept their different intentions and consequently the diverse promises which are connected with these intentions. Moreover, I am convinced that even the academic staff has various interests and that parts of it would be happy not to be forced to fulfil duties which they don't prefer to do (like 'publish or perish'). Be it teaching or research.

The task is to make these interests and intentions, the expectations and preferences fit. During the 'old days' they fit by definition, through the 'unity of teaching and research'. Many in (German) higher education still believe that they fit. I doubt that. Moreover, I think that the continuous clinging to such a conviction excludes (probably unwillingly) the majority of students from their institutions. With respect to equal opportunity this is

much worse than a clear institutional differentiation in accordance with the students' interests.

If something is to be learned from American higher education it is not so much privatisation, the creation of mission statements, fund raising or the introduction of bachelor programs. It is much more the ways and means of institutional differentiation which are able to include large parts of the relevant age group as well as steadily growing parts of the general population into higher education.

It is often overlooked that even the American system of higher education is in deep trouble, confronted with problems which in many respects resemble the European and certainly the German ones. Therefore it may be meaningful to end this paper with an advice which had been given by an American scholar to the American university system. In some respect it may be helpful for the German university too.

So let the university be a place with multiple owners, each with their own vision. Let each have a voice in preserving, constructing, and developing the American college. The result may not be neat; it may be unwieldy. But it will serve an American society that has since the beginning been messy, contradictory, and at its best, incredibly vibrant and astonishingly creative (Karabell 1998, p. 246).

References

Abrahamsson, K. (1984). 'Does the Adult Majority Create New Patterns of Student Life? Some Experiences of Swedish Higher Education.' *European Journal of Education*, 3, 283-298.

Alexander, J. C. (1995). *Fin de Siècle Social Theory*. London: Verso.

Astin, A. W./Holland, J. L. (1961). 'The Environmental Assessment Technique: A Way to Measure College Environments.' *Journal of Educational Psychology*, 6, 308-316.

Baird, L. L./Hartnett, R. T. & Associates (1980). *Understanding Student and Faculty Life. Using Campus Surveys to Improve Academic Decision Making*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Becher, T. (1989). *Academic Tribes and Territories*. Milton Keynes: The Society for Research into Higher Education.

Beck, U. (1986). *Risikogesellschaft*. Frankfurt/M.: Suhrkamp.

Beck, U./Beck-Gernsheim, E. (1994). Individualisierung in modernen Gesellschaften – Perspektiven und Kontroversen einer subjektorientierten Soziologie. In Beck, U./ Beck-Gernsheim, E. (eds.), *Riskante Freiheiten* (pp. 10-39), Frankfurt/M.: Suhrkamp.

Benshoff, J. M./Lewis, H. A. (1992). *Non-traditional College Students*. Ann Arbor: Clearinghouse on Counseling and Personnel Services.

Clark, B. R. (1963). Faculty Culture. In Lunsford, T. (ed.), *The Study of Campus Cultures* (pp. 167-182). Boulder: Western Interstate Commission on Higher Education.

Clark, B. R. (1966). College Teaching. In Vollmer, H. M./Mills, D. L. (eds.), *Professionalization* (pp. 283-291). Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall.

Clark, B. R./Trow, M. (1966). The Organizational Context. In Newcomb, T. M./Wilson, E. K. (eds.), *College Peer Groups* (pp. 17-70). Chicago: Aldine.

Giddens, A. (1990). *The Consequences of Modernity.* Oxford: Polity Press.

Giddens, A. (1996). Leben in einer posttraditionalen Gesellschaft. In Beck, U./Giddens, A./ Lash, S., *Reflexive Modernisierung* (pp. 113-194). Frankfurt/M.: Suhrkamp.

Haider, E. (1986). Student '84. Entwicklungstendenzen und Strukturdaten der österreichischen Studierenden. In Kellermann, P. (ed.), *Universität und Hochschulpolitik*. Wien: Böhlau.

Hondrich, K. O. (1994). Totenglocke im Elfenbeinturm. *Der SPIEGEL*, 6.

Huber, L./Liebau, E./Portele, G./Schütte, W. (1983). Fachcode und studentische Kultur. In Becker, E. (ed.), *Reflexionsprobleme der Hochschulforschung* (pp. 144-170). Weinheim: Beltz.

Huber, L. (1987). Wandel der Studentenrolle. In Röhrs, H. (ed.), *Tradition und Reform der Universität unter internationalem Aspekt* (pp. 285-301). Frankfurt/M.: Lang.

Karabell, Z. (1998). *What's College For? The Struggle to Define American Higher Education.* New York: Basic Books.

Kasworm, C. (1993). 'Adult Higher Education from an International Perspective.' *Higher Education*, 3, 411-423.

Katchadourian, H. A./Boli, J. (1985). *Careerism and Intellectualism among College Students*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Kellermann, P. (1986). Zum Wandel der dominanten Phänotypen des 'Gesamtstudenten' im Rahmen gesellschaftlicher Organisation der Arbeit. In Neusel, A./Teichler, U. (eds.), *Hochschulentwicklung seit den sechziger Jahren* (pp. 309-346). Weinheim: Beltz.

Kuh, G. D./Whitt, E. J. (1988). *The Invisible Tapestry*. Washington D.C.: Association for the Study of Higher Education.

Liebau, E. (1984). 'Academic Study and Prospects for Life: Observations and Reflections on the Contemporary Situation of West German Students.' *European Journal of Education*, 3, 269-282.

Lucas, C. J. (1996). *Crisis in the Academy. Rethinking Higher Education in America.* New York: St. Martin's Griffin.

Massy, W. F. (1996). Reengineering Resource Allocation Systems. In Massy, W. F. (ed.), *Resource Allocation in Higher Education* (pp. 15-47). Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press.

OECD (ed.) (1983). *Policies for Higher Education in the 1980s*. Paris: OECD.

Parsons, T./Platt, G.M. (1973). *The American University*. Cambridge/Mass.: Harvard University Press.

Rau, E. (1986). 'Ansätze zur Erfassung institutioneller Vielfalt im Hochschulsystem der USA.' *Beiträge zur Hochschulforschung*, 1/2, 145-170.

Rau, E. (1999). 'Non-traditional Students in a Traditional System of Higher Education: The German Case of Formally Non-qualified Students.' *Higher Education in Europe*, 3, 375-383.

Readings, B. (1996). *The University in Ruins*. Cambridge/Mass.: Harvard University Press.

Richardson, J.T.E. (1994). 'Mature Students in Higher Education: Academic Performance and Intellectual Ability.' *Higher Education*, 3, 373-386.

Teichler, U. (1981). *Der Arbeitsmarkt für Hochschulabsolventen*. München: Saur.

Tuijnmann, A. (1990). 'Dilemmas of Open Admission Policy: Quality and Efficiency in Swedish Higher Education.' *Higher Education*, 3, 443-457.

Windolf, P. (1992). 'Fachkultur und Studienfachwahl.' *Kölner Zeitschrift für Soziologie und Sozialpsychologie*, 1, 76-98.

This book deals with three major fields of contemporary education in Europe: *Intercultural education*, *values in education* and *educational institutions*. In each of these central areas education in currently confronted with rapid changes related to the process of European unification and globalization which is considerably altering the frame of reference for nation-based cultures and educational systems. The enlargement of Europe in the years to come constitutes one of the most challenging developments in the European Union. This development will make the communication between the members of the different cultures even more crucial than it is today. In this process the commonalities and differences between European nation states, cultures and regions play an important role. How to handle these will be among the central tasks of the future. In the European Union, education is destined to become an increasingly intercultural task.