The affective dimension of education: European perspectives

Edited by:
Isabel Menezes, Joaquim L. Coimbra & Bártolo P. Campos
The affective dimension of education: European perspectives

edited by

Isabel Menezes, Joaquim Luís Coimbra and Bártolo P. Campos
Faculty of Psychology and Education at Sciences, of Porto University.

FCT Fundação para a Ciência e a Tecnologia
MINISTÉRIO DA CIÊNCIA, INOVAÇÃO E DO ENSINO SUPERIOR  Portugal

Centro de Psicologia
CONTENTS

Introduction
Isabel Menezes v

Part 1
Contemporary challenges to affect and learning

1 Subjective perceptions of uncertainty and risk in contemporary societies:
   Affective-educational implications
   Joaquim Luís Coimbra 3

2 Education and integrity: The role of affective education
   Ron Best 13

3 Life-long affective learning: New prospectives for a more effective affective
   education in the "risk society"
   Donata Francescato, Minou Mebane & Manuela Tomai 25

4 Children's media use and new rhetoric of learning
   Niels Kryger 41

5 Caring about learning
   Mike Calvert 59

Part 2
Cross-national and national research on affective dimensions

6 Policy, mission and mind: Some issues in international comparisons of
   affective education
   Peter Lang 75

7 Promoting creativity in schools: Comparing students' and teachers' attitudes at
   lower and secondary levels of schools
   Arja Puurula 91

8 The cultural context of learning - with a special focus on the affective dimension
   Birte Ravn 103

9 Trained or learnt? A structural model of the key skills programme in England
   Sean Neill 121

10 Intergenerational (dis)continuities in the commitment to work: The relational
    impact of parents' work
    Inês Nascimento, Joaquim Luís Coimbra & Isabel Menezes 135
Part 3
Citizenship education in schools and beyond

12 Education for citizenship in the last decade: A European context
   Concepción Naval

13 The place of citizenship education in the curriculum: Its role, identity, records, and intervention strategies
   Paulo Torres Bento

14 Learning climate in higher education: Implications for citizenship education
   Pedro M. Teixeira & Isabel Menezes

15 The relevance of the quality of life-experiences for citizenship development: An inter-domain developmental study
   Pedro D. Ferreira & Isabel Menezes
Introduction

Back in 1994, a group of European educational researchers and professionals was invited by Peter Lang to a meeting in the University of Warwick. Despite being a diverse group in terms of areas of research, disciplines, work contexts, nationalities ... they all shared a common interest in a specific question that Ron Best formulates very clearly in this book: “Are we really committed to the education of the child as a whole person or are we only really concerned about their cognitive development?” (p. 21). The recognition of the significance of affect as a central component (not as an unfortunate by-product) of the educational process has been the motto for several joint initiatives – including a European network, research projects, participation in scientific meetings, publications, and organization of seminars for presentation and (intense and vivid) debate of our ideas and projects. This book is a tribute to this cooperative work and results mainly from one of our seminars that took place at the Faculty of Psychology and Education al Sciences, of Porto University following the Midsummer Night of 2001.

This book is organized into three parts. Part One assembles a sequence of papers that discuss and reflect on contemporary challenges to affect and learning. Joaquim Coimbra deconstructs and denaturalizes the ‘new’ and ‘growing’ feelings of uncertainty and insecurity as “the zeitgeist of Western contemporary societies” (p. 3) and challenge us to question our extreme singularity and subjectivity and its consequences, by putting ourselves (and our feelings) in the social and cultural context and by reassuming responsibility for the world – implying here the recognition of the centrality of relationships in the educational process. Ron Best’s emphasis on integrity – both as a “state of wholeness” and a state of “honesty, sincerity” (p. 14) – points out a possible way for schools and teachers to deal with this responsibility. However, he considers that recent educational policies in the UK interfere with this goal, points out several areas of neglect, and recommends strategies for fostering students’ “capacity to form and sustain positive relationships with those different from ourselves” (p. 22). Furthermore, as Donata Francescato, Minou Mebane and Manuela Tomai stress, this is not solely a school endeavour: the communities we live in are also contexts for developing a shared identity and sense of belonging. The authors urge us to confront the myth of “the individual’s responsibility in building his/her own destiny” by listening to the multiple “personal, community, political and cultural narratives” (p. 36) and suggest community profiling as a strategy for empowerment. Niels Kryger looks further into yet another context for children’s learning, the new media, and critically analyses the ambivalent discourses surrounding this phenomenon: while some argue that the
“new media” reverse the traditional expert-adult/novice-child hierarchy in learning, others consider that "children should be protected" (p. 43) through an emphasis on the transmission of a cultural heritage. Illustrating this tension with the case of "Maria" he concludes that we must focus "on how children and young people socially and culturally deal with the new reality and how the transmission of cultural elements takes place" (p. 56). Finally, Mike Calvert, relying on the British experience of pastoral care, discusses the meaning and relationship between learning and caring acknowledging the malaise that surrounds the pursuit of both cognitive and affective goals in education – the whole person as Best puts it.

Part Two includes a series of research using both cross-national comparisons and specific national analysis. Peter Lang begins by advocating the "value of taking a comparative perspective" (p. 75), but defy us to consider some problems related to the definition(s) and meaning(s) of affective education, even if there is a growing reference to affective goals in educational reforms all over the world. However, Lang states that "this is unlikely to be enough to impact significantly on individual teachers’ attitudes and responses" unless we win “their minds” (p. 88) – and comparative research might be useful to accomplish this. Arja Puurula, in a contribution that celebrates her love for the Arts and remind us all of her emphasis on empirical evidence, uses the data of the European Affective Education Research and compares the attitudes of students and teachers regarding the importance of creativity development in the school. Interestingly, results show that “fostering creativity and talents were generally seen as important by the respondents, but teachers saw this as more important than students” (p. 98). Birte Ravn also discusses the data of a cross-national study, the ENCOMPASS, that involved both pupils and teachers from England, France and Denmark. She begins to discuss the various concepts of education in the three countries, showing how this implies different rapports between the academic and affective dimensions and illustrating the implications of these differences in the school organisation, in the management of "the affective domains of teaching and learning" (p. 107) and in the pupils’ experience. Sean Neill presents a research study on the Key Skills Support Program designed to support teachers in dealing with the key skills approach. Results show that “experienced staff have more confidence (...) and are better able to use the facilities offered” (p. 128) and that students “seem to have derived more confidence from the knowledge they have gained via experience” of key skills (p. 133), even if their enthusiasm declined with time, which might be related to implementation problems associated with "the constant educational change impose[d] from above" (p. 134). Inês Nascimento, Joaquim Coimbra and Isabel Menezes present a study on the relational impact of parents’ work from the
perspective of young adult children that reveal interesting intergenerational continuities: “when participants wish to be like their parents in the relationship with children they also want to be like their parents in the relationship with work” (p. 119), thus emphasizing the centrality of affect in the meaning-making of both work and parental roles. Shlomo Romi closes this section with a paper that uses affective education as a rationale for a therapeutic intervention program for dropout adolescents, the Child and Youth Advancement. The program combines personal guidance, completion of education, promotion of social values and personal skills interventions so that the adolescent will develop “the necessary educational foundation required by any person in today’s culture” and “the basic coping skills with the social environment” (p. 156).

Part Three includes four chapters that analyse citizenship education in schools and beyond. Concepcion Naval presents a chronology of European research in the field that lists the major initiatives of various organizations, and concludes that there is an “international consensus on the need for democracy and the importance of education for its advancement” (p. 165). Taking the Portuguese curricular evolution in the area as a point of departure, Paulo Bento considers the different roles that citizenship education can assume: “as a social, political, cultural or religious control factor, as a measure of compensatory legitimation or as an emancipatory opportunity” (p. 169), and points out the limits of an unchanged “academic and sectional” (p. 171) curriculum. Pedro Teixeira and Isabel Menezes present a study with university students revealing some interesting relationships between students’ perceptions of classroom climate – particularly teacher support, participation, innovation and knowledge diversity – and political attitudes and engagement, suggesting that we should “think of classrooms as places where citizenship is, whether we acknowledge it or not, in motion” (p. 183). Finally, Pedro Ferreira and Isabel Menezes consider the quality of life experiences of adolescents and young adults, “putting a focus on real life participation experiences and how these can be related to developmental outcomes” (p. 189) in the political realm, and concluding that when these experiences “provide individuals with opportunities for engaging in real and meaningful actions (...) balanced with an environment that promotes open reflection, interchange and dialogue” (p. 198) more complex and integrated modes of political thought seem to be encouraged, which might have relevant implications for the design of educational projects in the field of citizenship.

Obviously this book was only possible with not a little but a huge help from several “friends”. The institutional support of the Centro de Psicologia, a research unit of the Faculty of Psychology and Education of Porto University, and the stimulus of its director, Marianne Lacomblez; the
financial support of the Portuguese Foundation of Science and Technology; the authors who contributed with their work, patience and support — and they will all understand why I evoke Arja and how delighted she would have been with this publication; my two co-editors who have been "partners in crime" for several years; and, last but not least, to Deidré Matthee who made us all look as writing an ordinary version of the English language.

Isabel Menezes
Contemporary challenges to affect and learning
SUBJECTIVE PERCEPTIONS OF UNCERTAINTY AND RISK
IN CONTEMPORARY SOCIETIES: AFFECTIVE-EDUCATIONAL IMPLICATIONS

Joaquim Luís Coimbra
Faculty of Psychology and Educational Sciences, Porto University, Portugal

Uncertainty, risk, insecurity and other terms in the same semantic constellation can be considered the zeitgeist of Western contemporary societies, affecting daily life and experience. Both psychological and socio-cultural points of view will be assumed in order to identify some of the antecedents of this phenomenon. Rationality, control and meaning-making processes will be used as conceptual tools to understand psychological organization of life experience in articulation with the decline of grand collective socio-cultural narratives and the parallel evolving process that goes from the emergence of individuality to its extreme version: the consolidation of individual singularity. Implications will be discussed in relation to the understanding of adolescents' school experience and to teachers' educational intervention.

In this sense, the subjective experience of uncertainty will be analysed, following this sequence of steps:

(a) how the problem has been formulated, i.e., some consider it as a new psychological and social problem, while others take it as an invariant of the human experience of existing in the world; some perspectives elect the social, cultural and/or political level of analysis while others prefer to underline the psychological dimension of the problem; in the interior of psychological perspectives it is possible to observe that some are restrained to the intrapsychic level of analysis while others can be characterized by broader and more comprehensive ways of understanding in different degrees: individual, relational, group, institutional, or community/contextual points of view;

(b) the most pregnant psychological aspects that emerge from the subjective experience of uncertainty;

(c) the analysis of a wider dimension of social, cultural and political factors which create the context that might influence the individual feature of uncertainty and risk from which it might be understood the effective valuing, in contemporary societies, of an individual subject, left to his/her own, confronting the task of constructing a viable sense for his/her own existence, i.e., the conscious, autonomous individual and singular subject, considering the range of implications, that stem from this situation (e.g., the "blaming of the victim" phenomenon).
(d) The possibilities of searching for integration of both latter dimensions of analysis (e.g., to which extent is the psychological category the reflection, at an individual level, of social and political features of the societies we live in, or to put in other words, how it is usual that, in our societies, political problems become "naturally" transformed into psychological/individual problems).

(e) The exploration of cultural sources of uncertainty, including the socialization deficit (in both levels, primary and secondary), the ideology of rationality and control, and finally, the value of individualism.

(f) Last, but not the least, educational implications will be inferred from previous reflection and analysis.

Uncertainty and insecurity

In effect, uncertainty can be considered one of the main symptoms of our societies. The psychological origin of this feeling of uncertainty (and of insecurity) stems from our attachment relationships in different levels of security [or basic trust, as Erikson (1963) has proposed]. According to John Bowlby's (1982) attachment model, we are condemned to construct a subjective representation of ourselves, the significant other and the world. The psychological management of uncertainty comes from the possibility of representing the world as predictable (in reasonable ways), regarding the relationships between objects/elements, out of our daily experience.

The usual understanding of attachment is to conceive it as a source of emotional relationships meaning. Less usual is the perspective according to which attachment is the origin of how power relationships are understood (Marris, 1996). It follows that the management of uncertainty is an issue of meaning and power/competition (for autonomy and control) in different levels of individual and social functioning. In addition, one may question whether and to what extent contemporary societies undermine the sense of security individuals struggle to attain.

This might be a case for considering psychological and social origins of uncertainty and of the ways to manage it. But what is, in this reasoning, understood as psychological? A brief clarification of the concept might be useful to appreciate further analysis. The category of psychological is, here, envisaged from an anti-essentialist and anti-substantivist point of view which could be condensed by the expression: "there is no essence: only existence". Indeed, the psychological is the outcome of a historical and social never-ending process where the
construction and internal organization of individuals as subjects of meanings, emotions, thoughts and actions takes place. Secondly, the main source of such a construction process is to be looked for in human relationships, particularly those very special relationships that take attachment as their central feature; in other words, close relationships, emotionally invested, affectively charged, having very special and effective channels of transmission and communication (for the best as well as for the worst), and that have, as main pillar, security in different degrees. It is a sort of psychological “consanguinity” that keeps people connected or even attached as if there was a kind of “glue”... In sum, if one risks the use “essence” in reference to psychological phenomena, one should say that it is of a relational nature.

Finally, it is worth to complete this conception by saying that, in addition to understanding the psychological as the outcome of a relationships history, one should not forget that it is also the individual expression of a certain culture on different levels (contents, processes and structures).

Psychological and developmental roots of uncertainty and of personal resources to cope with it are to be found in attachment relationships (secure versus insecure) or, to use a different framework, in basic trust versus basic distrust, as E. Erikson would prefer to put it. In addition, the hypothesis of a social, cultural and political source of uncertainty deserves, also an analysis, since it can be considered that societies may facilitate or create difficulties to the individual search for security. In this sense, what is the role of contemporary societies?

One frequently hears and reads about a growing feeling of uncertainty in our societies. Uncertainty, insecurity and risk are ever present words in dominant social discourse, namely in mass media. Is it the case to talk of more insecure, uncertain and risky societies (vd., Beck, 1992)? To begin with, it should be asserted that uncertainty and risk are an invariant of human existence all over the centuries. Was it a certain and secure world the one that was experienced during the Middle Ages? The plagues concerning health, the climatic changes with respect to agricultural harvests or the arbitrary power of feudal suzerains can only lead us to the conclusion that human experience during that era was not so certain, secure or risk-free. Other historical examples could be presented. What is the main reason why people in our societies tend to express more acute feelings of uncertainty? The answer can be found both at individual and social levels.

**Why uncertainty is felt as a “contemporary” phenomenon**

Regarding the first – or the more psychological one –, perhaps the key factor lies in the inevitable condition of human beings, “condemned”, as they are, to construct meaning for their
own experiences of existing in the world. It is, indeed, absolutely indispensable for us to interpret, to understand, to create a meaning for our experiences, for ourselves, as individual subjects, and for the world. It is through the meaning-making activity that a sense of coherence, consistency and, therefore, control can be achieved. The world appears and is felt as liveable if we can symbolize it. In contrast, we are not individual viable subjects if the world is perceived and felt in the absence of sense (diabolic in opposition to symbolic). The emptiness resulting from the impossibility and/or absence of meaning is, in fact, unbearable for human beings.

One should agree, in consequence, on the primacy of meaning (its structures and processes) in human psychological functioning. Furthermore, all the dimensions of psychological functioning express different modes (languages) and levels of such a meaning construction activity. Emotions – we are not concerned here with the differentiation between ground, primary or social emotions, as Damásio (2003) has proposed – are, indeed, a first level of meaning making for our experience. Although primitive, and, precisely because of it, they constitute powerful and decisive ways of meaning construction stemming from the body “theatre”. On a second level, feelings appear as a more elaborated process of meaning construction, this time in the mind “theatre”. When these feelings are submitted to human reflection, reasoning and thought, they attain a more complex shape, one of a cognitive nature. Evidently, since human action is rarely random or without purpose, it should also be considered as a way of expressing meaning in behavioural terms, being regulated by special kinds of meanings we use to call intentions and expectations, among others. In conclusion, meaning making (and its processes and structures) works as an essential device to exercise control at the individual level.

On the other hand, it is common to hear about the crisis of meaning and about the malaise/unease that it provokes in contemporary societies, dominated, as they seem to be, by turbulence, surprise, unpredictability, instability, indetermination and precariousness. The appearance of the main psychological function of meaning making, as a way of creating a world where individual and collective life is possible, a world of relative stability (or of predictable relationships and legitimate expectations), a world that is the adequate context for our projects and actions seems, then, to be threatened.

One of the factors that might be related to the growing feeling of uncertainty and to difficulties of giving a sense to human experience in our societies concerns the loss of power of past grand collective and inclusive meta-narratives that used to accomplish that mission of providing a coherent meaning to human existence. To put it in concrete terms; if we go back to the example already mentioned of uncertainty in the Middle Ages, the analysis will be incomplete if we do not consider the fact that medieval societies were dominated by a theocentric culture where the religious and political powers were mixed. In this case, belonging to such a society entailed the integration in a collective meta-narrative that produced a message of this type: “to suffer on
Subjective perceptions of uncertainty and risk

earth in order to deserve a place in Heaven”. The world appeared to be organized, predictable and with its own intrinsic order – in psychological terms: ordered, predictable and, thus, controllable. Of course, such a message was effective because this collective narrative was imposed on individuals and communities, leaving no room of manoeuvre for alternatives. It was not susceptible to discussion, questioning or option. To the extent that it was universally inclusive, it was equally oppressive. Nevertheless, the meaning of human life was guaranteed. Other grand meta-narratives emerged in subsequent times. Although not so strong, they played the role of salvation narratives, thus, providing a sense for human existence and a meaning for the future. Such have been the cases of democracy (after the French Revolution and its ideals of liberty, equality and fraternity), promising the resolution of human problems; of political ideologies (like communism) creating the hope of a new man and of a just society; of science and technology, contributing to the illusion that sooner or later all sources of uncertainty and incapacity of control would be explained and mastered.

The evolution with regard to the strength and the inclusive character of these collective narratives has been in the direction of its banishment. They are not so strong (and impositive) and inclusive (it is not a coincidence that nowadays we live in exclusive societies). The counterpart has been the emancipation of individuals and the enlargement of the range of personal options and choices.

It is not also a coincidence at all that Psychology emerged at the end of the nineteenth century accompanying the process of individualization of human life. Indeed, psychological services, professional and interventions play, presently, the role of supporting individual subjects to cope with the burden of constructing by themselves a viable sense/meaning for their lives. Career guidance and counselling are not more than an illustration of that role of the quest for sense (when it takes as reference the relationship with learning and working).

It should be noted that the weakening of collective narratives parallels the process of individualization of human life until its present extreme version: the radical singularity of personhood. In addition to the fact that increasingly we feel obliged to handle by ourselves existential tasks and challenges, we also are expected to have a unique personality that has to be publicly expressed and exposed in order to be socially recognized and/or to accede to social opportunities (e.g., to apply for a job in labour market).

Left to him/herself, the individual tends to experience more difficulties in managing uncertainty (an alternative way to express the notion of control or agency). The complexity and apparent fragmentation of the social realities we live in create additional obstacles to the task of identifying patterns and regularities in events that allow for prediction and control. When things seem to be unpredictable, people keep their choices of action open (for instance, in career
decisions); in more severe situations, the tendency is to withdraw into familiar certainties or fall into despair (Morris, 1996).

The problem seems to be that in an individualized society assets of power, control, agency or uncertainty management are, objectively, unevenly distributed. As Campos (1992) and Law (1991) put it, the problem is that different levels of personal power in interaction with social power produce also different personal and social outcomes. The less equipped, the weakest have, obviously, less probability of effectively managing uncertainty, and, in many cases, their attempts to achieve control over situations produce the sole result of confirming their weakness: social exclusion is in great part the expression of uncertainty in our societies in the absence of personal management resources.

The problem can now be reformulated: it refers not only to individual/psychological versus social/political roots of uncertainty but to their interaction. In more specific terms: the interaction between the personal construction of a sense of agency, in the framework of a subjective representation of a relatively and reasonably predictable world, and, on the other hand, the social organization of powers of control of relationships and freedom of action, unequally distributed by individuals.

According to Marris (1996), this interaction has not been a sufficient and satisfying object of study and research. He claims that this occurs partly because of our social organization of knowledge systems on a disciplinary basis, separating the psychology of individual action from the analysis of social organization and vice-versa. For example, Psychology tends to explain, in a self-sufficient way, the origins of anxiety and depression, taking as basis criterion a self-confident, autonomous and secure personality. As mentioned earlier, are not these psychological attributes the sediments (the residual elements) of a personal experience culturally embedded? On the other side, sociological, anthropological and political approaches are more interested in the uneven distribution of wealth and power. Each one does not have much to say about the way conditions are created out of which anxiety and depression emerge and grow and become a generalized sense of social malaise as it appears to occur in Western contemporary societies or about the source of what could be designated as the present growth of the "politics of uncertainty" (cf. Marris, 1996)?

The same could be asserted in relation to the observed competition to struggle for autonomy in which each one attempts to protect his/her freedom of action and power at the cost of constraining others, i.e., the weakest from social, cultural and economic points of view. The result is the maximization of uncertainty since that competition undermines reciprocity in human relationships. For the segregated, the options left, in addition to religion (avoiding any value
judgement in this respect) are, in many cases, superstition and magical thinking as strategies of acquiring some sense of control over their lives.

Reciprocity acts, undoubtedly, as a condition for more balanced human relationships, in the sense that the less we are concerned to meet each other expectations, the less trustworthy are the interaction patterns on which we rely, and, finally the more uncertainty we produce for ourselves and others.

The implications with respect to knowledge areas involved in the analysis of personal and social management of uncertainty may be well expressed by means of two types of adversity: (a) social knowledge cannot disregard the individual/personal dimension of social organization and policies; (b) it appears to be urgent to denaturalize psychological assumptions and constructs, paying more attention to cultural and political aspects of human living, as well as to claim for the loss of innocence of some "idealism" and "romanticisms" in some psychological perspectives which tend to ignore the determinant dimension of power in human experience and action, addressing the individual subject as if he/she lived in a social vacuum where extra-personal levels over determination of life did not exist.

The main present problem is that the social-cultural source of uncertainty seems to be its growing influence in everyday life individual experience: "will the plant close?"; "what will be the results of the biopsy?". The common characteristic of these situations is that they require that we act when we cannot predict what the outcome will be. The so-called present social crisis has contaminated family, school and community as contexts of learning how to deal and manage uncertainty. If someone close to us is waiting for the results of a biopsy, we too, are confronted with the possibility of illness, pain, or even death, because psychological preparation is a vital defence against the possible grief of losing the future. Moreover, such uncertainties interact with others related to the personal knowledge about the functioning of the human body; about how the medical practice is regulated; about how competent medical doctors are as members of a system expected to be highly differentiated, intellectually specialized and competent to resolve this sort of uncertainties; about the perception of the social guarantees of quality and effectiveness of the medical profession. In addition, my interpretation of the sick person's own self report (i.e., whether he/she appears to be stoical, complaining, anxious, calm, positive, depressed...) affects also my uncertainty, and, finally, it questions my sense of responsibility for others. With this, anger, fear, irritation or guilt might arise, bringing up unresolved issues in our relationship. The way out can be found by bringing the relationship back into a predictable pattern, trying to provide reassurance, attention and care, using a kind of tacit knowledge, or to express it better, meaning, in order to overcome own and other uncertainty.
Health problems are one of the best examples to illustrate the human experience of uncertainty (which includes many other aspects, not mentioned in the above case, such as indeterminate waits for medical appointments or treatments or the confrontation with inadequate, ambiguous or evasive information in the context of ambivalent relationships established with health professionals, among others).

Individually, we tend to interpret these sort of uncertainties of everyday life in terms of our self doubts rather than considering the social and cultural structures which condition them. We imagine that if we were cleverer, less shy, more secure or confident, we could, perhaps, cope with uncertainty as other people appear to be coping. Then, in result of the fact that each of us tends to hide his/her sense of personal inadequacy, we are slow to perceive how our culture induces these type of feelings. For instance, some women may feel helplessness and despair in managing a double career and caring about children without the emotional support of their husbands. In most cases, they will believe that problems and difficulties are a result of their incapacity and depression (for which psychologists and doctors may be treating them).

Naturally, this tendency to blame oneself for the world is a strategy for mastering uncertainty: to mistrust oneself or others might be less frightening than to acknowledge how dangerously, untrustworthy society may be. Voilà the reason why some consider culture as a form of socially organized and institutionalised basic distrust (e.g., in Ancient Iraq writing was invented as memory support to prevent deviations and agreement violations in trade relationships).

All our actions depend on the power to reduce uncertainty to a residue of unknowns within a context of predictable relationships. This is the more general problem of how to construct a meaning for making life seem manageable: to live and act we necessitate “illusions”, and simultaneously, to keep always in mind that they are essentially and not more than “illusions”.

The aggravation of uncertainty

Skipping frequently mentioned social change factors – as is the case for acceleration of time, scientific and technological development, global competitiveness, work centrality (its scarcity, instability and precariousness), the breaking down of social protection systems, from a never ending list of distinctive characteristics of our societies –, three sorts of phenomena work to aggravate the sense of uncertainty: (a) the socialization deficit; (b) the scientism ideology; (c) the individualization of social life (the individual as the target).

The socialization deficit is revealed by the weakening of collective shared references (including the socio-cultural meta-narratives earlier evoked), both at the primary (family) and secondary
levels (school, community, work...). The consequences can be felt in terms of diminishing social cohesion and inclusion, but also as a sense of insecurity concerning the heritage to be passed from one generation to the following one, or to say it differently: the difficulty of assuming the responsibility for the world (with everything it has of good and bad), to use the expression Hanna Arendt chose, from the part of the adult generation. Such hesitation, uncertainty and insecurity in the transmission of a cultural heritage from one generation to another is, in fact, a double-edged one: it affects not only contents but also processes of transmission (cf. Coimbra, 2003).

Democracy in the family private space may be in many cases the expression of the difficulties felt by parents confronted with the task of guiding, influencing and fostering their children’s development in order to support them in finding a place in the world (“It is his problem; we don’t want to influence his career choices”, so we hear).

A second important, although paradoxical, source of uncertainty comes from the effects of scientism, rationality and its illusion of control. A more conscious and reflexive society like the one we live in presently, influenced, as it is, by the power of science and technology, produces higher levels of control expectations. People become more exigent concerning such a control capacity. The necessary result is the production of more uncertainty. The technological possibilities of identifying different and new substances in human food (e.g., animal meat) is creating a feeling of distrust, not to say fear. Our basic sense of inability to control the unexpected and the still unknown by science and technology suggest the sentence by Thomas Lawrence: “life is what happens to us while we are making other plans.” However, the information society has a basic premise according to which more information generates more knowledge, which, in turn, produces more power to control. Indeed, it makes sense to speak of information addiction and the deceptions it creates.

A last cause we would like to add to this reflection concerns the role played and the effects produced by individualism and subjectivism in our societies, pushed to its extreme versions: the expression of radical individual singularity. The responsabilization of the individual subject makes it easier to transform him/her into the easy and privileged target.

Frightened by insistent messages of how to live a healthy life or how to behave as a responsible driver, the individual feels guilty, threatened and the feeling of uncertainty grows. If we articulate individualism with the culture of lived experienced, of false immediate satisfaction and gratification (that is to say, immediate frustration), aggravated by the pressure of consumerism and its alienation, the portrait of malaise and insecurity and of the subjective perception of inability to handle uncertainty in individual terms might be clearer.
Colmbrə

From such a sort of reasoning exercise, some concluding remarks can be pointed out regarding implications for educational interventions.

Usually, three main problems, corresponding to classical psychological categories, are addressed in the education realm: (a) lack of objective competence; (b) lack of motivation; (c) performance inhibition due to negative emotions. The suggestion is that two orders of concern be integrated: (a) the centrality of meaning (or the subjective construction of reality, including the sense of personal competence from the part of the learner); (b) power, as the decisive factor of understanding the human experience.

In addition, and in a very synthetic way, education should be concerned with the learners' acquisitions (particularly the younger ones) in order to deal and master uncertainty, which has not only instrumental aspects (power/competence) but also relational facets (again power plus the sense of being accepted in reciprocity contexts). ¹

References


Notes

¹ The author expects that the present reflection has some meaning for readers, although he is a little uncertain of it.
EDUCATION AND INTEGRITY: THE ROLE OF AFFECTIVE EDUCATION

Ron Best
University of Surrey-Roehampton, UK

Order out of Chaos

There are many ways in which the 20th Century may be characterized: as the century of ideological contest (communism, fascism, democracy); as the century of competing economic systems (capitalism vs. socialism); as the century of global conflict (the first ever 'world' wars); as the century in which we began to over-stretch and destroy the global resource base (overpopulation, global warming, local and regional environmental catastrophes), or as the century when modernism ended and post-modernism began. No doubt there are other ways of depicting that century, each reflecting in some way the dialectic of old and new, of deconstruction and reconstruction, of progression and retrogression. We may hope that within these characterizations a net effect of growth and development rather than of decay and decadence may be discerned.

The span of the Century saw both the pace of life and the diversity of social forms increase dramatically, but in the long run some kind of stability emerged. This was an uneasy balance, perhaps, but clearly nothing like the large-scale social disintegration which might have been predicted in a period of such rapid and large-scale change. We may assume either that there is some mechanism by which social systems adapt and contain the impact of change, or that the vision of significant actors has led to the development of institutions which serve this purpose. (The European Union might be thought of in this way).

There is nothing particularly new in this idea. We are reminded of Durkheim's analysis of the transition from 'mechanical' to 'organic solidarity' (Durkheim, 1964). Fearing collective anomie and individual alienation, he wondered how societies progressing from agrarian to industrial modes of production could retain order and cohesion without the emergence of some moral institutions to replace the authority of the Church and the nobility. With the emergence of the 'post-industrial society' and the uncertainties of post-modern cultures, the threat of disintegration seems immense unless there are strong bonds or mechanisms working for order. The increasing sophistication and complexity of the 'global village' is manageable only if the escalating differentiation of knowledge, beliefs, values and lifestyles ...
accompanied by increasing integration of system parts... (Best, Watkins & Lodge, 2000, p.1)

Clearly, the words ‘integration’ and ‘disintegration’ are highly significant in the argument thus far, and the concept of ‘integrity’ in which they are rooted invites examination.

**Integrity**

According to the *Shorter Oxford English Dictionary*, ‘integrity’ is used in two distinct but related senses (Best, 1996a). First, it has something to do with being whole, as “the condition of having no part or element wanting; material wholeness, completeness, entirety”. (We might call this *Integrity [1]*). Integrity 1 presumes an initial state of wholeness, of perfection or goodness, as in the Dictionary’s alternative meanings: “unimpaired or uncorrupted state; original perfect condition”. This leads to the second main sense of the word: “soundness of moral principle; the character of uncorrupted virtue; uprightness, honesty, sincerity” (ibid, p.5). (We might call this *Integrity [2]*). It is in the sense of integrity [2] that we question the integrity of (for example) a politician, or observe of someone that they are “a man or woman of integrity”.

I suggest that recent trends in the organization of education (at least in the UK) have serious consequences for integrity in both senses.

The marketization of education, with the promotion of competition between schools seeking to attract larger shares of the student population has been divisive (Best et al, 2000, p. 9). Schools are less likely to cooperate and collaborate than they once were, and the comprehensive ideal of schools serving their communities and enjoying parity of esteem for so doing, is a thing of the past. Indeed, the present (New Labour) Government is actively promoting the development of specialist schools with remarkable zeal, causing concern in some quarters that a divisive twotier system of state secondary schooling — the better-funded, high-status specialist schools and the rest — will result. Moreover, there are doubts about the validity of the data used to show the apparent superiority of specialist schools (see the news report in the Times Educational Supplement, 29/11/02, pp. 6-7, and the Editorial, p. 20). In any case, it is arguable that the integrity [1] of the community school (by which I mean ‘the school-in-its-community’) is seriously damaged by such *ad hoc* specialization in response to market forces.

Also significant is the premium that has been placed on accountability. The regime of testing and inspection has been oppressive for children and teachers alike, with schools and colleges judged against dubious performance indicators and their shortcomings publicized in league tables. The values for which schools stand, the quality of their concern and the dedication of
their staff count for little if the targets are not met. (For a recent critique of Government target setting in education, see the article by Smithers in the *Times Educational Supplement*, 29/11/02, p. 18).

Nor has the integrity [1] of human knowledge escaped. Against the tide of integrated studies and experiential learning, the National Curriculum introduced from 1989 into the state schools of England and Wales consisted of a collection of separate and unconnected subjects. Relationships between them were identified and there were suggestions as to how learning experiences might be offered across the curriculum, but these were an afterthought. In the main, knowledge was presented as objective and compartmentalized. It was also conceived of as something external to and independent of the one who knows it, and of the process by which anyone 'comes to know' anything. There was little room for the idea of the learner as an active agent in the process of knowing, let alone as an active agent in the generation and reproduction of knowledge through social interaction (cf Berger & Luckmann, 1971).

I suggest that the fragmentation of the curriculum in this way is an assault on the integrity [1] of knowledge but, more importantly, also fragments the knower, and is thus an assault also on her/his integrity [1]. The concept of the education of the whole child is lost. In restricting attention to the subjects of the academic and technical curriculum, many facets of the learner as a person are neglected and a great deal of what is required for moral autonomy in a context of social interdependence is simply ignored. The individual is unlikely to develop fully the capacity for informed moral judgement and social reciprocity where the curriculum is so narrowly conceived and thus to fall short of the ideal of Integrity [2].

Integrity [2] is in any case difficult to achieve without integrity [1]. This link is well-established in the social psychology of Transactional Analysis, most popularly in Thomas Harris's book *I'm OK — You're OK* (Harris, 1973) and in all those works on counselling and education which emphasize the importance of self-esteem as much for academic success as for social adequacy. It is difficult to adopt a positive, supportive and cooperative attitude to others if one does not feel whole and complete oneself. If one lacks a positive self-concept one is unlikely to be able to celebrate the achievements of others in an un-grudging and sincere way. In short, if I'm not 'okay' I may well conclude that you are not either and therefore unworthy of my moral attention. If I lack integrity [1], integrity [2] may be beyond me: I am likely to find it difficult (perhaps impossible) to be morally upright, honest and sincere if my own being is fragmented, undervalued and denigrated by the system.
Some Areas of Neglect

Amongst those aspects of the person which contemporary schooling has come to neglect, four are highly significant for integrity in both its senses. These are relationships, empathy, spirituality, and the emotions.

The importance of relationships for education should be self-evident. McGuiness (1993, pp. 23-4) describes an exercise (which I have replicated on numerous occasions) in which people are asked to recall a teacher of whom they would say: “This teacher harmed me, did me damage, contributed negatively to my development”. They invariably think of teachers who were unkind, un-caring, sarcastic, thoughtless, unfair or otherwise made them feel of little value. When asked to recall teachers of whom they would say the opposite, a comparable list emerges: they recall teachers who were patient, always had time for them, were approachable, kind, fair and made them feel valued. Subject knowledge per se is rarely mentioned. What make a lasting impression on us are the attitudes of our teachers towards us, embodied in the quality of the relationships they form with us. Yet the contemporary pre-occupation with the testing of a fragmented curriculum in a competitive context has the effect of individualizing the learning experience. The outcome is all; the quality of the relationship between individuals is hardly acknowledged.

Nor is the fact that the experience of relationships is essentially emotional. It is the feelings which are evoked — not least the feelings of being valued — by the way we are treated that makes us receptive or otherwise to what the other is offering. More generally, our motivations through life are emotional not intellectual. If no emotions were attached to succeeding at school (for example), no-one would even try, yet we design curricula as though we had never noticed this simple fact. Most of the curriculum is about the cognitive or the intellectual — thinking — and some is about ourselves as physical or bodily entities. Where feeling enters in, it’s peripheral or (as in the case of aesthetic responses to arts and literature) the magic is all too often intellectualized out of it in the more cerebral analysis of the composition. To ignore the education of the emotions is surely to neglect a very significant part of us, yet the idea of educating the emotions, of promoting emotional intelligence or teaching ‘emotional literacy’ has yet to be taken seriously in most schools. Nor, despite the impact elsewhere of the work of Gardner (1993) and Goleman (1995), has it received anything more than a passing glance by those who control the design of the curriculum.

Feeling in the context of relationships is bound up with empathy. In common sense terms, to empathize with another is to understand in some way what it is like to be in their situation, but the dictionary definition is more telling: empathy is the “power of projecting one’s personality into (and so fully comprehending) [an] object of contemplation” (Concise Oxford Dictionary). The connection with sympathy — “the capacity for being simultaneously affected with the same
feeling as another” (ibid) is considerable, but there is an important distinction: empathy requires active projection. One feels sympathy as a reaction, but one empathizes actively.

The power and complexity of such a projection is evident in counselling, where empathy is seen as a core condition for therapeutic movement and personal growth. The difference with sympathy is clear in Carl Rogers’ description of what it entails:

It involves being sensitive, moment to moment, to the changing felt meanings which flow in this other person, to the fear or rage or tenderness or confusion or whatever, that s/he is experiencing. It means temporarily living in his/her life, moving about in it delicately without making judgements, sensing meaning of which s/he is scarcely aware, but not trying to uncover feelings of which the person is totally unaware, since this would be too threatening. It includes communicating your sensings of his/her world as you look with fresh and unafrightened eyes at elements of which the individual is fearful. It means frequently checking with him/her as to the accuracy of your sensings and being guided by the responses you receive. You are a confident companion to the person in his/her inner world (quoted in McLaughlin, 1995, p.66).

I suggest that good teachers are excellent at empathy. Indeed, the presence or absence of this capacity to project oneself into the life of another seems to characterize those teachers whom, in McGuinness’s exercise, are recalled as making either a very positive or a very negative impact on their pupils’ lives.

One realm of experience which, perhaps more than any other has been neglected by curriculum designers is the spiritual. That it is important is acknowledged. Along with the physical, the moral, the social and the cultural, it is an aspect of the fuller development of the person which state schools in England and Wales are required by law to promote. It is also well-established as an aspect of provision on which schools are inspected by the Office for Standards in Education (Ofsted, 1995), so schools ignore it at their peril. But provision for spiritual development poses particular challenges.

For nine years I have convened an annual conference at Roehampton under the title ‘Education, Spirituality and the Whole Child’. One theme which has run through the keynotes and paper presentations has been the nature of spirituality and spiritual development. For some contributors, spirituality is “a dimension of our existence which is qualitatively different and categorically distinct from our everyday experience as thinking, feeling, social beings”, while for others it is “an integral quality of experience which in all other respects is to be understood rationally or scientifically” (Best, 1996b, p. 344). It is a highly contentious issue because of its connection with religion. For some, the spirit is necessarily linked to religious beliefs; for others,
the fact that we understand it imperfectly and are stumped for an explanation does not justify invoking a deity nor forcing a quality of experience into a framework of doctrine and observance.

For those who have tried to explore religious experience in children (e.g. McCrery, 1996; Hay & Nye, 1998; Erlicker et al., 1997), the outcome is a mixture of wonderment and frustration: wonderment at the profound and revealing insights which children have into what we think of as spirituality and frustration at our inability to ‘nail down’ this concept in any hard and fast way. Hay and Nye’s (1998) research looked for a common core of children’s spirituality by analysing conversations with 38 children in two English primary schools. What seemed common in children’s accounts of relevant experiences was something they called relational consciousness:

> In brief, children’s spirituality was recognized by a distinctive property of mental activity, profound and intricate enough to be termed ‘consciousness’, and remarkable for its confinement to a broadly relational, inter- and intra-personal domain. (Hay & Nye, 1998, p.113)

The relationships referred to were by no means limited to those between the child and significant others (family, friends), but also relationships of ‘I-Self’, ‘I-World’ and ‘I-God’. This kind of mental activity has, therefore, both inward-looking moments of self-experience and outward-reaching moments of experiencing self as part of a much greater whole (cf Heron, 1992, pp.14-5). Integrity [1] is thus the stuff of relational consciousness “out of which can arise meaningful aesthetic experience, religious experience, personal and traditional responses to mystery and being, and mystical and moral insight” (Hay & Nye, 1998, p.114). The last of these moral insight? should be noted, for it indicates again how Integrity [1] (relational consciousness as holistic) leads to Integrity [2] (moral uprightness).

I have argued that contemporary schooling neglects the important areas of relationship, empathy, emotion and the spiritual. These are clearly interconnected: empathy dwells in relationship; empathy without feeling admits abuse; the spiritual has at its core relational consciousness. A schooling which pays little or no attention to these facts neglects all that is most significant in personhood. It also neglects the basis upon which integration may be sustained in the context of increasing social differentiation.

The Role of Affective Education

Caring is both a sentiment rich in feelings and a form of human activity. It is the paradigm case of a human experience which brings together empathy, emotions and relationships. When moved deeply by it, it is also a spiritual experience. It lies at the heart of what we have come to
term “affective education”. In the UK it is more often termed ‘pastoral care’ but in the last thirty years of the 20th Century became broadened to include personal-social education in its many forms (see Best, 2002a). Its contribution to the development of the child as a whole person may be undertaken through four sets of activities which have been analysed and described over many years by English colleagues (notably Peter Lang, Peter Ribbins and Chris Watkins). I have come to refer to these as ‘the pastoral tasks’ (Best, 1999, pp.57-8). They are as follows:

Reactive Casework

An important aspect of teachers’ caring for children is when they respond to individuals who are experiencing problems of a personal, social, emotional or behavioural kind. This may entail giving fairly general moral support, or be more focused as in counselling or behaviour management. Its chief characteristics are that it happens after a problem has arisen and is undertaken on a one-to-one basis. Although casework has an instrumental justification in its removal of emotional or behavioural problems which hinder learning, its primary justification is intrinsic: adults ought to care for children and help them towards happiness and well-being. In UK secondary schools, casework is usually undertaken by form tutors, heads of year and (where they exist) school counsellors; in primary schools it is thought to be integral to the class-teacher’s role. In both cases it requires that the teacher gets to know the child and is concerned for her/him as more than a learner of curriculum knowledge. It is frequently undertaken by teachers at lunch-times or after school and is rarely properly budgeted or scheduled. (Marland & Rogers, 1997, p.97)

Proactive Tutoring

Casework is necessary and important, but it is also time-consuming and labour intensive. Demands for casework may be reduced if schools provide opportunities for groups of pupils to acquire the knowledge, attitudes and skills which will help them cope with problems of a personal, social or emotional kind when they do arise. Many perennial problems such as bullying, examination anxiety, unsatisfactory relationships and peer-pressure may be anticipated and programmes of activities (such as circle-time, role-play and group discussion) may both promote self-esteem and develop the personal and social skills necessary to deal with them. In UK secondary schools, much of this work is undertaken by form tutors in tutor periods set aside for this purpose. In primary schools it is more likely to be integrated into classroom activity, dealt with in assemblies or (as in the case of preparation for transition to secondary education) in programmes of targeted activities.
Developmental Pastoral Curricula

The justification for proactive tutoring is primarily the principle that "prevention is better than cure", but much that is learned has an intrinsic value as well as an instrumental one. It is but part of the body of concepts, facts, skills and attitudes which young people should be developing if they are fully to realize their potential as persons. This includes knowledge which, unlike that of the conventional academic and technological curriculum, is not external to the student but has at its core the developing individual her/himself. It includes generic skills such as decision-making, knowledge about physical and emotional development, emerging sexual identity, career opportunities, health and so on, and should provide opportunities also to reflect on values and explore beliefs. While titles vary with fashion and in emphasis, this aspect of the curriculum is frequently referred to as 'PSHE' (Personal, Social and Health Education) and sometimes as 'SMSC' (Spiritual, Moral, Social and Cultural development). Since the review of the National Curriculum completed in 2000, explicit reference is now usually made also to 'Citizenship'. Indeed, Citizenship Education is now a statutory element of the secondary school curriculum and a key element in the non-statutory framework for PSHE in primary schools (QCA, 1999a; 1999b).

Community-Building

A great deal of children's personal and social development happens through what, in the '70s, came to be known as the "hidden curriculum" — the framework of values, norms, attitudes, relationships and procedures comprising the environment within which the formal curriculum is delivered. It is argued that the messages children receive quite unintentionally, because of the way they are treated and the behaviour they see modelled by others, may be very significant for their own developing values and attitudes. This is often associated with the idea of school ethos: the spirit of the school. I suggest that schools which promote affective development have the ethos of community, a whole that is more than the sum of its parts, to which members feel they belong and in which they feel a common destiny and responsibility one for another. Opportunities for mutual care, for sharing in corporate activities (including decision-making) and for serving the general good are important dimensions of life in communities. Integrity in both its senses is a characteristic of healthy communities.

Concluding Thoughts

I began by suggesting that contemporary society is characterized by an increasing differentiation which threatens social stability unless it is accompanied by increasing integration. The marketization of schooling, increasing differentiation of schools in place of the comprehensive ideal and offering a National Curriculum still conceived of as discrete subjects, assessed individually and judged according to output, are all manifestations of differentiation.
The accompanying threat to society — local, regional, national and global — is, as Durkheim anticipated, social disintegration, anomie and alienation.

I have suggested that affective education can make good important deficiencies in experience, specifically those relating to relationships, feelings, empathy and the spirit, and identified four ‘pastoral tasks’ by which schools might promote affective development. In accomplishing these tasks, affective education facilitates the development of attitudes and values which may perform the integrating function essential for both social order and the realization of personal potential.

Many questions arise from this analysis, with affective education at their centre. But neither schools nor those responsible for their curricula are all equally aware of the importance of affective education, nor equally good at embodying caring in the way they function. Indeed, it appears that those in positions of most influence may be most guilty in this regard. Even the recent addition of Citizenship and PSHE to the framework of the National Curriculum in England and Wales must be accorded only a qualified welcome. While the schemes of work published this year (QCA 2002a; 2002b) do include suggestions for promoting social skills and emotional well-being (by, for example, the use of ‘circle-time’), these seem eclipsed by the concern for propositional knowledge about democratic government and a concern for law, order and conformity.

For anyone seeking to improve provision, I offer the following as a basis for self-evaluation:

- Are we really committed to the education of the child as a whole person or are we only really concerned about their cognitive development?
- How good are our relationships with children? How well do we help children to form and sustain relationships and to cope when they fail?
- What provision do we make for personal tutoring and counselling of pupils with personal, social, emotional and behavioural problems?
- How good are we at empathizing with our pupils? How good are we at empathizing with our colleagues, at all levels in the system?
- How good are we at promoting our children’s self-esteem? Do we communicate that we value them for themselves and not only for their performance and achievements?
- How emotionally ‘literate’ are we and how do we promote emotional competence in our children?
- What sort of example do we set for our pupils through our own behaviour? Are we good models for integrity [2]?
- How much thought have we really given to the content and organization of a pastoral curriculum which would promote the personal, social, moral and spiritual development of our children?
• Is our school or college really a community [Integrity 1]? Is it just, moral and caring [Integrity 2]? What can we do to make it more so?
• What opportunities are there for our teachers and non-teaching staff to receive support and training which will help them in performing the four ‘pastoral tasks’?

Answering these questions (and acting on the answers) is clearly of great importance for the well-being of the individual as much as for the harmonious and productive functioning of the school as a community. The implications go much further than the school, however. In the world of increasing differentiation, trust and understanding across cultures and races are essential to integration both within nations and between them. The challenges posed by cultural and religious differentiation have been clearly articulated by Francis Fukuyama:

*The world is moving into a period of ‘civilization clash’, in which the primary identification of people will not be ideological as in the cold war, but cultural. Accordingly, conflict is likely to arise not among fascism, socialism and democracy but among the world’s major cultural groups: Western, Islamic, Confucian, Japanese, Hindu, and so on (Fukuyama, 1995, p.5).*

If such conflict (and it is already with us) is to be avoided, the highest priority needs to be given to the promotion of empathy, emotional competence and the capacity to form and sustain positive relationships with those different from ourselves. This is the crucial role which affective education can play in the 21st Century.

**REFERENCES**


LIFE LONG AFFECTIVE LEARNING: NEW PROSPECTIVES AND TOOLS FOR A MORE EFFECTIVE AFFECTIVE EDUCATION IN THE “RISK SOCIETY”

Donata Francescato, Minou Mebane & Manuela Tomai
University of Rome, Italy

In the last decades affective education has gained more recognition in the educational field. Partly this is due to the fact that developmental and social psychologists have accumulated evidence on how affective relations among peers are just as important in influencing their social behaviour as adults’ guidance. Peer groups and peer relations have become an important topic in most textbooks on child psychology and social psychology (Rubin et al., 1998; Camaioni & Di Blasio, 2002; Palmonari et al., 2002), as many researchers have proven the vital importance of peer relations in increasing both risk factors and protective factors in social development. Depending on the values and behaviours upheld by different types of formal and informal peer groups, becoming a member of certain group settings can increase the probability to engage in bullying, antisocial conduct, alcohol and drug abuse, while participating in other kinds of peer settings can promote prosocial development, social competence, self-efficacy, academic achievement, and other desirable outcomes (Krasnor, 1997; Bandura, 1997; Elliott et al., 1998; Loebner & Farrington, 1998; Caprara et al., 2000; Caprara & Gerbino, 2002). Moreover through the popular writings of Daniel Goleman on “emotional intelligence” and Howard Gardner on “multiple intelligences” even the wider public has become more aware of the importance of affective aspects in human development, often neglected in formal school curricula. More educators and more parents have therefore become interested in how to promote affective competence.

The affective education movement has been fairly effective in developing some tools that favour affective development, among these perhaps the most well known is the “circle time”. In many countries teachers have adopted “circle time” techniques and applied them from nursery to university settings. Several experimental researches have proven that the use of circle time for at least several months promotes more prosocial behaviours, better peer relations, reduces exclusion, foster mutual aid, promotes self esteem and self awareness, and awareness of others’ feelings (Lang, Katz & Menezes, 1998). Moreover in several countries affective education methodologies have been applied also to meet the growing affective needs of parents and teachers and of older people facing retirement, disease or the death of a loved one (Francescato & Putton, 1995; Vandenplas-Holpar, 1998; Procentese, 2002). While circuitime-based affective techniques have been effective in the classroom, Peter Lang, one of the major
Francescato, Mebane & Tomai

experts in the field, has often voiced the need to move beyond circle times in the classroom to promote lasting and positive changes in schools and other educational settings (personal communication, Seminar of the European Network of Affective Education, Porto, June 2001.). We agreed with him, but also with those authors who feel that the entire community has to be mobilized to foster youth empowerment and well-being. Schools alone can no longer do the job (Leach, 1994). Moreover, some recent social changes have increased the need for affective education today not only for youth but for people of all ages, in educational, work and community settings. In this paper we will therefore argue that we need to promote “lifelong affective learning and education” and we will discuss some programs in which affective education techniques have been applied together with some community psychology methodologies in very diverse settings and with various age groups, to produce change beyond the classroom, in wider organisational, community and political contexts.

Why we need more affective education and organizational change in our educational settings

Families and schools are often blamed for antisocial or deviant behaviour of youth. However to raise children in the “risk society” has become a difficult task for parents and educators, as families have undergone many dramatic changes, and schools are faced with multiple new responsibilities (Beck, 2000).

From life long jobs and marriages to unstable jobs and loves

The mass entry of women in the labour market and the women’s liberation movements have changed the traditional division of labour between men and women and the roles they can play. For centuries men had been brought up to cultivate certain traits and abilities and women others. Both had been mutilated by a sexist education. A process of individual liberation from the prisons of traditional sex roles is well underway concerning gender identity (how feminine, masculine or queer people feel to be), sexual orientation (people are now more free to be heterosexual, homosexual, bisexual), and sex roles (what kinds of activities are deemed appropriate for men and women). While sex roles changes have given many more opportunities for each individual to live a less constricted life, and offered a chance to men and women to play more equal roles in parenting and in family life, it has also increased the difficulties of maintaining satisfying long-term relationships. As Giddens (1991, 1999) explains today most people pursue their individual development and are looking for “pure relationships”; they stay together with another person as long as that relationship is nurturing, pleasant, and attractive. If the relation becomes a burden, people tend to move on, looking for another love. Most people who marry or stay together because they are in love tend to put an end to relationships, when
they no longer love one another (Beck & Beck-Gerstein, 1996; Francescato, 2002). The rate of separation and divorce has risen in all western countries in the last decades of the last century (Barbagli, 1996). In the United States the traditional family composed by a male breadwinner, a housewife and children has become a minority. One out of two children in America will grow up before the age of 18 experiencing a variety of family arrangements, living with both biological parents, with just one single parent, with a step-parent and stepsiblings, etc. Many children and adolescents have to cope with their parents’ separation and remarriages and sometimes, new divorces. Circletimes with parents promoted by the schools (Francescato & Putton, 1995; Francescato, Tomai & Ghirelli, 2002; Procentese 2002) have helped separated parents, foster and stepparents deal with the new problems faced by these new kinds of families. Also parents in traditional marriages have benefited from having affective education opportunities, and very often in these groups, members want to discuss their feelings about changing sex roles as well as parental roles. Several studies have also shown that increasing couple efficacy increases parental efficacy (Bandura, 1997). So many changes have happened to families in the last decades that many people need affective education opportunities, to share experiences and give and receive aid in doing a parenting job. Young couples nowadays, for the most part, have received no formal or informal training for their parental task, having had few opportunities to be with small children, given the shrinking sizes of families.

Moreover, in just a few generations we have gone from patriarchal families, when both mothers and fathers worked at home as peasants and artisans and the father was the supreme authority, to families in which fathers are mostly absent because of long working hours and often, if they are divorced, because they live elsewhere. One third of divorced fathers in the United States do not see their children after divorce. Now many young boys grow up in homes were there is no adult male present most of the times. According to Frank Pittman (1993), an American psychiatrist, many boys today grow up with an indirect and vague idea of what masculinity is, modelling themselves on what they see in videogames, TV shows and movies. The lack of male models at home is compounded by the decrease of male presence in most educational institutions. In the primary schools most teachers are women, and teaching, like nursing, social work, and family therapy, is becoming a primarily female profession.

At the same time finance and politics are still dominated by males at the top, who do not pass the laws and grant the funds that would be necessary to make education a priority. Males are not so interested in children’s education and as legislators and economists they tend to neglect these issues (Leach, 1994; Andolfi, 2001). Only by putting a large number of women in positions of political and economic power and encouraging more men to become teachers and educators can we redress the negative trend that sees education as primary as low prestige area, staffed mostly by women. Francescato (1998) has argued that this excessive division of labour by gender lines is damaging to children, especially male children who are denied their
Francescato, Mebane & Tomai

rights to have male models as they grow up. The increase in bullying and violence among young boys has been attributed by several authors (Pittman, 1993; Andolfi, 2001) to the need of these boys, uncertain of their own masculinities, to prove their maleness by acting violently and using strength to dominate others. Circletimes can be used to discuss sex roles changes, masculinity and femininity, female and male values; to help children, adolescents and adults share their views about these topics, and empower them to promote personal and collective changes.

If the change in sex roles can be the focus of much needed affective education for all age groups, changes in the field of work have also increased the need for affective exchange on the role of work in our lives. The word “work”, as the French philosopher Dominique Meda (1996) has shown in her beautiful book on the topic, has had through the centuries a series of meanings. From Ancient Greece and through the Middle Ages work was considered a pain and a fatigue and was mostly done by slaves and lower class people. Only through the Protestant revolution work became the tool through which one could change one’s social class, earn one’s place in the world through one’s efforts and merits. With the birth of industrial society peasants and artisans, who had for centuries worked at home, became workers, clerks and managers who left their homes (and women) every morning to their work place, and having a job became not only a way to survive, but it acquired a lot of personal and social meanings.

While the first industrial workers toiled for long hours, union struggles for generations tried to cut the working hours: in fact from 1880 to 1990 time dedicated to work dropped by 40%. However in the last decade globalisation processes have changed work conditions for many. Fewer people are hired for a lifetime position; more people fear to lose their jobs and have to live with great job uncertainty. International competition has lowered salaries for the unskilled positions, forcing men and women to take second jobs to make ends meet. Many men in the liberal professions and managers and employees of firms, which have cut many jobs to cut costs, have been working longer hours at their job than in the previous decades (De Masi, 1999; Pasini & Francescato, 1999).

In the upper echelons of every profession, from sports to management, from medicine to show business, the star system dominates: through mass media and global acculturations the best in each field become known world wide and can have fabulous earnings. In each profession there is a huge widening gap between the earning of the top 1% and the bottom 25%. People at the top of the pyramids work tremendously hard to stay up there, people who compete with them also work much more time and even social gatherings for shows, or supper or lunches have become business events, occasions to do more work. In the lower echelons people have to work harder both to make a career and to keep their jobs, which are threatened by lay-offs and internal and international competition.
Working so hard during the day makes it very unlikely for many parents to have sufficient mental and physical energy at night to be able to be effective parents. Balancing work and family is an extremely hard emotional task, as we have found out promoting circle times with working parents in schools and in some work settings where we consulted (Francescato, Tomai & Ghirelli, 2002). In these circle times most workers talked about their conflicting feelings regarding work and family requests, and also about the many emotional conflicts among colleagues that arise when competition forces firms to downsize and the workers who have not been laid off, are afraid to lose their jobs and overburdened, since they now have to do tasks that were previously done in collaboration with laid off colleagues, alone. Changing jobs often for some people and some cultures does not constitute a heavy emotional challenge; for others with more need for security, job insecurity and frequent job changes can produce emotional upheavals, and increase mobbing behaviours. In many interventions promoted by unions geared at people who had lost their jobs or where facing forced job changes, we found that circletime techniques were extremely helpful in venting negative feelings like anger and guilt, and creating strong affective bonds among people, which enable them to help one another and to struggle together (Francescato, Leone & Traversi, 1993; Francescato, Tomai & Ghirelli, 2002).

*Overburdened schools and teachers asked to tackle too many social problems*

These changes in family and work patterns have created new burdens for schools whose pupils more often today come from broken or conflict-ridden homes. Parents dealing with sentimental break-ups often are not able to act as competent and caring parents. Parents who work too much, who lose or fear to lose their jobs, can also have little energy for their children, and some come to neglect or abuse them. Angry, neglected, lonely children, often do poorly in school, and are prone to aggressive and antisocial behaviours. Large waves of immigrations have transformed our schools in multicultural settings and teachers often with little preparation have to integrate these youngsters, and deal with racial and ethnic conflicts. Environmental decay, changing sexual mores, the spread of dangerous contagious diseases like Aids, have also burdened schools with the task to set up courses for sex education, health education, environmental education and much more. Since most of these problems arouse strong affective responses, many teachers have used circletime techniques to have students discuss these issues. Circle times have also been used effectively to help teachers deal with the complex feelings and burnout syndromes, generated in their jobs. However, only some problems, mainly intrapersonal and interpersonal, can be alleviated by using affective education alone. During many circletimes students, parents or teachers come up with ideas on how to improve the quality of life in their school. Trying to apply their solutions, they often find obstacles in the organisational rules that dominate schools or youth services. Often to implement durable
change one has to promote organisational as well as personal or small groups changes. Integrating both affective education and community psychology perspectives can help teachers, pupils and parents tackle multifaceted and complex organisational issues.

In community psychology, in fact, the difficulties parents and teachers are experiencing in raising children, the increase in children’s and adolescents’ problems are not then seen as merely the problems of single individuals, but as complex phenomena which require a pluralist interpretation. When there is an “individual problem” it is not only the individual that may have to change, but also the social setting; when there is a “social problem,” changing laws and economic conditions may be important but insufficient- individuals need to change as well. Responsibility for solving problems is plural; it rests both on individual and social systems. Community psychologists have to counter the main psychological bias toward individual change, favour socially grounded interventions (shifting the level of analysis and action from individual or individual families, to small groups, networks, organisations, neighbourhoods, local communities) (Heller et al., 1984; Amerio, 2000; Rappaport & Seidman, 2000; Ornelas, 2000, Francescato, Tomai & Ghirelli, 2002).

Integrating affective education and community psychology perspectives:

Multidimensional organisational analysis to empower students, teachers and parents

Therefore, several European community psychologists have attempted to develop strategies to promote organisational empowerment (Morganti, 1998; Stark, 2000; Francescato, Tomai & Ghirelli, 2002). In the field of organisational analysis one can distinguish four main approaches: structural-strategic, functional, psychosocial and socio-analytical, whose proponents have until recently operated within organizations largely ignoring the contributions of the other schools of thought. This is hardly surprising, since the theoretical bases of the four approaches come from disciplines such as economics, political science, management, sociology and engineering for the first two and organisational psychology, psychoanalysis and cultural anthropology for the last two, and the variables they deal with range from “hard data” such as market share or financial budgets to such ‘soft data’ as unconscious representations of work settings and level of satisfaction, etc.

Through multidimensional organisational analysis (MOA) (Tancredi & Francescato, 1989; Francescato, Leone & Traversi, 1993; Francescato, Tomai & Ghirelli, 2002) which integrates the contributions of all four, one can obtain a multifaceted picture of organisational functioning, be able to spot problem areas, and strong points within each dimension, and discover interconnections among dimensions to be considered when planning organisational change. Members of an organisation, from all hierarchical levels, separately and together, can view their
organisation, looking for strong and weak points in each of the four main dimensions using tools tailored for each dimension. Therefore MOA uses both hard and soft data, exploring for instance both the economic, legal and strategic aspects of organisational functioning as well as the emotions and values prevailing in the work setting as perceived by the different stakeholders (gathered with creative groups techniques such as "work novels" and "movie scripts").

For instance, students, parents, teachers, janitors and office staff will analyse their school from all four dimensions. After weak and strong points have been underlined by the various organisational components, they formulate different narratives and preferred visions of the future. Both hard and soft data, both "subjective" and "objective" visions are encouraged; emotions and subjective preferences are shared together as well as goals and performance targets.

At the end of the evaluation process, participants formulate plans for desired changes that can be achieved with the resources within the organisation and outline which problems or solutions cannot be tackled without intervention at some other level (community, state, European Union etc). Focusing on change which is possible to implement helps favour empowerment and increase the capacity of organisations to foster creative change. A modified circle time technique is used all through the processes of analysing the four dimensions, particularly the two soft ones that have to do with psychological and cultural variables.

We will briefly describe one project in which both affective education and community psychology tools were used to implement some desired changes in a problem-ridden school.

Under a pilot project, financed by the Ministry of Education, which aims at comparing the efficacy of various best practices models of interventions, we applied this integrated methodology in a technical high school in southern Italy. This school was chosen because it had a very high drop-out rate (40% of the students enrolled either dropped out, or failed most school subjects and repeated the same classes several times). School staff, teachers and parents had conflictual relations, each group blaming the others for the school’s problems. Many episodes of bullying, cheating and stealing had happened in several classrooms.

Our project aimed at empowering all the various components of the school community by teaching them both multidimensional organisational analysis and affective education skills. We hypothesized that mastering these different tools, would enable them to create stronger affective bonds, to find out the resources in the community which could be helpful in creating educational opportunities for students, to diagnose the strong points and problems of their school, to work better in small groups and to design effective change programs. Socioaffective
techniques moreover could be used to improve relations among parents, students, teachers and school staff.

We started by forming nine focus groups, with about 12 members each, six homogenous (three groups of students of different age, one each with only parents, only teachers and only school staff members) and three mixed groups composed by students, parents, teachers and school staff. These met for three two-hour periods. In the first meeting they were introduced to circle timework, community profiling and multidimensional organisational analysis, and through brainstorming they were helped to identify the strengths and weaknesses of the community in which the school was situated. Then they outlined their school’s strengths and weaknesses along four dimensions, two “hard”, dealing with objective variables such as school facilities and curricula, and two “soft”, having to do with climate, values, interpersonal relations, conflicts and attitudes. Each of the nine groups posted its results on the school walls and anybody who wanted could add items relating to perceived weaknesses and strengths. During a second meeting the groups produced a first draft of four questionnaires that asked respectively students, parents, teachers and school personnel to identify strong and weak points of the school along the four dimensions. The questionnaires were then distributed and returned by 222 teachers, 52 staff members, 459 parents and 476 students.

In the two months while questionnaires were being analysed, about 70 teachers received training in affective education techniques and began to use circle times in 70 classrooms, involving almost 90% of the students in two hours a week class discussions about problems, strengths and proposals for change. Self-help groups for parents and teachers were also promoted.

Data gathered from the nine focus groups, questionnaires, class discussions, drawings, narratives and movie scripts, and from parents and teachers self-help groups indicated eight major problems dealing with structural and functional dimensions and community-school relations: isolation of the school from the community; bad bus connections that got students late to school; heating problems; inadequate gym; continuous turnover of teachers and methodologies; too rigid school curricula; lack of school nurses; lack of an adequate school cafeteria; and under-utilisation of labs. A dozen problems emerged in the more subjective interpersonal dimensions; among the most frequently mentioned by all school components: lack of cooperation among teachers, unfair and unclear evaluation of students, a minority of teachers who humiliated students, and an increasing lack of student motivation.

During the third two-hour meetings the nine focus groups proposed possible solutions that could be given to each problem both within the schools or with community and state help. Teachers and parents self-help groups also proposed solutions. Twenty-seven project groups were
created and supervised once a month by a community psychologist, eighteen got some changes implemented within a few months. Parents lobbied to change bus schedules and have a new cafeteria. Students proposed more clear and transparent evaluation procedures, some of which were implemented. A mentoring one-to-one program was set up to motivate underachieving students and students who were planning to dropout of school. One year after the intervention the drop-out rate fell by 10%. However without further supervision one third of the project groups failed to achieve results, suggesting that the intervention could have had better results if financing had included a second year of supervision (Serreri, 1998; Francescato, Tomai & Ghirelli, 2002).

**Why we need affective education in our local communities**

Globalisation processes are changing the modes through which personal identities and values are acquired and changed. Affective education favours prosocial and altruistic behaviour, increasing the social bonds among people. Social bonds and a sense of collective shared identity are what distinguish a community from a mere locality. The need for affective education in our local communities is increasing as their role as places of attachment and meaning is under threat.

Some authors (Gubert, 1992; Barcelona, 2001) think local communities are losing the power to shape identity and promote a sense of belonging. Mass media replaces local leaders in the formation of political and social opinion. Public meeting places are diminishing; there is a decrease of dialogue among different social groups; and less building of collective memories. Therefore local communities do not produce meanings and values, do no longer elaborate local knowledge and traditions. Globalisation also favours an excess of individualism, lowers the awareness of interdependence, and undervalues a sense of belonging. People lose their local roots; families and local communities count less in influencing young people’s desires and aspirations.

Some authors (Bauman, 1998; Francescato, 1998; Postman, 2000) think globalisation through the media has become more “an americanisation” of the world, a world-wide promotion of certain values and myths that distinguish USA culture. Several researchers (Kennedy, 1993; Daniel, 1996; Germano, 1999; Rodrick, 1997; Mittelman, 2000) have underlined the drawbacks of globalisation processes. They believe that instead of being exposed to a variety of life models, today we are facing an increased “americanisation of global culture”. The dominant role of the United States in the world of mass media and entertainment, helps promote everywhere American values centred on the pursuit of individual freedom, fame, success and wealth.
Pursuing individuals’ happiness is not enough, if we lose social capital

Among the benefits of globalisation, several authors (Ohmae, 1990; Levitt, 1993) underline in fact primarily the maximization of individual freedom of choice. Today’s young people can pick their models from places and times very distant from the communities in which they live, they can consume goods from many different countries and be influenced by movies, books, music, and TV shows which uphold very different values, sex and work roles, from those prevalent in their local settings. They can even create imaginary selves interacting on “net communities”. Up to a few decades ago most people did not have much control over their life, their fate was severely conditioned by their skin colour, the religious and social backgrounds of their parents and particularly by their gender. Most women and men in local communities had to follow certain social paths prescribed for them. Globalisation processes widen the opportunities and the number of choices available. Life changes from “destiny” largely determined at birth to a “life project” mainly self-determined. Today it is more possible for an individual to change social class, religion, country of residence, work and even sexual identity.

Civil rights grant more freedom and lessen discrimination to members of groups such as women, racial, ethnic and sexual minorities (such as homosexuals) who until recently were oppressed and devalued. However, as Barcellona (2001) underlines, globalisation processes have been mainly based on socio-economic liberalism, which values individual freedom more than social belonging: “universalism of human and social rights, primacy of the Individual and of individual freedom, are at the roots of western dominated globalisation” (117).

New international legal principles founded on human rights are replacing the legal principles based on national states. Some politicians have argued that the international community should intervene in any state whose government violates individual rights. Human rights are the new legal principles through which the individual becomes the protagonist of a new spatiality without borders: “there is a structural tie between economic globalisation and juridical universalism, the actor in the global market and in the universalism of human rights is always the single individual without social ties” (Barcellona, 2001, p.118).

Through mass media and advertising people are pushed to consume and buy certain global services and goods, to pursue their individual happiness, in delocalised contexts. Moreover as Burgalassi and Bianchieri (1995) notice “mass media creates an ‘electronic reality’ where one cannot easily distinguish true and false, imaginary and real” (p. 120). What is seen on television becomes more real than what is experienced with real people. Other authors point at the amount of violence in the media as one factor which has contributed to the increase in violent behaviour: “violence occurs when words lose power, fall to mediates between emotions and actions, the deep fears aroused by globalisation processes finding no space in which to be
elaborated and represented become violent actions immediately" (Barcelona, 2001,p. 46).
Some scholars think mass media have reduced the influence of political parties, and unions
where social conflicts and fears were mediated and confronted collectively. Now many isolated
individuals have a stronger destructive emotional charge that pushes them to violent acts.

Postman (2002) theorizes that mass media forces politicians to become showmen, to appeal to
emotions more than reason, to simplify, instead of focusing on the complexity of social problems
to attract more votes. Moreover a politician’s looks become more important than the programs
of the party he represents. Moore (1998) underlines that in the last decades in many countries
politicians have lost prestige and influence and most decisions are taken by economic powers,
and that western society in particular has suffered from a loss of political capital. The loss of the
importance of politics has been accompanied by a diminution of social capital. Putnam (2000)
has done impressive research in the United States, and found that the younger generations
tend to be less interested in politics, to vote less than their elders, to belong less to local
associations and spend more time on the Internet and watching television. Families tend to eat
fewer meals together; family members watch different programs or play computer games
separately.

Some authors (Bauman, 1998; Moore, 1998) underline that globalisation has sometimes
increased local sense of belonging as form of refusal of globalism, but that this has often
implied forms of exclusion for non-members, racist and ethnic prejudices and violence. How can
we revalue local communities, promote social ties, local sense of community and belonging,
without increasing intergroup conflicts and prejudices? How can we promote positive networking
among different associations, institutions and groups to offer community members more
opportunities to empower themselves? How can schools network effectively with private and
public organisations, so responsibility for the youth’s growth is shared and not only given to
families and schools? Anybody who has tried to activate programs in favour of youth that
involved different organisations, knows how difficult this task can be, especially when “social
capital” is low, where trust and reciprocity are scarce. We argue that to favour community
involvement in any social problem (be it improving school settings or alleviating old people’s
solitude) we first have to foster the development of affective bonds, and that circle time and
other affective techniques can be very effective for this purpose, if combined with the
perspective and tools developed by European community psychologists.

Several European community psychologists have tried in fact to challenge American myths and
values (Orford, 1992, 1998; Zani & Palmonari, 1996; Amerlo, 2000; Ornelas, 2000;
Francescato, Ghirelli & Tomai, 2002). Most Europeans do not share the American myths of the
"self-made man", and do not believe that "men are born free", on the contrary, European cultural
and political traditions mainly underline how each person is born in a social environment
embedded in an historically created hierarchical context. This context can facilitate or restrict the individual, who can also shape social settings, according however to the position s/he occupies in the social hierarchy. Social inequalities are not a given fact of nature, but are historical artefacts, that can be largely modified. European community psychologists in particular underline the importance of becoming politically aware of the different interpretations that have been given by the different power elites to legitimise social hierarchies. In the USA more emphasis is given to the individual's responsibility in building his/her own destiny.

While acknowledging the importance of individual merits, European community psychologists are convinced that a disempowered person can rarely empower him/herself solely by his/her own effort, and that history has shown that individual empowerment has occurred through collective struggles for civil, human and social rights. Authors from continental Europe (Bobbio, 1995) have underlined how their countries have tried to pursue public policies that foster both the protection and bond between people. Social capital refers to connections among individuals, it stresses the importance of social networks, and the norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness, that arise from them. In a global culture dominated by American individualistic values, European community psychologists feel it is crucial to underline the historical link between the process of valorisation of individual freedom and collective struggles which have given Europeans more social rights, including wide access to health care, education and unemployment protection. Such rights are denied to many poor Americans, who are left to fight on their own in a society that blames failure and celebrate success as mainly individual endeavours.

European community psychologists have therefore developed some new intervention strategies that encourage pluralistic interpretations uniting different kinds of knowledge and increasing the number of viewpoints from which a situation can be considered. These strategies focus on the unequal power distribution existing in any context being considered, and try to stimulate participants to critically reflect on the way dominant narratives legitimise the status quo. These methodologies try to bring to awareness the historical roots of dominant narratives and give voice to minorities' narratives and hopes. In fact in a world also created by language and kept together by metaphors and shared meanings, new metaphors and new narratives help present social situations from a new angle, providing hope and legitimisation for change. Personal, community, political and cultural narratives link individual and social aspects, offering both traditional and new interpretations of social hierarchies that affect empowerment, and those core aspects such as identity, status, self-esteem, valued roles and future life chances. We have already described one intervention tool developed by European community psychologists: multidimensional organisational analysis. Now we will present a second instrument, built in collaboration with community psychologists of different European countries, that could be useful to affective education proponents: community profiling.
Community profiling

Community profiling – developed in Italy initially by Martini and Sequi (1988, 1994) then modified by Francescato (2000) and further redefined in Austria (Ehmeyer, Reinfelder & Gstottler, 2000) – has been used to identify particular problems and strengths of a local community; to enhance participation in local programs to promote better health, protect the environment (Agenda 21); to increase networking among existing services, institutions, volunteers and other civic associations; and to help schools build ties with local associations and organizations. To balance the influence of globalisation, in fact educational institutions have to help parents and pupils to participate in the life of their communities; teachers and principals need to network to discover ways in which other associations and institutions can collaborate with the schools to help children grow as responsible citizens. In Iceland for instance primary school children may grow vegetables on public grounds and learn to be responsible for the development of living things; older students are helped to obtain part-time and summer jobs in public and private settings. In many countries schools have formed partnerships with firms to have their employees act as mentors for children in need of one-to-one attention, and to obtain stages and internships for high school students (Pasini & Francescato, 1999; Francescato, Tomai & Ghirelli, 2002).

Eight profiles are considered: territorial, demographic, economic, services, institutional, anthropological, psychological and future. Techniques of action research and data gathering vary from profile to profile, and include environmental walks, drawings, movie scripts and narratives for the anthropological, psychological and future profiles, and a series of hard indicators for the first five profiles. The hard profiles are examined by a core research group made up of residents and external community psychologists; the members of this group, with the help of key experts, identify the strong and the weak points for each of the profiles, using data such as rate of unemployment, demographic trends, measured levels of pollution, number and types of services, etc. These factual data are compared with the social perceptions that different groups have of the problems and the strengths of their community. Here are a few examples of how integrating affective education and community psychology perspectives and tools can promote change in a variety of schools and community settings.

In several Italian towns, city council members, after doing a community profile, discovered that youngsters belonging to immigrant or problem-ridden families often spent their afternoons unsupervised and had problems doing their homework. They sent a letter to all people aged 16-25 in their town, asking if they were willing to tutor a child in need. Those who volunteered were given both training in affective education techniques (empathic listening, circle time,) and one to one academic tutoring techniques. Tutored children improved in their school performance and social skills. Tutors increased their self-efficacy and empowerment, their sense of belonging
their town and became more interested in getting involved in community activities (Sequì et al., 1999).

In many Italian regions up to one third of the students leave school without getting a high school degree. Many programs have evolved to prevent school drop-out involving affective education strategies (Francescato & Putton, 1995; Arclidiacono et al., 1996; Serreri, 1998) Fewer have tried to insert in school or work settings. In several programs (sponsored also by the European Union) schools, unions, city council and various business associations were networked together through community profiling and circle times techniques, and members of each organisation worked together to provide job and schooling opportunities for 15 to 18 year-old drop-outs. Affective education strategies proved vital in remotivating the young drop-out to consider going back to school or work, while community profiles helped to find the resources in the community that could be mobilized to offer these youth a second chance (Francescato et al., 2000a).

Other projects in which affective and community psychology tools have been integrated have aimed to favour the transition from school to work; to prevent adolescent problems; to reduce problems of family abuse of minors; to favour the inclusion of foreign students in schools; to increase the ties between schools and the community; to help teachers and principals build school curricula and activities which take into account the resources and the problems of the community; to help volunteers organisation network with other organisations and schools; to promote ties between businesses and schools in order to provide tutors and other forms of cooperation (Gelli & Mannarini, 1999; Francescato et al., 2000b; Cudini & Morganti, 2002; Francescato, Tomai & Ghirelli, 2002).

Much remains to be done to compare the efficacy of each affective education and community psychology tool and their combined effects, but the integration of the two approaches to social and interpersonal problems looks promising and permits us to spread affective education goals and methodologies beyond the classroom.

References


Francescato, Mebane & Tomai


This chapter examines children's media use from the twin perspectives of changing discourses of learning and changing media environments for children. There are currently two competing discourses on learning and upbringing that dominate not only the educational field but also debates on upbringing in general. One of these discourses focuses on the child's 'own process' and considers the child as conqueror of the future. This understanding often romanticizes the child's own perspective and the child's own competences. The other discursive position focuses on how existing cultural norms, skills and values can be transmitted and on how the child can be protected from influence that threatens these traditional cultural values. In the article I shall show how these two competing discourses are present at the same time, and in many areas constitute a double communication to children and young people in Western cultures. This double attitude and double communication appears especially in relation to children's media use, and in public debates they comprise a dichotomy in rhetoric and learning. Finally, I shall discuss an alternative to this dichotomy by arguing that it is necessary to consider the specific function of children's media use in various cultural contexts.

**Adult's Increasing Interest in children's media use**

The adult world also shows an increasing interest in media use of children and young people. Obviously, this increased interest includes media producers who see an expanding and lucrative market and parents who constantly have to face their children's demands for new media products. However, the growing attention paid by adults in the educational world, in recent years, to children's leisure time media use appears less self-evident, as this attention challenges traditional understandings of school and schooling. It represents a beginning attack on a deeply rooted tradition for considering the school as a *counter culture* to children's leisure activities. Traditionally the school is viewed as an authority which ensures the transmission of valuable cultural qualities (especially taken from the national cultural heritage) counterbalancing cultural activities outside school that are, in general, considered poor quality. This traditional view of school and schooling is still widespread among teachers when judging children and young people using 'new media'. From my own co-operation with Danish school teachers, I have experienced that it is a very prevalent opinion that (new) media use leads children and young people to superficiality, often with reference to their (imagined) zapping television-
channels or their use of SMS and chat. On the basis of that judgment many mobile phones daily are confiscated in Danish schools, and many restrictions are made to prevent so-called non-serious use of school computers, like chatting and playing computer games. However, as I shall show, this traditional view of school and schooling is under growing pressure.

New rhetoric of learning

The strongest evidence of this growing pressure is a new rhetoric of learning that has emerged in the educational field in Western countries over the last 5-10 years. In Denmark this rhetoric has entered policy texts and educational debates as well as theoretical educational literature to the extent that it has become a dominant discourse of learning and education. Within this new rhetoric the concept of the ‘learner’ is no longer exclusively related to institutionalised contexts (pupils or students in schools) but also to so-called informal learning environments (various everyday contexts). One basic premise of this discourse is that the learner is supposed to design his/her own route to lifelong learning. Learning is seen as a never-ending process from the cradle to the grave and is undertaken “at one’s own risk and responsibility” with the teacher acting as facilitator. It focuses on the creation of the flexible citizen who shows resilience in the face of uncertainty.

Within this rhetoric the traditional generational pattern has been turned round so children are now considered experts and adults novices in new areas, especially concerning the use of digital media. Children and young people are seen as agents for a major change of society seen as a whole. Their use of media is closely interwoven into this imagination of children and young people as conquerors of the future. This optimism is especially manifested when discussing the use of computers.

Moreover, children and young people are seen as agents for the development of new ways of learning related to digital media, in particular their use of the Internet. They can be seen as agents developing new norms for written language in chat-rooms and in SMS-messages, and for new non-linear learning strategies. In this rhetoric non-institutionalised settings are considered as important learning environments. A computer café, a computer room at a youth centre, a library, a child’s bedroom are such informal learning environments.

This new rhetoric creates a whole new ‘language of education’. In this language, you talk about learning rather than teaching. Furthermore, as teachers are no longer considered traditional authorities, new words have entered the educational vocabulary to describe their new role; they are now named coaches, facilitators or counsellors. In this new language educational institutions are not simply named schools, but environments for learning. To underscore that
learning takes place everywhere, the institutionalised settings are now called formal learning environments to distinguish from other settings, which are locked upon as creating informal and non-formal learning environments. Moreover, the characteristics of the learning process have been given terms according to the environment in which it has taken place, so within this new rhetoric one will find distinctions between formal learning, non-formal learning and informal learning.

However, this new rhetoric of learning has its counterpart in another discursive position that focuses on how existing cultural norms and values can be transmitted and how so-called 'basic skills' can be learned. This position includes the view that children shall be protected from influence that threatens these traditional cultural values. An important aspect of this position is a deeply rooted "old" understanding of education as the transmission of national cultural values and of cultural heritage. In former times this process was closely linked to transmission of canonized big narratives representing the "idea" and the "core" of the Nation, primarily the Danish literature and historical events. Today, however, the rhetoric is more influenced by a concept of "basic skills" which are cultural techniques considered as necessary to code and to de-code cultural messages in society today. One can say the concept of basic skills to some extent has replaced grand narratives about the Nation. This does not mean that this traditional discursive position totally has been abandoned ideologically. Today, however, it is rather present as implicit underlying attitudes and values often maintained by pointing out issues and activities that children should be protected against.

Competing rhetoric on children's and young people's media use as a battle-field

Different ways of considering children's and young people's media use constitute a decisive battlefield for the competing discourses of learning and upbringing. In this "battle" the two above positions can be identified; one with a very optimistic view on children's and young people's media use; the other with a very pessimistic one.

Some of the most manifest monuments in academic writing of the optimistic view are books like Don Tapscott's Growing up Digital (Tapscot 1996) and Seymour Papert's The Connected Family: Bridging the Digital Generation Gap (Papert 1996).

Since the 1980's Papert has been one of the pioneers who has argued for the new possibilities provided by computers. In his book 'Connected Family' he narrates that he has met many children all over the world; some of them have rich parents, others have poor parents; some live in the metropolis, others live in rural districts or in the jungle. In spite of their various
backgrounds and living conditions, what they have in common was their interest in and use of computers. In Papert's own words, they had:

"(...) the same gleam in their eyes, they same desire to appropriate this thing. [concerning computers] they seem to know that in a deep way it already belongs to them. They know that they can master it; they seem to know that they can master it more easily than their parents. They know that they are the computer generation. (Papert 1996 cit. in Buckingham 2000).

For these children the use of a computer is as natural as breathing, whereas older generations have first met computers later in life and therefore have had to acquire skills for their use as adults.

Like Papert, Tapscot talks about a new generation (born in the late 1970's and after) that has new possibilities compared with former generations. He calls this generation the N-Gen (Net-Generation). Compared with former generations, the members of the N-Generation (the "N-Generals") are not in a situation where they receive already shaped media messages. They "are breaking free from the one-way, centralized media of the past and are beginning to shape their own destiny" (1998, p.33).

According to Tapscot, the N-Generals not only shape their 'own destiny', they also shape their own "Net-culture" and they shape and maintain friendships all over the world. He argues that these "key-pal" or "e-pals" are different to the pen pals of previous generations, because when using the Internet, they are communicating constantly and there is an "instant gratification". He thinks that N-Generals can "create a richer relationship based on shared cultural experiences on the Net by viewing the same Web sites and visiting MUDs and chat rooms at the same time" (p.169).

For this generation learning is no longer an accommodation to existing structures but a discovery. His viewpoint is that everybody benefits from the N-Generals' expertise, and he illustrates this by describing how they train their own teachers in the use of computers. Consequently, the N-Generals become active in bridging the generational gap. Because of their active role in this generational bridging process, Tapscot considers the N-generation more mature and more competent than children and young people from previous generations.

However, this optimistic view represented by Tapscot and Papert coexists with the opposite view where electronic mass media and computers are seen as something that threatens children's and young peoples "soul" and "health". In this viewpoint electronic media spoil children's childhood because the secrets of the adult life are forced on children at a very young age and hinder children in being 'real children' and having a 'real childhood' (Buckingham,
2000). Within this view, a key problem is that children are exposed to "adult" experiences before they are emotionally ready to handle them.

Within this rhetoric children are seen as people who must be protected from the 'adult world' and from the damaging influence from mass media. Childhood is viewed as a period characterized by innocence and therefore it is important to shape environments and settings where children can live a life 'as children' where they are not confronted with adult sorrows, sexuality, violence, etc. Children are seen as potential victims who must be raised by adults (parents and teachers) that introduce them to the adult world successively and in a progression when they are 'ready'.

One of the most well known academics maintaining this point of view is Neil Postman. In his book from the 1980's — *The Disappearance of Childhood* (Postman, 1983) — his viewpoint is that childhood is disappearing because of new electronic media (which at that time was primarily television). He argues that the television is a "total disclosure medium" that exposes children to the dark and sexual side of adult life. In addition he argues — like Marshall McLuhan — that television is an 'irrational medium' because it to very high extent is based on visual messages that do not — according to Postman — support any logical and rational thinking, in contrast to the printed and spoken word.

Because of the changing media environments, education and upbringing based on these traditional values seems to be more and more difficult to maintain, and those who try to maintain them can easily get into a pessimistic view. However, the logical educational consequence of Postman's view is to maintain — and strengthen — "traditional" schooling and upbringing. In such programmes the adult is clearly the representative of "the tradition" and they shall lead the child progressively into the adult world. The viewpoint is that the school shall create a clear counter culture to the growing threat from 'new' media.

The fundamental split in current rhetoric on children's media use and their learning

Hopefully, it should be clear that there is a close parallel between the positions I have identified in media debates and those identified within the educational field. In both cases one can identify the same dichotomy. The one side of this dichotomy is a strong belief in children's ability to shape themselves and to create their own learning route relatively independent of adult intervention. In this view media are tools for children’s own discovery and for conquering the future. The other side of the dichotomy is a view that focuses on how the transmission of existing cultural narratives can be ensured and on how existing cultural techniques (the 3R's) and so-called basic skills can be learned. The first position focuses on the new possibilities.
provided by new media, whereas the second position focuses on the threat from the new media and on how to protect children from the cultural decline.

The two positions identified here are both strongly presented in public debates and educational rhetoric. A rhetoric that tries to mediate between the two positions, or is placed ‘in-between’ is more rare. The press has a crucial role in maintaining this dichotomy in news about children, learning and media. A decisive factor is the press’s own notion of news. What makes an event into news when it is about children, media and education, seems to require a story that fits into one of the sides in this dichotomy, with general statements about the relation between the media and children in general. Then it is considered a story (news) with a “clear angle”. For example if researchers, on the basis of their findings, conclude that computer games support children’s strategic thinking and combinatorial skills it is a story that fits into the positive side of the dichotomy. It will also be considered a (good) story with a clear angling if researchers conclude that children seem to suffer from the use of computer games. Research that tries to uncover more complex patterns of children, media use and learning fits less easily in popular news coverage; typically, this will be considered as a story without a clear angle, and therefore a story that does not find its way to the headlines.

The dichotomy identified here, however, reflects a much deeper split in Western educational rhetoric about learning and upbringing. In a Danish context this split appears in educational policy by simultaneously increased focus on “(traditional) basic skills” as well as “the new learning”. The old rhetoric of learning is maintained not only by debates but also by constantly ongoing testing and international comparative investigations. The issues tested and compared mostly are practices that are already known and accepted as “school” and “basic skills” (primarily the three R’s: Reading, Writing and Arithmetic), and the key issue in this rhetoric is ‘back to basics’. During the last decade results from these comparative investigations have frequently given rise to public panic in Denmark since Danish children have a low score compared with children from other countries, especially concerning reading.

However, at the same time there is an increased focus on the ‘new learning’. A significant example of this ‘new learning’ rhetoric can be seen in a document from the EU Commission about ‘Lifelong learning’ from 2000 (EU memorandum, 2000). In a Danish context the memorandum has been submitted to several organisations and committees in a hearing process. A joint document from the Minister of Labour, the Minister of Education and Minister of Social Affairs from June 2001, summarizes the answers and concludes that the memorandum is ambitious and characterized by new thinking and is very valuable for the development of educational issues at a national level as well as at a European (EU) level (The Danish Ministry of Education, 2001).
The background for the Memorandum is a European Council Meeting held in Lisbon in March 2000 where the conclusion was that "lifelong learning must accompany a successful transition to a knowledge based economy and society". One purpose of the memorandum is to launch a European-wide debate (EU memorandum, p.3). The transition from Industrial society to Knowledge society causes deep and fundamental changes:

Today's Europe is experiencing change on a scale comparable with that of the Industrial Revolution. Digital technology is transforming every aspect of people's lives, whilst biotechnology may one day change life itself. Trade, travel and communication on a world scale are expanding people's cultural horizons and are changing the ways in which economies compete with each other. Modern life brings greater chances and choices for individuals, but also greater risks and uncertainties. (p. 7)

In this situation the Memorandum state that it is important that all "those living in Europe" participate "actively in the shaping of Europe's future" (p. 3). An important means to fulfil this goal is to develop a concept of learning that comprises a lifelong perspective 'from cradle to grave':

People themselves are the leading actors of knowledge societies. It is the human capacity to create and use knowledge effectively and intelligently, on a continually changing basis that counts most. To develop this capacity, people need to want to and to be able to take their lives into their own hands – to become, in short, active citizens. Education and training throughout life is the best way for everyone to meet the challenge of change (...) Lifelong learning sees all learning as a seamless continuum from cradle to grave' (p 7.)

The text is characterized by the already mentioned new learning rhetoric, focusing on change and on the individual's own creation of learning (routes) which appears in the quotation above in the formulation 'take their lives into their own hands'. Later in the Memorandum the authors talk about the individual's own 'open learning pathway' as opposed to 'predetermined routes':

Everyone should be able to follow open learning pathways of their own choice, rather than being obliged to follow predetermined routes to specific destinations. (p. 8)

Moreover the memorandum states that more focus has to be placed on non-formal and informal learning. Non-formal learning is learning that does not 'typically lead to a certificate' (e.g. in workplaces or youth organisations), while informal learning is a 'natural accompaniment to everyday life', e.g. at home. The fact that computer technology is widespread in private homes leads the authors of the Memorandum to conclude that "informal learning contexts" provide an enormous learning reservoir:
The fact that microcomputer technology has established itself in homes before it has done so in schools underlines the importance of informal learning. Informal learning contexts provide an enormous learning reservoir and could be an important source of innovation for teaching and learning methods. (p. 8)

The Memorandum pays very little attention to the transmission of existing cultural elements and what can be identified as ‘basic skills’. Altogether it contributes to the new learning rhetoric, and fits very smoothly into the rhetoric used by Tapsicot’s (1996) and Papert’s (1996) approaches by stressing the capturing of the future and the optimistic view on the digital technology.

As I see it, this dichotomy does not provide the conceptual tools to understand and to develop current conditions for learning and education. I can follow David Buckingham (2000) in his critique of the dichotomy when it is about the media use of children and young people. He writes:

As with debates around television, both positive and negative arguments draw on essentialist notions both of childhood and of technology. In effect they connect a mythology about childhood with a parallel mythology about technology. Thus children are seen to possess a natural, spontaneous creativity, which is somehow (perhaps paradoxically) released by the machine: at the same time they are seen as vulnerable, innocent and in need of protection from the damage the technology will inevitably inflict on them (Buckingham, 2000, p. 45)

An alternative to this dichotomy is to generate a more concrete and reflexive view on social and cultural reproduction and production both in general and — as the topic of this article — in relation to children’s and young people’s media use. Moreover it is necessary to uncover the function of the new rhetoric in relation to its function in shaping flexible workers in the labour market and willing buyers and consumers in the market.

The two elements of the learning process: transmission and creating new practice and understanding

An alternative approach has to take into consideration that all learning processes — as well as socialisation in general — have two basic elements: the one is the transmission of cultures, and the other is creating new social and cultural practices — ‘capturing the future’. Seen from an individual learning perspective one can say that learning is always socially and culturally situated and capturing new elements (the future) always takes place on the basis of the existing cultural elements. Neither ‘the old rhetoric’, focusing on (traditional) basic skills, nor the ‘new
Learning rhetoric’, focusing on the learner’s own processes, captures the interplay between these two elements. What is needed is a view of learning and education that takes the interplay between these two elements seriously.

So, on the basis of these considerations, I shall outline some of the ingredients of an alternative view. In this I consider it very important to look at the concrete functions of media use both socially and culturally. Becoming a member of the cultural and social community is an active process. To grasp this active dimension, the rhetoric of the ‘new learning’ can be useful to some extent. But to qualify analyses of children’s and young people’s ‘becoming a member of the culture’ it is necessary to develop more specified analyses of ‘the culture’ they draw on and are embedded in. In these analyses it is insufficient to focus on their ‘own shaping’. What is needed is analyses of socio-cultural dimensions which are ‘invisible’ or ‘taken for granted’ — a child’s perspective.

Various cultural contexts constitute symbolic systems which are quite coherent and mutually rather distinct, and which offer various frameworks of cultural references providing various interpretive communities for children and young people. The school constitutes one cultural context that is mainly referring to the Nation as background, while their leisure culture offer cultural elements that are at the same time very local and very international, since children in leisure activities draw on a mediated international ‘childhood/youth culture’.

Even though these cultural contexts are rather coherent, they are also changing, e.g. the new media are shaping new communities and new conditions. Moreover, not only the individual cultural context is changing, but also the relation between the cultural contexts (framework of reference) is changing. As already shown, school — as cultural context — was until recently primarily characterized by establishing a counter culture to leisure time culture by offering cultural references that differ from those offered in leisure time. Under these former conditions being an educated person was closely bound up with establishing and maintaining the distinction between the two cultural frameworks. Today, schooling and educational rhetoric draw on cultural elements from leisure time culture in ambiguous and blurring ways in constructing the concept of learning. Regarding children’s media use it is necessary to focus on its function in relation to establishing and maintaining cultural contexts and interpretive communities.

Generally, an important task for educational research is to clarify new conditions for education and learning. One of the new conditions is the rhetoric of learning. Even though this rhetoric is not a mirror of reality, it is part of a reality since it itself constitutes a discursive social practice. Moreover, to create new knowledge as a researcher is to relate to the discourses and the rhetoric that characterise the community to which you communicate your findings. In general, the child is neither competent nor the opposite. New media do not automatically develop new
competences by the users who are brought up with them, but it is a part of reality that some educators position themselves by use of statements like these. It is necessary to uncover how this discursive practice interacts with other social practices and how new technologies and new media environments for children and young people influence the everyday life routines and the way in which relations between the actors are constituted.

Considerations like these have been my background for participating in conducting field studies of children’s media use in an everyday life context. We studied our informants primarily in their homes even though we also visited them at school, youth centre etc. Let me illustrate my approach by the case of ‘Maria’ based on a visit during our study. It was the first time we visited Maria in the three-year period we followed her.

The case of Maria – Father’s smelly pigs and Spice Girls

The first time we met the family was in 1998 and Maria was 8 years old. She lives in a rural district in Denmark. Her father is a farmer and the family lives on the farm, a piggery with more than 1000 pigs. Her father maintains the piggery sometimes with help of part time workers. Her mother works part time as a nurse in a smaller town 20 km from the farm. Maria has two smaller brothers. In the farmyard are two big trees. Around it are the piggery, which is a big factory-like building, some barns, which are smaller buildings, and the living house.

The living house is a fairly big house with two floors. It is marked by many intellectual activities. Opposite to what we have seen in many other families, they have quite a lot of fictional literature. A television (with video, etc.) is placed centrally in the family room and at our first visit a newly acquired computer with Internet connection is placed in a hall. On the first floor Maria has her own room. Her two brothers share a room.

I interviewed the parents in the family room (combination of dining room and living room); my research colleague (female) interviewed Maria in her own room.

In the interview the parents stated that they very deliberately had chosen to live in the countryside to give their children good space and opportunities to live close to nature.

*Father: I am very pleased we can offer them these living conditions (...) I mean we have a lot of animals, dogs, cats and goats. Fowls and chickens, pigs and cows. There are a lot of qualities in it.*
The parents have a little hope that Maria's good experiences from living in the countryside will affect her choice of place to live as a grown-up, even though she did not seem to appreciate the outdoor activities:

Int: Do you think Maria will live here or somewhere else when she grows up?
Mother: For Maria living out here in the countryside is less important than for the rest of the family. But still she appreciates the cats and the dog. I imagine her having a space for that [in the future]. But otherwise (...) basically I have no expectations on her behalf where she should live.
Father: I don't wish her to live in a concrete block in the middle of a big city her whole life. (...) I would not be fond of that 'cos I don't think living there is very healthy.

In the interview with Maria she said that she loved her cats (about 10) and the dog. She also told that she went horse-riding and played handball once a week. The surroundings near the house she did not seem to appreciate in the same way as her smaller brothers. Contrary to them, she did not like to climb trees and to drive the tractor-like lawnmower, etc. The only thing in the nearest surroundings she really seemed to appreciate was a barn where the (her!) dog and cats lived.

First of all she distanced herself from the piggery and her father's activity there. She did not remember she ever being there, but she had been told that she was there as a small girl. She thought there was a terrible smell not only from the piggery house, but also from her father when he had been working there. When her father was "clean" — had been washed and changed his clothes etc. — she seemed to appreciate him very much.

Maria's room had ingredients similar to what could be found in many other rooms belonging to 8 years old girls in the year of 1998. There were Barbie girls and Pocahontas merchandise. First of all the walls were nearly covered with Spice Girls posters. She said that "her Spice" was "Baby Spice". However, at the time the interview took place (autumn 1998) she did not know if she liked the Spice Girls any longer. She was disappointed because of the disruption of the group. It had just been announced Ginger Spice had left the group.

When she was asked why she still had Spice Girls posters, she answered that she was very near to tearing them to pieces, but it was too expensive to buy new posters. Moreover, she did not seem to have a music group that could replace the Spice Girls. So, even though she felt betrayed by the Spice Girls she told how she and her playmates danced Spice Girls dances and sang their songs (demonstrated how they used an artificial microphone).
Maria also appeared to appreciate being together in the family room and to watch television. According to her mother, however, the only thing she really appreciated was being together with the playmates in her own room.

*Mother: She spends a lot of time with playmates, only girls. Actually, that is the only thing she really enjoys doing. Sitting in her room giggling. Spice Girls and dance, they deal with that kind of things.* (1998)

The parents' attitude to their daughter's fascination with the Spice Girls was quite ambiguous. Her father stressed that they did not give in every time she wanted something concerning the Spice Girls:

*Father: She wants any merchandize with Spice Girls. Of course we don't allow her to get anything with Spice Girls...*

But he added after a pause:

*Father: (p) Still we allow her to spend all her own money (p) and more than that.*

It seemed to be important for Maria's father to stress that he and Maria's mother were not yielding. On the other hand the formulation "and more than that" indicated that they quite actively supported Maria's efforts to get Spice Girls merchandise. The mother told that she just had bought the latest Spice Girls CD for Maria, and the father narrates that he and Maria had been searching on the Internet on their computer and found "everything about Spice Girls". But even though they supported her in getting these Spice Girls things, they dissociated themselves from elements in the Spice-Girls-culture. In a discussion on Maria's future job the mother commented the possibilities Maria had mentioned herself. She thought that a realistic future perspective was that Maria would be a nurse like her mother! — and she continued:

*Mother: Model or hairdresser could be ok. It would get worse if she wanted be like one of the Spice Girls.*

From these fragments of Maria's case I shall return to reflections on how Maria's media use and her everyday life can be related to concepts of learning and education. Some of the issues of interest here are her interaction with her parents and the way in which she constructs her self in the various cultural contexts she draws on in her everyday life practice and her narrations. These cultural contexts are related to potential membership of various communities and often constituted by referring to 'places'. Seen from this perspective the Spice Girls represent at one level her own children's culture, and is placed in her own room with posters, CDs and in her
dancing with her playmate. At the same time the Spice Girls represent a local community with her friends and furthermore they symbolize her ‘membership’ of an international children’s interpretive community. In addition the Spice Girls enter into the interaction with her parents in ambiguous ways. On the one hand the parents support her creation of her ‘own culture’ by buying Spice Girls posters, CDs etc. Moreover, her father supported her when they both searched items related to Spice Girls on the Internet. This interaction can be seen as a kind of an apprenticeship with the father in the role as ‘master’ providing Maria with Internet skills. However, at the same time her parents try to ‘control’ her fascination about Spice Girls by not ‘giving in’ to everything she wants, but by giving her what they consider ‘realistic’ gender models.

Seen from Maria’s point of view, the Spice Girls are a symbol of being ‘modern’ and part of her construction of an identity that differs from that part of the father’s life that is related to his working life in the pigsty, the life in the countryside and the ‘smelly pigs’. I consider her fascination with the Spice Girls as a part of her ‘negotiating’ of gender roles. In ‘Spice Girls’ ‘girl power’ and the dance she finds a female counter model to her father in the pigsty and her brothers’ fascination with climbing trees and driving the tractor-like lawnmower. It is also a counter model to her mother’s nurse-identity. However, her mother’s acceptance of Maria’s dream of becoming a ‘hairdresser’ can be seen as a compromise in the actual interaction with her daughter.

These few issues outlined here can give an idea of how children’s ‘media use’ can be seen in an educational context. In many ways this use symbolizes an alternative to the traditional school that primarily is constituted by referring to a national context. The media use represents both a very international (Western) and a very local context.

**Media use – as children’s own culture and as cultural context**

Media products, television programmes, music, internet, books and mobile phones are marketed internationally and the marketing often appeals to children/youngsters as a part of the international community, and especially the English (American) speaking part of it. In Denmark even Danish advertisements to children from 10 years old refer to this international English/American culture and use English (American) language in their marketing of Danish products.

Children and youngsters not only wish to have — but seem to be unable to live without — these marketed products: the newest play-station games, the newest mobile phones, CDs and posters from music groups, etc. In their marketing the producers make a very calculated appeal
to the children to use "pester power" mechanism to induce their parents to buy these products. These pester power mechanisms and the parents' reluctance to surrender seem to be an important part of the dynamics in modern Danish families. However, as Maria's case shows, the use of these products is inscribed in complex family dynamics and an important part of children's socialisation and shaping of themselves.

Seen from the children's perspective the international media products (as well as other products e.g. toys, clothes) function as raw materials for their shaping of an "own" culture. So, it would be just as inaccurate to consider children and youngsters as passive victims of influence from media as it would be to consider them as autonomous shapers of their 'own' culture. In modern Western countries it seems to be a fundamental mechanism that the children's and youth's need for shaping of their 'own culture' and the international marketing of media products mutually presupposed and nourish each other.

Even though the concept of children's own culture is inaccurate in that their cultural activities do not take place in a vacuum, the use of the term 'own culture' makes good sense when focusing on their activities in an everyday life perspective. There are some activities children/youngsters insist on doing on their own. In shaping their 'own local' culture children and youngsters draw on elements from the internationalised mediated (children/youth) culture. Of course elements from this international culture are mixed with and transformed by elements from the local environment and local narratives. However, a decisive feature in the shaping of 'own culture' is that it is constructed as counter to activities represented by the 'near-by adults', institutions or by other children/youngsters in the local area.

The way in which the adult responds to the activities, which from the child's perspective can be identified as her/his "own' culture' and counter activities to the "adult world", is a very pivotal issue in relation to learning, education and upbringing. In practice this adult response is – like in Maria's case – complex and full of double communication.

In education the adults' ideal position differs depending on whether their response is viewed within the old rhetoric of learning or within the new. Within the old rhetoric the adult (as a teacher etc.) has a clear position as representative for the (high) culture, and, as a consequence, the adult will be expected to leave the child alone with her/his "own' leisure culture and not intervene directly, but of course they try to influence the child indirectly by showing her/him what is considered better and more valuable, namely the school's transmission of (high) culture. Within the new rhetoric of learning the adult's position is much more ambiguous, since (some of) the child's 'own' leisure activities are seen as 'enormous learning reservoirs' (cf. the quotation above from the EU Memorandum 2000). In particular regarding new digital technology it can be tricky to position oneself as an adult, since the child is
considered the expert — at least in writings like Tapscot's (1998) and Papert's (1996) — and the adult the novice. Anyway, the child's 'own' (=self-initiated and voluntary) activities are a target for educational thinking, and adult intervention is a potential possibility in the new rhetoric, whether the adult positions him/herself as a novice or as a facilitator who provides conditions for the child's own learning. A critical view on this new learning rhetoric — and the increased interest in the child's leisure activities — has been that it romanticizes the child's own competencies. Another critique, however, has been that it legitimises an increased intervention in — and colonisation of — the child's life world and, consequently, represents an increased adult control of the child, because the adult never 'leaves the child alone'.

So, as I see it, it is necessary to develop more concrete studies of the concrete practises in the light of the new condition for the child's life and learning, and even though the new learning rhetoric is not a mirror of 'reality', it is part of the new reality that the language available for educators has changed. A recently completed study in the Danish Folkeskole (primary and lower secondary school) seems to show that teachers' thinking is often characterized by an ongoing negotiation (and sometimes competition) with the views offered by the two sets of rhetoric — and often it leads to ambiguity and double communication to children at school.

Final remarks

Various ways in which children's media use are understood and conceptualised from various positions make up a battlefield for competing discourses of children's learning and upbringing in our culture. In the article I have identified two competing discursive positions; the one focuses on the child's 'own processes and own creation of skills and competencies — and considers the child as a conqueror of the future; the other focuses on how existing cultural norms, skills and values can be transmitted and on how the child can be protected from influences that threaten these traditional cultural values.

I have discussed some influential academic writings about children's and young people's media use to identify the two positions. The first mentioned position — represented by writers like Tapscot (1998) and Papert (1996) — has a very optimistic view on the influence from media; within this view children's use of media (especially computers) is considered as their conquering of the 'New World', and closely intertwined with the rhetoric of the new learning where the child's own discovering is seen as essential for the learning process. The other position — represented by a writer like Postman (1983) — considers new media as an agent for cultural decline and points out the importance of protecting children from undesirable influence from new media to secure the transmission of existing cultural values and skills.
These identified competing discourses constitute a dichotomy with two sets of rhetoric, each of them incompatible to the other. As I have shown, this dichotomy is characteristic not only of the mentioned academic writers, or only of general attitudes to children’s media use, but reflects a fundamental split in rhetoric concerning learning and upbringing of new generations in Western countries of today. One mechanism in maintaining this dichotomy is the preference of the press for telling stories about children, media and learning that fit into one of the two sides, as the criteria for considering a story as news is that it puts out a general statement about the relation between media and children in respectively positive or negative terms; e.g., ‘children suffer from computer games’ or ‘computer games develop children’s strategic skills’.

Moreover, a similar dichotomy is found in rhetoric in policy texts from the ‘Danish Ministry of Education’ and from EU. On the one hand a whole new ‘language of learning’ has emerged, of which a significant example is the construction of a new ‘EU-citizen’ — at least at the rhetorical level (e.g., ‘Memorandum of lifelong learning’). On the other hand the ‘old rhetoric of learning’ is maintained not only by positions in debates but also by constant ongoing testing and international comparative investigations, since the issues tested are mostly practices that are already known and accepted as ‘school’ and ‘basic skills’ (primarily the three R’s: Reading, Writing and Arithmetic). The key term in this rhetoric is ‘back to basics’ and during the last ten years this approach has frequently given rise to public panic in Denmark when an international comparative investigation shows that Denmark has a low score in children’s achievement of ‘basic skills’, especially concerning reading.

As an alternative to this dichotomy I see it is necessary to have a more concrete and reflexive view on social and cultural reproduction and production, both in general and — as the topic of this article — in relation to children’s and young people’s media use. This alternative has to focus on how children and young people socially and culturally deal with the new reality and how the transmission of cultural elements takes place. All learning processes — as well as socialisation in general — have two basic elements: on the one hand the transmission of cultures and on the other hand creating new social and cultural practices. Seen from an individual learning perspective, one can say that learning is always socially and culturally situated. The culture in which we are situated provides us with understandings, narratives, concepts and predispositions of action we use when we meet the new realities. Seen in a broader social and cultural context one can say that new practices and new understanding are always in interplay with the transmitted culture.

References


Notes

1 A significant example of this new rhetoric can be found in a document from Commission of the European Communities of 2000: A Memorandum on Lifelong Learning.

2 In English they are often called the three R's (Reading, Writing and Arithmetic).

3 What I have identified here as one discursive position can also be viewed as two positions: the one position related to the transmission of the big (national) narratives and the other one correlated to a general concept of "basic skills" (see Kryger, 2004). In my argument in this article, however, I primarily focus on the similarities between the two, and consider them together as one counter discourse to 'the new rhetoric of learning'. However, in the "old learning rhetoric" the former positions create counter positions to the new learning rhetoric by dissociating itself from "new media" (electronic and often visual) because the narratives of new media (television etc.) are considered lower quality than big narratives (national literature etc.) in the printed language. The latter position in the "old rhetoric" distances itself from "new media" by considering the spoken and printed language more valuable than electronic (visual) messages in general.

4 In the spring 2003 a Danish research project concluded that computer games sometimes cause mental conditions comparable to psychosis for a minority of children. In several newspapers and television News these findings gave rise to a general statement like "Computer games cause psychosis among children".

5 I have experienced this from my own talk with Danish reporters who ask questions so they can have stories that fit into one or other of the sides in this dichotomy.

6 The study was an empirical research project on children's media use in Denmark. We studied the media use of 24 Danish children in an everyday life perspective in the period from 1998 to 2001. The other members of the group was Professor Birgitte Tutte, of the Danish Business School, Associate Professor Henrik Toft of The Danish University of Education and Lecturer Ole Christensen, GVU, Copenhagen and North Zealand.

7 E.g. advertisements for the Danish produced chewing gum "Stimrol".

8 A fruitful approach to further studies of the impact from the rhetoric can be done with an approach inspired by Foucault and the governmentality-tradition in which the language and rhetoric can be viewed as discursive positions and where the construction of subject is a product of by being positioned in social practices. An inspiring book – focusing on childhood and learning from that approach – is Hultquist and Dahlberg's (2001).

9 The project is an anthropological study of a course (and developmental work) with the theme: "Internet as educational means" 2002-2003 – see further my homepage at www.dou.dk/kruger.
CARING ABOUT LEARNING

Mike Calvert
College of York St John, UK

The title of the chapter, borrowed incidentally from Rayner and Devi (1996, p.19), signals the relationship that should exist between caring and learning. It is the main contention of this chapter that schools are about learning and that, whilst all pupils need care and many require a range of support during their schooling, schools are not a branch of the social services and must not lose sight of school's primary purpose – learning. Schools must strive to ensure that the caring contributes to learning rather than existing in its own right.

This is not to deny the enormous social problems that exist and that are reflected in the 'baggage' that pupils bring to school. Schools are in the front line in having to face the realities of social life outside the school gates: changing patterns of family life; wealth creation resulting in growing inequalities (Maden, 1996); the fragmentation of conditions of work and changes in social control and responsibility (Poach, 2000, pp.56-7). Young people, too, are changing. They mature more quickly and are sexually active from an earlier age. They are 'significant consumers' with 'adult lifestyles' outside school (Whitney, 1994) and a disturbing number have domestic and caring responsibilities. Society places a great (and often excessive) onus on schools to identify and deal with a whole host of social and personal issues that surface in the course of the school day. It is not the addressing of these issues but the framing of these issues within a context of learning that is the focus of this chapter.

In order to examine ways in which (pastoral) care and learning should be related, we must begin by defining what we mean by 'care' and 'pastoral care' and arrive at some sense of where we are and how we have got there. Only then will we be able to outline the ways in which pastoral care can contribute to the quality of learning and the improvement of schools as learning institutions.

What do we mean by 'caring'?

Caring for pupils is, amongst other things, about 'managing their personal and academic development' (Griffiths & Sherman, 1991, pp.149-150). Stoll and Fink (1996) echo this theme when they reject any 'sappy' notions of loving children but allowing academic failures. Instead,
they state emphatically that ‘caring requires expectations of quality work from all pupils’. They go on to say:

To do less is uncaring. To decide that pupils cannot learn important things, like reading, because they are deprived, handicapped in some way or not academically bright, is to be uncaring and inhumane. Caring teachers expect all pupils to do well: they do what it takes to the best of their abilities to help each pupil achieve (p.192).

Caring should be about support for learning in the following ways: by improving pupils’ ‘dispositions for learning’ (O’Sullivan, 1995, p.37); by providing a safe and positive environment; by finding ways in which the pupils can support each other; by finding ways to support and improve learning; and by monitoring and evaluating the pupils’ overall development and progress through tutoring. We shall deal with each in turn later in the chapter. This is far from the ‘do-gooding’ that stresses welfare at the expense of achievement – a common criticism of pastoral care from the right (Megahey, 1998, p.50).

To quote one successful example of schools focusing primarily on learning as opposed to social needs, a group of representatives from Sheffield LEA, USA visited schools in Maryland and New York State which ‘were facing scales of community deprivation and social challenge of the highest order’ (Sheffield Education Service, 1995). They identified a number of key principles which informed the philosophy and practice of the successful schools:

- an absolute commitment to success for all;
- single-minded belief that all children can and will learn to attain high standards;
- steadfast rejection of socio-economic factors as excuses for underachievement.

The emphasis was to drive up pupil performance and, by so doing, raise levels of self-esteem. This is a far cry from care as simply ‘emotional first aid’ – a common distortion and misunderstanding of pastoral care in schools. As the principal of a UK school succeeding in difficult circumstances (Burntwood School, referred to elsewhere in this chapter) stated bluntly:

Teachers are not social workers ... Pupil welfare must rest on tight systems and good classroom systems ... The best hope of a student escaping the ghetto of an unenabling home is high teacher expectations leading to examination success (Harper & Barry, 1999, p. 17).

As schools are driven to improve their results and league table positions, and schools and LEAs experience unprecedented levels of accountability, there is a genuine risk that notions of care are misunderstood and/or misplaced. It is only if care is central to the work of the school and understood in terms of the benefits of the school’s primary goal – learning, that there can the prospect of a holistic approach with a range of benefits for both pupils and teachers.
In the UK, the primary vehicle for care is known by the umbrella title of ‘pastoral care’ and it is there that we must turn to assess the present and potential contribution that the pastoral curriculum, structures, roles and responsibilities might impact on learning.

A definition of pastoral care

Pastoral care is a peculiarly British phenomenon and is notoriously hard to define. Neither agricultural nor ecclesiastical in meaning, in many ways it is an unhelpful term. However, a comprehensive definition comes from an HMI (Her Majesty’s Inspectors) report:

Pastoral care is concerned with promoting pupils’ personal and social development and fostering positive attitudes: through the quality of teaching and learning; through the nature of relationships amongst pupils, teachers and adults other than teachers; through arrangements for monitoring pupils’ overall progress, academic, personal and social; through specific pastoral structures and support systems; and through extra-curricular activities and the school ethos. Pastoral care, accordingly, should help a school to achieve success. In such a context it offers support for the learning, behaviour and welfare of all pupils, and addresses the particular difficulties some individual pupils may be experiencing (DES, 1989, p.3).

This definition clearly embraces the academic alongside the pastoral. It refers to ‘monitoring progress’ and lists ‘academic’ alongside ‘personal and social’ when referring to ‘overall progress’. It states clearly: ‘support for the learning’ alongside ‘the behaviour and the welfare’. This is very interesting since one of the principle problems of pastoral care over the years has been the ‘pastoral-academic divide’ (see Power, 1996 for an excellent analysis based on her research). All too often, pastoral care is identified with casework, often reactive in nature, dealing with personal problems and discipline and a taught programme featuring a taught element in which a ‘rag bag’ of issues (Brown, 1990) with the emphasis on content (rather than skills, attitudes and values) is covered.

In order to flesh out that definition, it is important to understand what pastoral provision amounts to in practice and what, as a result, is required of teachers in the UK. In primary schools, the roles of teacher and tutor are likely to overlap almost completely and the pastoral curriculum is ‘less overt’ (Rayner & Devi, 1996). In the secondary school, the pastoral role can be crudely divided (but this is not unproblematic!) into two distinct parts: that of the form tutor with responsibilities for administration, discipline, tutoring, guidance and welfare of tutees, and that of the teacher of Personal, Social and Health Education (PSHE) — often the class teacher — with responsibility for teaching a set scheme covering a range of issues with a personal, social,
health and moral dimension. As of September 2002, citizenship was added as a compulsory element to both the primary and secondary curriculum.

The National Association of Pastoral Care in Education (NAPCE, 1996, quoted by Watkins, 1999, pp. 4-5) lists schools’ pastoral goals as, to:

- provide a point of personal contact with every student;
- provide a point of personal contact with parents;
- monitor pupil progress across the whole curriculum;
- offer support and guidance for pupil achievement;
- provide colleagues with information to adapt teaching;
- promote a school which meets pupils’ needs;
- encourage a caring and orderly environment;
- engage wider networks as appropriate, and
- evaluate the effective achievement of these goals.

A brief history of pastoral care: the road to Donegal

This section begins with a surely apocryphal story of someone walking to Donegal and coming across a local Irishman at a crossroads. When asking the man the way there, he was told, “If I were going to Donegal, I wouldn’t start from here.” This story sums up my feelings about changes and developments in pastoral care. Whilst there have been so many changes in provision and examples of excellent practice, the history of pastoral care casts a long shadow and has a strong influence on current practice.

Pastoral care has undergone a series of stages of development and each has left its mark on the provision that we find today. It is necessary to look briefly at those stages and then to look at some of the issues and problems before moving to the ways in which pastoral care can fulfil its raison d’être – that of support for learning (Megahy, 1998).

The development of pastoral care can be divided into a number of phases. The first is described as ‘pastoral care as control’ (Bell & Maher, 1986, p.6). The arrival of the comprehensive school, a rising birth rate and ROSLA (raising of the school leaving age from 15 to 16) produced larger schools catering for wider ranges of ability. The principal task was one of managing and controlling the pupils. The heads of year and heads of house had a strong disciplinary role and Bell and Maher refer to ‘super disciplinarians’ (1986, p.7). The balancing of the disciplinary and the caring roles presented, and arguably still presents, problems in many schools.
The second phase is defined as ‘pastoral care as individual need’ (Bell & Mahar, 1986, p.8). As well as the need for control and discipline, there was a growing interest in, and commitment to, counselling. Tutors were beginning to assume a wider role and were providing ‘effective, individual one-to-one counselling ... at moments of crisis’ (Bulman & Jenkins, 1998, p.6). There was a growing expectation that teachers would provide this support at registration time or form time. Some teachers adopted the role akin to that of a sympathetic parent (Bulman & Jenkins, 1998) often compensating for poor parenting or background. Provision in schools, as a result of varying levels of skills, personality and commitment, was uneven.

The third phase grew out of the second as tutors needed to find a way of meeting individual needs in group situations. Tutorial work was introduced with varying degrees of success. Schools across the country ‘bought in’ a solution in the form of photocopiable worksheets. Such teaching required levels of commitment and effort, a shift of teacher role (from teacher to facilitator) and the necessary staff development. However, Newton and Harwood (1993) report a limited impact on teaching styles and little evidence of planning, coordination and monitoring of the work.

The timetabled provision in phase 3 was often seen in isolation, an additional chore for teachers, of whom many preferred to devote their time and energies to their specialist subject. This gave way to notions of a ‘pastoral curriculum’ in which tutorial work was a subset of this pastoral curriculum which was, in turn, part of the whole-school curriculum. It was a deliberate attempt to move away from the ‘artificial isolation of “caring” from the rest of school life’ (Meggshy, 1998, p. 42). Bulman and Jenkins (1998, p. ix), whilst acknowledging that it is a ‘slightly slippery term’, define the pastoral curriculum as ‘a bringing together of those aspects of a school’s offer to the pupils of the totality of school-based learning activities that relate to social and personal development’.

There are, arguably, three further phases: National Curriculum, post-Dearing and the introduction of the new National Curriculum (Calvert, 2000).

The National Curriculum had a marked effect on pastoral care. It produced pressure on time available in the curriculum and resulted in the marginalisation of cross-curricular themes. The focus of attention on core and foundation subjects distracted attention away from the less powerful and often marginal area of pastoral care. According to Buck and Inman (1998, p.8) ‘the main preoccupation of the early 1990s was the National Curriculum and subject assessment’.

The pressure of the National Curriculum in curricular terms and in terms of the demands on teachers was such that a revision was called for (Dearing, 1994). There was a slimming-down of the curriculum although how much extra time and energy was made available for pastoral work
is unclear. The Dearing review was followed by a moratorium on National Curriculum changes (1995-2000) and this allowed for a variety of interests to stake their claim in the new National Curriculum.

This final phase has seen the statutory inclusion of Citizenship and non-statutory guidelines on the teaching of PSHE (DfEE and QCA, 1999). The former marks an important change in curricular provision in that it calls for 5% of curriculum time to be devoted to citizenship.

To summarise, it is helpful to accept Lang’s (1995) typology of changes when he talks of a shift from the responsive, to the pro-active to the developmental. The first two phases correspond to the former: schools were responding to the new changes and teachers were seeking to respond to the individual demands of pupils. Phase 3 sees the adoption of a pro-active approach as schools and teachers set out to anticipate pupils’ needs through a taught programme. The latter phases mark a movement towards recognising the development of the whole child through the overall provision that a school makes.

What is important to bear in mind is that these phases are descriptions of general trends and there is unevenness of development within individual schools, groups of schools and throughout the system. Some schools have remained in a control-oriented pastoral system. Others have not made sufficient provision for individual tutorial care. Many have made few advances from the heavily content-based PSE programmes with little, if any, development in pedagogy. The legacy of pastoral care and the poor experiences that many teachers have had (as teachers, pupils and possibly as parents) can seriously affect provision in terms of attitudes, expectations and practices.

What then are the issues facing pastoral care?

Elsewhere (Calvert & Henderson, 1995, 1998) I have listed a number of issues that face pastoral managers. The list includes the following:

- A lack of shared understanding and agreement as to the purposes and nature of pastoral provision including PSHE;
- The existence of an academic/pastoral divide with the pastoral often in an inferior position;
- Teacher overload and high levels of stress;
- A lack of commitment and confidence in the pastoral domain on the part of many teachers;
- Inappropriate pedagogy and use of resources;
- Inadequate training (of teachers and pastoral managers);
A lack of monitoring and evaluation of pastoral work.

Such a list (Calvert, 1998, 2001) points to a situation in which pastoral care has been maintained rather than managed and where ‘such maintenance has been characterised by blind faith, creeping incrementalism and a lack of accountability’ (Calvert, 2001, p.85). Systems are kept going and built upon, inspired by what Best, Ribbins and Jarvis (1980, p.xi) refer to as ‘optimistic statements’. This has produced structures without clear roles or expectations. Lodge (1999, p.12) refers to a number of common distortions that have resulted: the ‘pastoral-curricular split’ ‘the discipline fixation’, ‘watered down welfare’ and ‘administrative overload’. Few would argue that there is evidence of some or all of these in most schools.

Having arrived at some definitions and examined the status quo, how then might and does pastoral care contribute to learning?

Ways in which pastoral care can contribute to learning

We must be clear about how pastoral care will improve learning in our schools (Megahy, 1998). Since pastoral care permeates every aspect of school life, it follows that it can impact on learning in many ways. For the purposes of this chapter, I will mention four areas in which pastoral care can make a substantial difference to learning before looking at specific ways in which schools might move forward.

Providing a safe, orderly and supportive environment

Schools are highly social institutions where all concerned need to feel that their social and psychological needs are being met. Fundamental to this is the establishment and maintenance of a safe, orderly and supportive environment both in class and around the school. It is obvious that pupils (and staff) work better in an environment that is without threat and that encourages collaborative working and recreation. Lang (1999) suggests the term ‘affective school’ as opposed to ‘caring school’. He defines it as follows:

An affective school would be one which seeks to promote emotional maturity amongst all members of its community and where ethos, classroom climate and organizational process would be informed by humanistic values.

In class, pupils need to feel that their contributions are valued, that they are safe to make mistakes and feel confident to be open about themselves and their feelings. On this last point, Sharp (2000) points to anecdotal evidence that programmes such as that of the Gulbenkian
Foundation (Gulbenkian, 1997) which encourage teachers and pupils to reveal something of themselves "led to a noticeable improvement in classroom culture".

Providing a disposition for learning

It is obvious to say that pupils who are not in a good physical, emotional or psychological condition are not going to learn effectively, if at all. Pupils who are hungry, poorly clothed, worried by bullying or problems at home, etc. all need to have their needs catered for. Schools are increasingly finding the need to address these problems. What is important is that the underlying purpose is not to support the work of the social services but to support learning.

Supporting learning in different aspects of the curriculum

It is possible for PSHE and other input (assemblies, tutor time, extra curricular activities) to contribute towards the young person's 'emotional literacy' (Lang, 2000, p.2). Learning to work together, to empathise and to show self-discipline can contribute to good behaviour across the school and better co-operation amongst the pupils.

PSHE is sometimes, too, the vehicle for 'teaching thinking' (Leat, 2000). Study skills, time management, revision skills and accelerated learning might well be promoted in PSHE time. In addition, there has been a growing recognition, partly thanks to the work of Goleman (1995) and others, that 'emotional processes are recognized as having a significant impact upon our ability to learn, to think and to make decisions for our lives that will benefit ourselves and our communities' (Sharp, 2000, p.12). In other words, we must not isolate academic thinking processes from the emotional since the two have been shown to be linked.

Monitoring and supporting the learning of individuals and groups

In order to help pupils with their learning, there must be a process of dialogue and target setting if individual needs are to be met. Tutoring is recognised as a powerful tool in increasing levels of motivation and supporting learning. Lodge (2000) reviews several studies that point to the value of tutoring and peer tutoring. Commenting on one school, Burntwood, featured in Success against the Odds (National Commission on Education, 1995:160), a study of schools doing well in adversity, the authors stated 'we considered it significant that the pastoral support is nested in an academic structure'. The school has developed a sophisticated cycle of target-setting, reviewing and reporting (Harper & Barry, 1999) that has paid dividends in terms of improved pupil performance.
How then are we to move forward?

Restructuring

Much of the debate about bringing schools into the 21st century is centred on restructuring what is seen as a predominantly 19th century creation and one whose hierarchical, formalized, bureaucratic structures sit uneasily in the modern world. Changing structures alone will not bring about changes in attitudes and behaviour but existing structures can be seen to be a barrier in many institutions. In terms of school organisation, most secondary schools are characterised by what is crudely referred to as a pastoral-academic split. This term is unfortunately simplistic (Watkins, 1999) but commonly used shorthand for a lack of co-ordination between pupils' performance in academic subjects and a holistic appreciation of the well-being and development of the pupil in a complex environment. Most teachers operate in both a teaching hierarchy (departmental teams occupying their own space with heads of departments reporting to an 'academic' line manager and heads of departmental meetings) and a pastoral hierarchy as tutor (tutor teams under a head of house/year reporting to a line manager with pastoral responsibilities). Watkins argues that this results in a separation of the two perspectives (teaching and tutoring) and a failure to bring them together in a regular and constructive way.

It follows that some change in structure is required to bring about a change. Watkins (1999, p. 8) advocates the establishment of Year Learning Teams in order to create a 'whole-curriculum perspective'. The focus would range from curriculum and whole-class teaching and learning as well as concerns about individual progress and behaviour. It would bring together all those directly concerned with the group/individual. He argues that such team activity results in a more collaborative and integrated way of working. In passing, it is also likely to eliminate most of the 'administrivia' that bedevils many departmental and pastoral meetings. It follows that all members of senior management would have specific pastoral line management responsibilities.

Such a change calls for a redefinition of roles, a breaking down of traditional affiliations and a more sophisticated way of meeting and dealing with issues. Watkins (1999) sums up the role description of the team as follows:

The main responsibility of the team will be to review pupil learning and the forces which affect it, to promote coherence in the whole curriculum for the year, including the support and guidance to students in the year, and to do this in communication with other years and relevant whole-school forums (p.9).

Such a redefinition also calls for the head of year/house to have adequate knowledge, skills and experience to carry out what Marland (2001, p.30) describes as 'the hardest in education'. This
can only be brought about by a serious commitment to staff development – a neglected area in many schools.

Enhancing the tutor role

At the centre of the process must be the form tutors. Commonly, school structures place the tutor at the bottom of the Christmas tree in terms of hierarchies (Lodge, 2000, p.37). Lodge, amongst others, argues that the tutor should be at the centre. Given the tutor’s knowledge of the school and the student and the potential to communicate this knowledge to others, she stresses their unique position. She lists a number of ways in which the tutor can help the tutees understand more about learning:

- help students make best use of the school;
- review students’ progress, by exploring successes and blocks;
- help students match their expectations with their teachers’ plans;
- develop specific learning strategies linked to the curriculum;
- help students construct learning plans;
- develop students’ vocabulary and language about learning;
- explore students’ conceptions of learning, motivation, purpose, approaches;
- provide opportunities to explore aspects of learning;
- monitor progress with individuals or small groups of students;
- recognize and acknowledge improvements and achievements.

In order to arrive at a holistic appreciation of the pupil’s progress and well-being, in order to provide the monitoring and target setting necessary, it is vital that there be the time and space for the tutor to exercise the role to the full. In addition, staff development is again going to be essential.

In order for tutors to exercise this role, it will be necessary for information systems to be in place that enable the tutor to access a range of data and act upon it. The dangers that this might just overload the already over-burdened teacher must be counteracted by looking at ways of reducing the tutor’s load in other areas. Finding other ways of handling routine bureaucratic tasks would be one partial solution (e.g., swipe card registration replacing registers and collecting of monies handled by office staff).

Given the knowledge and overview of the individual child, this would also provide an opportunity to re-examine the traditional parents’ evening and system of school reports. Megahy (1998), for example, recommends ‘Home/School Review Meetings’ held over a week and led by form tutors as a replacement from the often unsatisfactory parents’ evenings (where staff often complain
that they do not see the pupils they want to see and where parents can have genuine difficulties in attending). Parents can then be given a considered, comprehensive overview of performance, can celebrate achievement and be given a clear picture of what the pupil needs to do to improve upon performance.

Involving the pupils

Pupils can be involved much more in the welfare of their peers. One way of improving the school climate is to establish networks of pupils who, supported by staff-led systems, provide peer-led support to others (Sharp, 2001). This might take the form of buddy schemes for new entrants or pupils experiencing difficulties such as bullying. Other initiatives include mixed-age mentoring, ‘circles of friends’ for pupils and ‘friendship bus-stops’ for anyone feeling lonely or left out. Such schemes have resulted in a range of benefits to all concerned. As studies have shown, young people prefer to talk to their peers (Gibson-Cline, 1996 quoted in Sharp, 2001) and, therefore, it makes sense to provide structures that promote such caring.

Inter-agency co-operation

It is clear that a school cannot possibly meet all the needs of the child. The range of needs and the specialist help available will require careful liaison with other agencies, which, in turn, have important resource and organisational issues to cope with (high case loads, time constraints, difficulties of inter-agency liaison and information systems, complex role responsibilities). Elsewhere (Calvert, Evans & Henderson, 1998), we have produced a checklist of measures that schools might adopt or adapt:

- the redefining of clear policies and procedures (with lists of contact names and numbers available) and greater streamlining of lines of communication;
- a base in school for Educational Welfare Officers and nurses;
- an extension of the responsibilities of school nurses;
- joint inter-agency meetings and briefings;
- increased involvement of governors and members of the local community;
- the use of clusters or pyramids to pool expertise and resources;
- service-level agreements rather than ad hoc arrangements.

Conclusion

Understanding the relationship between pastoral care and learning is central to raising the achievement of pupils and the quality of the learning experience. To bring about some of the changes recommended in this chapter will require, in many cases, restructuring and re-
conceptualising the role of the tutor and the overarching systems that are in place. There is sufficient evidence that such initiatives can yield impressive results. There is no suggestion that the changes will be easy. On the contrary, any future model of provision will need to be more complex and sophisticated than existing ones and make different demands on teachers and leaders. Pastoral care has seen too many false dawns and any new initiatives may well be the subject of scepticism, especially at a time of teacher overload and stress.

At the heart of the changes, there must be leadership and management which understand all the issues and has the vision and commitment to bring about those changes. Megahy (1998) agrees with Beer, Eisenstat and Spector (1990) that there is a strong relationship between organizational roles that people play and individual behaviour, and that the one shapes the other. It is by changing the behaviours (by introducing new roles, responsibilities and relationships) that you change attitudes. Minor changes are likely to produce little improvement. Learning from the history of pastoral care to date, we know that tinkering with the system will only produce further 'creeping incrementalism' based on 'blind faith'.

Underlying the whole question of caring is the question 'What are schools for?' If as Lees and Plant maintain (2000, p.8 quoted in Marland, 2001), 'children's personal and social development is at the heart of the school curriculum' and we are serious about caring, then a serious reorientation is necessary to bring that about. Far from being peripheral to the debate about academic standards and school effectiveness and improvement, pastoral care is, or should be, central to it and it is only by understanding the relationship between caring and learning that the benefits will be realised.

References


Caring about learning


Notes

1 It is worth noting in passing that pastoral care has been 'exported' to a number of countries and practices will differ considerably depending on context, see Lang, Beatt and Lichtenberg (1994) for a publication that brings together a number of examples from other countries.

2 This includes travel to and from school—a common problem area.

3 'Emotional literacy' is defined as 'the ability to recognise, understand, handle and appropriately express ... emotions' (Sharpe, 2000).

4 Megahy (1998, p.46) uses the term 'Achievement Coordinator' in order to focus on the primary task of what was the head of year/house post. It follows that the teams would be orientated towards pupil achievement. He argues that the change of name signals a clear shift away from the head of year/house having the role of counsellor or disciplinarian.
Cross-national and national research on affective dimensions
POLICY, MISSION AND MIND:
SOME ISSUES IN INTERNATIONAL COMPARISONS OF AFFECTIVE EDUCATION

Peter Lang
Department of Education, University of Warwick, UK

In education the relationship between policy, what it is wanted to happen, mission, why this is wanted, and mind, how this is understood and reacted to, is always complex. The affective dimension of education is no exception to this, and this paper is concerned with some of the issues that may arise as a result of mismatches between these three elements. In particular the question is asked, what contribution might taking a comparative perspective make to our understanding of the nature and scope of affective education in terms of aims, policies that arise from these and the ways that those the policies are directed at respond?

In seeking to respond to this broad question in this paper it is also necessary to consider three more specific ones: What is the specific value of taking a comparative perspective on ‘affective education’? And if we seek to take a comparative perspective what is it that we are actually comparing? What has my own experience of taking a comparative perspective suggested should be priorities for future research?

Why take a comparative perspective on affective education

“So many educational issues are now seen to be universal, to transcend country boundaries, that it would be wrong not to examine them from a comparative perspective.” David Phillips makes this assertion in the introduction to his edited book ‘Lessons of Cross-national Comparison in Education’ (1992, p.3). What I say in this paper was originally presented to an audience from a number of different European countries who had come together from a common concern about generated by an individual and shared understanding of affective education. This clearly supports the first point made by Phillips. His point is echoed by Mebrahtu (2000):

- It is clear that global factors are playing an increasingly influential role everywhere. Comparative and international studies ... are especially helpful in revealing the complexities of such developments and the cross-cultural implications for policy and practice. One paradoxical consequence
of the process of globalisation is not to produce homogeneity but to familiarise us with the great diversity, the extensive range of local culture. (p.39)

This second point is reflected in Sadler's (1902) suggestion that all good and true education was necessarily an expression of national life and character - and he was writing over 100 years ago.

However, the key aspect of affective education is the way it is delivered – its pedagogy, and thus in comparative work this should be a key focus. In connection with this Alexander (1996) in a critical monograph on the dangers inherent in comparative education in relation to the primary school has this to say, both about the value and problems of comparative research in relation to pedagogy:

This is where comparative research comes in. For although international comparisons can help us to enlarge our vocabulary of pedagogical possibilities, pedagogy is a particularly weak element in both the old and the new comparative research. In the old it is frequently ignored altogether; in the new, it tends to be reduced to what can be measure – time on task for example (and even that has its problems) – and in both, the subtlety and many-layered character of classroom process is lost and the teaching method is reduced from many dimensions to one. When that happens, the problems of cultural borrowing are compounded. I have suggested that the comparativists' unease about cultural borrowing needs to be tempered with a recognition that this, historically, is in part how education systems – and societies – have developed. We can, must, and do learn from others. (p.16)

I would suggest Alexander identifies a critical issue for comparative work in relation to the pedagogies of the affective dimension of education both through drawing attention to existing neglect and potential value. So though the literature supports the value of comparative research, this is tempered by a note of caution.

The importance of a comparative perspective on affective education

What comparativists can do is to produce analysis which attempts to be both explanatory and predictive in nature, which tries to account for phenomenon in education as they are (with due regard to complexities of
context — historical, political, cultural, religious, linguistic, geographical etc.) and which endeavours to assess the potential those phenomenon suggest for other settings. (Phillips, 2000, p.8)

Here Phillips identifies two important contributions that comparative investigation and research can make to the understanding and development of affective education. We need to understand the nature of the different forms it takes in different countries as well as the reasons for this, and to be in a position to evaluate their potential value and transferability.

I believe in the case of affective education there is a further specific value of comparative research when it identifies its shared characteristics and potential value, as this should strengthen the case for it being given greater priority in individual countries.

We also need to reflect on the contrast between the old and the new comparative educations as characterised by Alexander. Aspects of the old approach with its concern that understanding should come first, seem essential if work on affective education is to remain credible, but so do the concerns of the new approach. Alexander suggests this new approach can in part be seen in terms of four quests: (1) the quest for facts; (2) the quest for indicators; (3) the quest for value for money; and (4) the quest for effectiveness. In the current climate in education a strong case can be made for pursuing all of these.

**Particular problems of identifying both what it is we should compare and what it is valuable to compare**

Having identified the importance of comparative work, there is a further issue that has to be addressed. How do we identify what it is that we are comparing? No universally agreed criteria exists, which provides a protocol for recognition of affective education, indeed there are a range of different ways in which the term has been or is used. What is described as affective education has a history and it has been pointed out that there have been instances when it has been used in a limited and very specific way. Thus though it is a term that is generally recognised, the way it will be understood may vary significantly. There are at least four ways in which the term is or has been understood. In the first place there will be those who on the basis of understanding what is meant by affective, extrapolate from this what would be meant by affective education. The fact that it is possible to extrapolate in this way seems to me to be one of the complicating factors, as anyone with a reasonable understanding of education can respond to the term, but will do so on the basis of
their own experience and preconceptions. This tends to lead to the assumption that it exists in a much more tangible and uniform way than it does at present. Secondly there is the sense which the term affective education was used in the 1960s to describe a particular movement in the United States. This seems to have been related to the approach described as character education which still exists, though it is in part giving way to the more recent development of a movement described as socio-emotional learning. There are also some cases of specific uses of the term such as in Mainland China, where it is seen as a specific aspect of moral education which in itself is a much broader concept than the European one and in fact equates quite closely to the broad view of affective education with which we are concerned. In Singapore (where pastoral care developed on the basis of the English model) this has been renamed affective education. Currently in the case of the world wide web the term affective education is being used as a very general and often critical way labelling initiatives based on the idea of emotional intelligence and, in one case, a critique from a religious organisation of a wide range of self-esteem programmes, though this is in part concerned with the earlier idea of affective education in the United States. The following is typical of such usage:

Affective Education*Danger of Self-Esteem Programs

The Affect

Psychological curricula deals with the AFFECT, or emotions. The movement has been labeled Affective Education by educators, and includes a wide range of programs and curricula which attempt to change the values and behavior of students. Public schools, and even some private schools, spend valuable classroom time engaged in “cooperative” learning (group learning) encounter sessions and discussion groups that employ pop psychology. These programs are designed for a very specific purpose -- to change the attitudes, values and beliefs of children in order to prepare them to be proper environmental citizens in the “sustainable” global village. Such behavior-modification programs are the very root of the destruction of America’s public education system.

Neither these specific or the more general understandings of affective education described above are adequate. Whilst it is a term to which most involved in education can attribute some meaning, even if it is not one they normally use, it should not be seen as the sum total of what has been mentioned so far. In the light of this it is important to continue to work to produce a definition that, whilst drawing on the past, is also relevant to the future; a definition that is more precise, In the sense of making instances easy to identify, and at the same time broad enough to overarch or
incorporate its many potential manifestations, each exhibiting areas of communality but often at the same time significant difference. Recognition of this is not new; indeed, it was in response to this situation that members of the European Affective Education Network meeting at their first seminar, in the first half of the 1990s, produced the following definition:

By ‘affective education’ is meant that part of the educational process that concerns itself with attitudes, feelings, beliefs and emotions of students. This involves concern for the personal and social development of pupils and their self-esteem or perhaps as it is more appropriately expressed in French as regards each student that ‘Je suis bien dans ma peau’. A further important dimension goes beyond the individual students and concerns the effectiveness of their relationship with others, thus interpersonal relationships and social skills are recognised as central to affective education. Related to this view of the affective dimension of education are two further points: that it often involves both the provision of support and guidance for students and that the affective and cognitive dimensions of education are interrelated. Students’ feelings about themselves as learners and about their academic subjects can be as least as influential as their actual ability.

This was always intended as a working definition, so that what follows should be taken more in the sense of observations rather than critiques. The group that developed this definition was exclusively European and by no means were all European countries represented. It seems probable that had a Northern American and Far Eastern perspective been included the definition might have been somewhat different. It is also the case that it is hard not to view affective education from the perspective of the particular version existing within the system in which one is located. Elsewhere I have discussed the idea that affective education in different education systems can be seen as either the responsibility of all teachers (generalist approach) typical of England or of specialists’ teachers (specialist model) typical of North America (Lang, 1995). It is likely that the perspective from each of these approaches will be rather different.

In relation to this definition above, or indeed any definition, there is also the dilemma of what could be described as a chicken and egg situation. If you start with a definition, do you then rule out a number of instances which on more detailed examination might have contributed to our understanding; equally if you start without a definition, how do you know where to begin?
Lang

To illustrate this dilemma we can take the example of the Polish concept of ‘Wychowanie’, which is described by Wroczyński (1985) as something that should be understood as a process of changes in an individual person that comes from the activity of other people. This would be covered by even the most basic definitions of affective education, but if we look at Sikorski (1989) who sees Wychowanie as the full range of endeavours undertaken to form human beings in physical, intellectual, moral and spiritual ways as well preparing for life among others: in the family, the fatherland and the world. This implies a much broader approach and would fall outside a basic definition, though it clearly includes affective aspects.

In what way can we define affective education?

If we seek to promote the cause of affective education successfully, one of the things we need to do is to strengthen it conceptually. A key way of doing this is through investigation, comparison and analysis. This is a significant reason for taking a comparative perspective. We need to move beyond the situation where in many ways ‘affective education’ is essentially a term of convenience. Indeed at the seminar at Warwick University in 1994 it was specifically identified as this, and it would have been theoretically possible to have chosen another term, as currently there is nothing about it that makes its use essential. Initially the term was chosen because it appeared to be something, which though not used at a practical level in many countries would achieve a degree of understanding or at least recognition in most. To some extent it was seen as an umbrella term to embrace a range of varying manifestations and to facilitate understanding between those working in different systems and different cultures. It also had a history, the problems raised by this have been outlined above. A further problem is that it has a tendency to gain a life of its own and be treated as if it were an idea more directly used in education systems. Recently in China, I found myself in a number of debates when I had to explain that it was not a named policy and curriculum area to be found in a number of European countries.

If we are to work towards this stronger or at least more developed definition, what might we suggest as essential elements of affective education? I would not want to suggest at this stage what the core conditions for an activity to count as affective education are. At present it would be more appropriate to ask which of the following can be seen as of central importance and which, though potentially an aspect, are not key features. What follows draws mainly on earlier discussion and commentary. Given the meaning of the word affective, and acknowledging that it was chosen because of this, there must be some form of concern for feelings and emotions, though this may not mean they have to be considered separately from the cognitive, though of course they may be.
Feelings and emotions are related to attitudes, beliefs and understanding and therefore a logical next step is to assert that affective education would normally be concerned with these as well, and these areas could be seen as having central importance.

Feelings and emotions, beliefs, attitudes and understanding all relate to the individual. It would be surprising if this were the only level on which affective education operates, for feelings, emotions, attitudes and beliefs are effected both by the quality of relationships an individual is involved in and by the nature of context in which these relationships are established. Thus another central feature of affective education is likely to be that it is not just concerned with the development of the individual, but the individual within the group and the group itself and this within the institution. The fact that the affective development of pupils can only be understood and promoted when these different levels are recognised and involved, may not be fully appreciated in some of the movements such as character education which appear to focus on developing sets of predetermined characteristics in young people. Again it would seem fairly certain that affective education should be concerned with long term outcomes, that it should impact on the lives that students will lead in the future. It should also have shorter term goals and indeed be concerned with the immediate lives of students in and out of school.

I have suggested the possibility of affective education existing in some instances solely to facilitate the cognitive. In the UK for example, it is increasingly stressed that pastoral care in school, an English example of affective education, can only be justified if it supports achievement, though generally the idea of achievement would be interpreted in a broader sense than the narrowly academic (Carnell & Lodge, 2002). So the degree to which holistic perspectives (concern for educating the whole child) are fundamental to affective education may be an area of potential disagreement.

**Tradition and Theory**

To what extent can identification of traditions of affective education and of specific related theories contribute to clarifying the nature of affective education? In an earlier paper I wrote about two major traditions of affective education which could be identified (Lang, 1995). I described them as major because they had had influence outside their country of origin. These two traditions were that which originated in the English model of pastoral care, and the model of counselling and guidance originating in the United States. As I have already said, the English model involves a generalist approach whilst that from the USA entails a specialist one. A further important difference is that,
whilst the counselling and guidance model originated in vocational theory, pastoral care had purely practical a-theoretical origins. It does not seem possible to identify a European tradition in the same way. Perhaps the different models of a person identified by Ungood-Thomas (1997) all originating from different European traditions and cultures, apart from the last, could be seen as equating to this. Ungood-Thomas following Pring (1984) stresses the importance for the development of Personal and Social Education that we should be clear about the kind of person we are trying to produce. He takes these ideas further by arguing we also have to recognise the existing models of a person in our society. He suggests five such models, the classical, Christian, rational, humanist and finally economic. The first four of these all stem from European culture and thought, so perhaps could be called a European tradition?

In any case, the relationship of theory and theorists with affective education tends to be an uneven one, some manifestation drawing directly on theoretical insights whilst others appear to involve no theoretical basis. Certainly the work of Maslow (1968) and Rogers (1989) have been influential on both sides of the Atlantic, as has the work of Erikson (1968) and possibly Moreno (1946). In the case of Europe, the works of Rousseau, Froebel, and Montessori amongst others will have been influential. But none of these have influenced affective education overall. Just as the concept of affective education needs strengthening, so does its relationship with theory. However, if we are too insistent of there being a link with theory there is a danger of ignoring some of the most effective affective work that takes place. English teachers and perhaps other European teachers are most comfortable with practice and experience though they of course operate within a set of personal theories (these tend not to draw very much on general theories). This does not mean that legitimate and effective affective education is not undertaken by such teachers. I have found interesting and potentially illuminating contrasts in several Far Eastern countries, where teachers are much more at home with theory and their training involves a minimal amount of experience in school. Here it is often the practice which is less effective.

Though I have just suggested that good affective education is possible without a strong theoretical base, I am not suggesting such a situation is desirable. Circle time, is a very popular approach to affective work used in English schools. The fact that it is not informed by theory has contributed to a lack of clarity about both the process involved and the outcomes (see Lang, 1998).

Finally in a paper critiquing the idea of emotional intelligence referred to later, Mayer and Cobb (2000) provide an example which highlights what can happen when the value of research and theory is ignored:

*Beginning in 1986 a California task force spent three years and three*
quarters of a million dollars to study whether to add self-esteem programs to the school curricula. Amazingly the task force recommended adopting such programmes despite the absence of research evidence that self-esteem would improve learning – or improve any other important school problem such as violence or drug abuse. Based on the task force’s recommendations, self-esteem programmes flooded the California public schools, only to be viewed as a waste of school resources and a dismal failure several years later. Had the task force placed sufficient weight on its scientific findings, it might have averted this outcome. (p. 164)

There are two further points that I want to raise concerning the nature of affective education.

To what extent must affective education be a liberal activity; to what degree must personal decision making and choice form a part of it? This is pertinent in particular in cases like moral education in Mainland China, where a set of precepts and moral imperatives are taught to pupils; and equally, in some instances of Character Education in the USA, where young people appear to be inducted into qualities that adults have decided are positive. If a balance between freedom and direction is needed, how should we decide that balance?

Finally, to what extent must affective education engage pupils actively? Does the idea of affective education which is simply taught to pupils, through didactic methods, videos and worksheets make sense? In my view, in England at least, quite a lot goes on in school, which though described as affective education, or in this case Personal Social and Health Education, involves a content driven curriculum where so much has to be covered that process becomes a low priority. In such cases, in light of the central characteristics discussed earlier, it is hard to see how such activity can count as affective.

Policy, mission and mind

What has been written so far has emphasised the need for further refinement of our understanding of what exactly is meant by and involved in the area which we have chosen to describe as affective education. It has been suggested that such refinement will be aided by taking a comparative perspective. However, taking a comparative perspective also highlights the number of cases where recent educational reform contains significant affective elements. I have been particularly concerned not only with developments in my own country, but also in Mainland China, Hong Kong
Lang

and Taiwan. The reasons for the inclusion of these affective aspects (mission) are manifold (and will be discussed in a further paper) but they all tend to be mainly prompted by concern about what are mainly negative factors. This in itself raises questions about the sense of mission such starting points are likely to create. Furthermore, what a comparison of these affective reforms highlights is the problems which surround the effective introduction of policy with affective elements, the most critical of which is that of convincing teachers, those essential to its delivery. In the end, however precisely defined, however effectively articulated in terms of policy, if teachers are unconvinced, if the quest for their minds is unsuccessful, little will be achieved. Evidence from the four countries mentioned suggests that this is a particularly critical issue where the affective is concerned. There is evidence from each, of how the positive impact of reform has been decreased by the reaction of the teachers whose role it was to deliver it. It seems possible that an unconvinced geography teacher might still achieve some results with students; unconvinced teachers involved in affective education seem less likely to. What is said here is of course a rather general characterisation of a situation, and as some of the research mentioned below show, the effective dimension of education is not something automatically rejected by teachers.

Research and Affective Education

Perhaps it is not surprising that, given that we are dealing with a concept which until recently has been fairly undeveloped, specific research focusing on affective education is limited. This was something to which Dockrell drew attention as long ago as 1987. However, the European Affective Education Network has resulted in at least one significant piece of comparative work.

This was a comparative research project which investigated the attitudes of teachers and pupils to the affective dimension of education in twelve European countries. The results of this research supported both features of comparative research suggested at the start of this paper. Significant similarities were identified whilst at the same time important differences were recognised. Certainly, it was clear that the affective dimension of education was seen as important by teachers and pupils in all the countries involved. This in itself could be seen as a justification for further comparative research, for example, comparative research of attitudes to actual policy relating to the affective dimension in different countries (something which was not investigated in the research).

One problem facing researchers in this area is that it is perceived as particularly difficult to attract funding, compared to areas such as school effectiveness, leadership and management of schools and more traditional work on teaching and learning. As Alexander’s comments (referred to earlier)
suggested, research is tending to be policy driven. However, there are examples in England which may lead to both more attention to affective education and greater exploration of its relationship with the cognitive. For example, a project for Year 7 pupils, using collaborative learning techniques combined with monitoring boys and girls working together in science lessons, in order to enhance both their learning and social and emotional development, has recently been reported:

The results of the project can be considered as being very successful and give a strong indication that the sort of work pioneered in this study could enable boys and girls to develop their social and emotional skills, while enhancing their interest in science as a subject. However, it must be acknowledged that teachers have to learn the skills to help pupils....
This approach to teaching and learning could contribute to citizenship and PSHE in the following areas: to learn to resolve conflict fairly; justify their personal opinions orally; contribute to group and explanatory class discussion; use their imagination to consider other peoples’ views; to negotiate, decide and take part in school based activities; and reflect on the process of participating. (Matthews, 2001, p.18)

Such work, if extended, could well serve to convince more teachers of the value of the affective. Alternatively, work undertaken in a British university with teachers from Hong Kong, emphasises the difficulty of winning teachers’ minds to the extent that they will support reform fully. Thus Harris’ work (2001) highlights a set of very significant issues in relation to the implementation of educational reform which involves teachers’ development and pedagogy of an affective nature. She describes the involvement of a group of Hong Kong teachers in an experiential exercise who, whilst recognising the personal benefits of participating in it, were not prepared to contemplate undertaking similar work with their pupils.

Given the potency and range of learning outcomes for participants, it is surprising to note that most respondents did not consider experiential learning to be practicable for their own classrooms. Interviewees were keen to justify their intention to maintain didactic teaching methods by locating responsibility with the competitive nature of the education system and lack of a viable alternative:
“Moving away from the traditional approach is risky. Some teachers may not have the courage”. (CW)
This is understandable when viewed alongside participants’ initial reactions to the role they were asked to assume within their groups.
Particular concerns were raised about the risk to a teacher’s reputation of a noisy classroom

“I have forty students in my class in Hong Kong. I think classroom management would be a problem. It could be a real mess and noisy. My students and other teachers would think I am no good. I could not face them or myself again”.(Ciu)

These research findings illustrate the capacity of experiential learning to engage Hong Kong teachers with contemporary issues, which are central to the perceived need for education reform. Respondents made connections between personal prejudice and power relationships on the one hand and the effects of oppression on self-esteem and self-efficacy on the other. Some specific teacher attributes were identified as outcomes from participation in the exercise. Respondents reported a positive shift in self-awareness and attitudes towards the experiences of minority groups characterised most notably by the development of empathy achieved through group work. A perception of the teachers role as a human process involving human relationships correlates with a willingness to accept and respond positively to differences in others. The exercise enabled participants to clarify values in relation to the exercise of power and to examine the role of the teacher in promoting equality in schools.

The research showed that teachers are fearful of trying out new teaching methods and changing the culture of their classrooms due to a perceived lack of support and tolerance for innovation within school culture. The reforms place an emphasis upon teacher collaboration and reflection that will require a substantial shift in school culture.

This study suggests that experiential learning can equip teachers to deal with the social and emotional issues associated with a phase of transition. Meaningful classroom change is unlikely to occur in Hong Kong unless professional development and training opportunities allow teachers to understand the process of change. As this research has shown, experiential learning can expose tensions and dilemmas within the change process and as a consequence, enables teachers to take more control over the process of change. (p. 28)

Harris’ work, whilst illustrating the potential gap between policy and mind, also offers a possible response to this through the use of experiential learning.
Brain research and emotional intelligence

The popular idea of emotional intelligence provides and interesting illustration of how the basis from which both mission and policy have been developed may itself be questionable. I have already suggested that it is better described as emotional literacy or emotional maturity (Lang, 2000). Certainly this is an area with far more web sites than affective education and there is every indication that the ideas’ considerable popularity will increase. Indeed it would be timely to consider how it relates to affective education. Already one Local Education Authority in the UK has committed itself to the promotion of what it describes as emotional literacy which it describes as follows: “People are able to recognise, understand and handle, and appropriately express their emotions” (Southampton Psychology Service). This statement is produced on a small plastic covered card, like a bank card. This also includes the statement: “Even better learning”. Emotional literacy encompasses:

1. Learning and Achievement
2. Behaviour and Discipline
3. Health promotion
4. PSHE Personal, Social and Health Education.
5. Spiritual, Moral, Social and Cultural Development
6. Equal Opportunities
7. Citizenship
8. Social Inclusion

However a paper by Mayer and Cobb (2000), already quoted, adds a cautionary note to the spread of programmes in emotional intelligence - a point which could be seen as also relevant to affective education:

It is easy to see why the popular version of emotional intelligence is appealing to policy makers. Popularizers of the concept have promised that raising students’ emotional and social competencies will improve their academic and life long pursuits, their interpersonal relationships, and the climate of schools and organisations...

Educational policy on emotional intelligence, however, turns out to be based on a very young scientific enterprise. The ability conception of emotional intelligence has some solid studies supporting it, although it has also been criticised in places. The broader, popular models of emotional
They go on to suggest that it is likely that the emotional intelligence is significant, but that currently the research base is too limited to justify current claims. Thus it seems that at present policies, and the missions from which they are derived, concerning emotional intelligence/literacy are based on an overly simplistic view of the current research base.

**Conclusion**

I have sought to argue the case for the value of comparative approaches in relation to affective education. I have suggested that this value is both in terms of increasing clarity and understanding and identifying problems.

I have noted that I have had a considerable amount of opportunity to investigate affective education in a number of international settings beyond Europe – apart from Canada and Australia, I have been particularly involved in the Far East, most recently in Taiwan, Hong Kong and Mainland China. I am also involved in work in Uganda, which has brought a third world dimension and the issue of HIV/AIDS to my perspective.

In relation to the title of this paper, I have noted that policy in the UK and all the countries with which I have been most recently involved, have initiated educational reform which impacts on affective education. Though in each case a different approach is being taken, though of course the different cultural contexts cannot be ignored, a comparison of the outcomes of these different approaches would provide data that was not only interesting but also potentially valuable. Though national policies are normally underpinned by some form of mission, this is unlikely to be enough to impact significantly on individual teachers’ attitudes and responses. It seems essential that all schools should work to identify their missions, and all schools are constrained to varying degrees by their society in what their missions contain. How do schools in differing conditions and societies create missions that have real meaning for those involved? Reform, Mission and affective education depend on winning the minds of teachers - how is this difficult task most effectively achieved? Are there teachers whose personality means that they will never be able to respond to the affective dimension of their role? If such teachers exist, should they be teaching? Is it also the case that different cultures are more or less amenable to the development of affective education? How do
teachers in different countries create a classroom climate that supports affective education and what approaches really promote it?

Such questions need to be addressed, and in this a comparative perspective can make a significant contribution.

References


Notes

- Alexander's view of the new and the old comparative education are expressed in the following: "On the one hand there is the long established (and perhaps slightly cozy) academic community of comparatists, with their own societies, journals and conferences. They may have their disagreements and debates about their purposes and methods, but they are united in their conviction that comparative study is pursued primarily for its own sake, that pursuit of understanding comes first and policy applications second. In sharp contrast there is the new, fast-growing community of international school effectiveness researchers, dedicated to finding out what patterns of teaching and school organisation work best and encouraging schools, and even governments, to adopt them" (p.25).
Arja Puurula†  
Department of Teacher Education, University of Helsinki, Finland

Arts education plays an important role in European schools both in form of curricular subjects and in form of extracurricular activities. Especially those countries which base their educational systems on the traditions of local and national culture, seem to have succeeded in resisting the pressures of minimizing arts and music education in the curriculum. However, the times allowed for arts education vary considerably, from 14 % in Spain to 3 % in Belgium: the average being 8 % of total instructional time for the arts. In OECD statistics, Arts education comprises arts, music, visual arts, practical art, drama, performance music, drawing, creative handicraft, and creative needlework (Education at a Glance 2000). The borders between arts subjects are not easy to define for the purposes of reliable comparative statistics, e.g. drama education can be given during native language teaching hours, graphics and design can be included in "Technology", dance in "Physical Education", sloyd (handicraft) and clothing and textiles in "Vocational Skills". The task of both primary and secondary education is generally seen to stimulate all youngsters to participate and be active in the broad cultural field (De Smet, 2001, p.17).

However, empirical evidence of the role of arts education in the minds of teachers and students is lacking. Comparative researchers in the field have even expressed opinions like “up to now we know almost nothing about the content of these lessons, and what are the specific contributions of cultural education to what young people are learning on the whole of their schooling” (Wimmer, 2001, p.119). How much weight does teachers give to the promotion of creativity and other arts-related curricular aims in their instruction? What are the opinions of students to the development of creativity and creative teaching in schools at primary or at secondary levels? Evidently, the position of arts education is stronger at the lower stages of school than at the upper levels when students need to seek for further studies to decide their future careers. Pedagogical methods that are widely used at the primary level give a good foundation for creative teaching and learning also at the upper levels of schooling.
Puurula

The importance of promoting creativity through school education has been understood and strongly emphasised by not only arts educators but also proponents of industrial sector (Fowler, 1996; Eisner, 1997; Putnam, 1999; Robinson, 2000; Craft, Jeffrey & Leibling, 2001; Puurula, 2001). This broadens the issue of arts education in schools from the will to educate well-rounded personalities to the future demands of work, and to the skills and capacity of workforce needed in knowledge intensive media societies. The distinction between academic studies and arts education is narrowed by external factors emphasising creativity development in teaching.

This paper examines the crosscutting element of the above discussion, accenting the promotion of creativity and especially the differences and similarities between teachers’ and students’ attitudes to the promotion of creativity in schools. A subanalysis will be presented from the empirical data of the European Affective Education Study (Puurula, Neill, Vasileiou, Lang, Katz, Romi, Menezes & Vriens, 2001).

Fostering creativity in schools

The kind of persons that will be needed in all sectors of employment should have the capacity for creative work, problem-solving, divergent thinking, trust and self-respect for their own ideas and visions and a sensitivity to emotions (Fowler, 1996). Two researchers of future work and society, Andersson and Sylwan (1997) describe creative personality as having:

- deep commitment to own things, aspirations
- trust in imagination, intuition, feelings, dreams
- capacity to see the possible alternatives, empathy to the feelings of others
- deep emotional commitment to the task
- independence of others’ opinions
- internal and not external motivation, aesthetic pleasure
- capacity to jump into new challenging situations
- capacity to combine and question things

In the UK a committee chaired by professor Ken Robinson was established in 1998 to "make recommendations on the creative and cultural development of young people through formal and informal education, to take stock of current provision and to make proposals for principles, policies and practice". Their report "All Our Futures: Creativity, Culture & Education" (2000) presents a strategy for arts education in its widest sense. Creativity is seen to be present not only within arts but also seen as fundamental to advances in sciences, mathematics, technology, politics, business and all areas of everyday life. In the report creativity is defined as "imaginative activity fashioned so as to produce outcomes that are both original and of value" (p. 29). The committee wants to
emphasise the view that everyone has creative capacities – thus stepping aside from the elitist definition of creativity being something rare and unusual. Their definition is based on consideration of four challenges that educating for the future must face: the economic, technological, social and personal challenges. The first of these is the economic challenge caused by changes in the nature and patterns of work. The emergence of ‘the intellectual property sector’, ‘creative industries’ and ‘communications revolution’ must be followed by concrete changes in the content of school education. Similarly, new patterns of work, freelance work, short contracts, self-employment, and the inflation of academic qualifications all demand future employees abilities to adapt, and to be innovative.

Among the many definitions of creativity, Gardner (1993) considers creative personalities to represent ‘revolutionary’ creativity, the big C, that changes or even breaks something traditional in the domain. In contrast to this extraordinary capacity of certain artists, actors, politicians and scientists, also the concept Little c-creativity (LCC) has been developed by Craft (2001). LCC means “possibility thinking” and the resourcefulness of ordinary people. As Gardner, Craft does not attach this concept entirely to arts education or the creative arts, but lists nine necessary qualities for LCC: self-determination, action, development, depth, risk, being imaginative, posing questions and play. Several of these qualities call for good self-confidence and self-esteem: to be self-determined, to be able to pose questions and express feelings openly, and the ability to take innovative risks are educational goals that demand certain kinds of teaching methods and teacher responsibilities.

Pfenninger and Shubik (2001) present a synthesis of the ideas of modern neuroscience, biology of the brain and creativity, connecting them to the theories of Gardner. In addition they use perspectives written by famous artists and composers. Their “new definition of creativity”, however, goes back to the innate abilities of an individual. They mention acquired dispositional representations and the influence of culture and society on the development of creativity, but return to the idea of “innate”, biological explanation at the end of their definition:

“Creativity must be the ability to generate in one's brain (the association cortex), novel contexts and representations that elicit associations with symbols and principles of order. Such symbols are innate to human brain or part of the repertoire of acquired dispositional representations in the brains that form one's culture and society. Creativity further must include the ability to translate the selected representations on a work of art or science. Much of these abilities depend upon the highly developed human association cortex.”
The methods and contents of arts education are relevant for all subject fields of schools for the development of creativity. The debate around arts education in schools has revealed that there exist several opinions about the basic values of this field. Supporters of the "pure" arts education stress that the main essence must come from the specific nature of the arts subjects, and that they are needed to open the minds of students to use other information channels than those mainly used in academic studies (Eisner, 1998; Catterall, 1998; Hietland & Winner, 2001). Arts education touches feelings, emotions, musical and other sensory fields. In this respect it has evident connections with the affective dimension of education.

Basically, there exist four main channels for fostering creativity in schools: 1. obligatory arts subjects, 2. optional arts subjects, 3. extracurricular activities, and 4. other subjects. In addition to these channels we have a rich amount of pedagogical devices, such as integrated art education, arts included teaching, arts-infused pedagogy and arts-based teaching (Hoffman, 1999; Bloomfield, 2000). Bresler (2002) even describes "genres" of school arts education basing her discussion on several ethnographic studies. Each of the genres have their merits (but also restrictions) and situations for use, and they may all be used by either class-teachers, subject teachers or artists, or a combination of all three practitioner groups.

A tentative model of the role of creativity development in schools is depicted in figure 1, the cubic of creativity development. The model draws the attention to the entirety of the theme and to the fact that fostering creativity in schools depends on several factors. The main dimensions of the model are channels, routes (curricular arrangements as 1. obligatory arts subjects, 2. optional arts subjects, 3. extracurricular activities, 4. other school subjects), pedagogy and the educational philosophy (the student-related aims, culture, values, traditions behind the methods) and context (e.g., primary or secondary schools, the size of classes, rural or urban schools, teachers and their qualification).

\[ 
\text{Pedagogy:} \quad \text{- culture} \\
\text{- values} \\
\text{- traditions} \\
\text{Context:} \quad \text{(primary, secondary)} \\
\text{Channels:} \\
1. obligatory arts subjects \\
2. optional arts subjects \\
3. extracurricular activities \\
4. other school subjects \\
\]

Figure 1
The cubic of creativity development in schools
Research questions

1. How important do teachers and students see the promotion of creativity and arts-education related topics in schools?
2. Do teachers' and students' attitudes differ as to the promotion of creativity in schools?
3. Do attitudes of younger students and their teachers differ from those of older students and their attitudes?

Methods

Strategy. A subanalysis of previously collected data (the European Affective Education Research, Puurula et al., 2001) will be conducted using t-tests, ANOVA statistics and factor analysis. The empirical survey data consists of 2225 student respondents and 1457 teacher respondents from 12 European countries. From the original 45 teacher responsibilities items and 20 student characteristics items, 10 were selected for the analysis basing the selection on the item content. The selection was guided by the tentative model for the development of creativity in schools presented in figure 1.

The questionnaire. A group of researchers representing different European countries composed questionnaires concerning affective education for both pupils and teachers. The wording of the items was somewhat different in the student and teacher questionnaires trying to express school-related things using the phrases that the respondent groups would use themselves. The questionnaires were translated into the language of each country and after testing, the suitability of both questionnaires was evaluated by the team. In addition to respondent background information, the questionnaire consisted of three sections: teachers' responsibilities, teachers' job satisfaction, and student characteristics that school should promote (Neill, 2000; Puurula et al., 2001; Katz et al., 2002).

Data gathering. Common principles of sampling were agreed upon in the researcher group: the purpose was to receive answers from approximately 75 teachers in both primary and secondary schools and from approximately 200 pupils from 11 to 12 and 15 to 16 years of age. Data gathering were carried out in the school year 1998 from similar type of schools in each country – the schools were to be of national average, not private schools and they should be located in areas that do not
fundamentally differ from the average of that particular country. As regards the personnel, or the pedagogic applied, or the principles of entrance, the average circumstances in the country were adhered to.

**Analytical methods.** To produce data for the present report a new descriptive statistical framework was prepared. Data from teachers and students were transformed into a single matrix of 3628 respondents, and new grouping information was added to the matrix from the information on student age and teaching level: under 12 years old students representing lower levels, over 12 years old students representing upper levels both for teachers and students. Relevant items from the questionnaires were selected (e.g., the promotion of creativity and talents, creative teaching, supporting extracurricular activities, promoting self-confidence, allowing to express feelings). A factor-analysis with these items was conducted in order to create a simpler framework for interpretations and to broaden the descriptive analysis (principal components, varimax rotation, using the StatView SE Graf.). Two-factor solution explained 43% of the variance of the ten items. Bartlett’s test of sphericity was significant (df=44, Chi Square 4299.79, p=.000). The first factor explained 23% of the variance and was labelled as *Promoting the talents and creativity* and the second factor was labelled as *Extracurricular activities* in schools. The reliability coefficients of the factor sum scores were .82 and .72 (Cronbach alphas). The validity of the factors is considered satisfactory for a secondary data design.

**Results**

*The importance of creativity development*

Attitudes to the promotion of creativity reveal that both teachers and students see creative teaching to be a very important responsibility of teachers (Table 1).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Items</th>
<th>students</th>
<th>teachers</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>t</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>teachers should present subject matter in a creative way</td>
<td>M 6.35</td>
<td>6.78</td>
<td>3653</td>
<td>.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SD 1.09</td>
<td>0.95</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N  2219</td>
<td>1446</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>foster the talents of each pupil</td>
<td>M 5.59</td>
<td>6.4</td>
<td>3652</td>
<td>.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SD 1.62</td>
<td>1.06</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N  2209</td>
<td>1445</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>schools should promote empathy</td>
<td>M 5.86</td>
<td>6.27</td>
<td>3632</td>
<td>.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SD 1.5</td>
<td>1.03</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N  2202</td>
<td>1432</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Promoting creativity in schools

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>items</th>
<th>students</th>
<th>teachers</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>t</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>schools should encourage student's self-confidence</td>
<td>5.62</td>
<td>6.68</td>
<td>3654</td>
<td>.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1.51</td>
<td>.73</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N 2213</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>promote creativity</td>
<td>5.65</td>
<td>6.3</td>
<td>3645</td>
<td>.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1.56</td>
<td>0.95</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N 2203</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>encourage knowledge and respect for other cultures/minority groups</td>
<td>5.5</td>
<td>6.15</td>
<td>3638</td>
<td>.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1.85</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N 2199</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>offer pupils the opportunity to express their feelings</td>
<td>5.41</td>
<td>6.19</td>
<td>3650</td>
<td>.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1.67</td>
<td>1.27</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N 2206</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>schools should promote respecting traditions</td>
<td>5.27</td>
<td>5.6</td>
<td>3636</td>
<td>.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1.76</td>
<td>1.39</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N 2199</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>undertake extracurricular activities with students</td>
<td>4.85</td>
<td>4.86</td>
<td>3648</td>
<td>ns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1.97</td>
<td>1.88</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N 2215</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>parents &amp; extracurricular activities</td>
<td>3.83</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>3640</td>
<td>.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1.95</td>
<td>2.00</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N 2218</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The second highest mean of the items raises the item “teachers should foster the talents of each pupil”, the third being “schools should promote empathy”, the fourth concerns empathy, and the fifth was “schools should promote creativity”. The lowest importance is put to the extracurricular activities. The ordering of the item-means by teachers and students seem to be rather similar, but teachers are more positive in their responses than students. Differences between the attitudes of teachers and students are mainly statistically highly significant; however, this is a general finding in studies using large respondent groups.

### The differences between the attitudes of younger and older students and their teachers

The items of the factor “developing talents and creativity” were rated rather differently by the subgroups (Table 2). Youngest respondents evaluated this factor lowest, students over 13 years old second lowest. Teachers of lower level schools (teaching students 12 years old and younger) rated the items of this factor lower than the teachers of older students. All differences were statistically significant (F=231.3, df within 3507, p=.000). T-tests between the four groups revealed differences at .05 level between all groups except lower level teachers against upper level teachers.

### Table 2.
Variance analysis of the ratings in the factor Promoting talents and creativity. Factor-score means and standard deviations of students and teachers.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>group</th>
<th>count</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>Std. Dev.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>students; 12 yrs. and under</td>
<td>1031</td>
<td>-0.40</td>
<td>1.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>students; 13 yrs. and over</td>
<td>1112</td>
<td>-0.24</td>
<td>1.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lower level teachers</td>
<td>1039</td>
<td>0.49</td>
<td>0.85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>upper level teachers</td>
<td>328</td>
<td>0.54</td>
<td>0.65</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Respondents' attitudes towards extracurricular activities are quite contrary to their ratings of talents and creativity development (Table 3). Younger students and their teachers are more positive to extracurricular activities, the students over 13 years old most negative and also their teachers rating lower than the whole sample mean. All differences are statistically highly significant (df within 3507, F=96.25 p=.000). T-tests revealed significant differences between all groups.

Table 3.
Variance analysis of the ratings in the factor Extracurricular activities. Factor-score means and standard deviations of students and teachers.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>group</th>
<th>count</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>Std. Dev.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>students; 12 yrs. and under</td>
<td>1031</td>
<td>.29</td>
<td>.96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>students; 13 yrs. and over</td>
<td>1113</td>
<td>-.38</td>
<td>1.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lower level teachers</td>
<td>1039</td>
<td>.14</td>
<td>.89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>upper level teachers</td>
<td>328</td>
<td>-.03</td>
<td>.99</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Conclusions

The aim of the study was to illuminate the differences between teacher and student attitudes towards creativity development in school, and also the differences between lower and upper levels. Fostering creativity and talents were generally seen as important by the respondents, but teachers saw this as more important than students. Two descriptive factors were found, the first on the promotion of talents and creativity and the second on extracurricular activities. The main finding was that teachers and students in the lower levels of schools, which here means teaching or being under 12 years old, value extracurricular activities more than the students and teachers of the upper levels of school. The upper level students in the study especially attached less importance to extracurricular activities.

One of the aims of arts education is the development of the creativity of a child. What the development of creativity actually means, has been discussed broadly by the proponents of expressive arts education, but also by their critics. Kindler (1996) writes about myths in arts education and the fact that early childhood educators are still encouraged in recent textbooks, as much as 40 years ago by Read, to leave the child alone to be able to create freely: "creative expression comes from within the child". The myth of natural, untouched, inevitable "natural unfolding" is followed by ideas that art-making is therapy, a manifestation of hidden feelings. These myths cause teachers to remain passive, as also does the myth of superiority of process over products or arts as a solitary experience. Research on arts education lessons in primary and early
childhood education support the existence of these myths. Bresler noted that a little-intervention approach characterised many early childhood and primary programs, Kindler continues (see also Bresler, 1994a, 1994b, 1998, 2002). More research on the true nature of arts teaching in classrooms is needed.

Empirical research on arts education emphasises numerous positive effects with regard to school motivation, social skills, thinking processes, creativity and divergent thinking, and to success in other school subjects (Sauter, 1994; Catterall, 1998; Eisner, 1997, 1998; Grandin & Peterson, 1998). However, a thorough meta-analysis of the effects of arts education to achievement, the REAP report (Reviewing Education and the Arts Project) in 2001, revealed only three areas in which clear causal links could be demonstrated between the arts and achievement in a non-arts, academic area: 1) listening to music and spatial-temporal reasoning, 2) learning to play music and spatial reasoning, 3) classroom drama and verbal skills. Also, two areas of equivocal support was found: 4) learning to play music and mathematics, and 5) dance and nonverbal reasoning (Hetland & Winner, 2001).

The REAP report did not show reliable causal links in five areas that in theory, or in practical thinking, are generally supposed to be linked with the positive effects of arts education – creative thinking being among them. However, the amount of empirical studies to investigate the connection of creative thinking and arts education was only 4 (6 effect sizes) and they all evidenced verbal creativity test measures to correlate with studying arts. Figural creativity tests, visual measures and the results of authentic evaluations of creative processes and methods were not studied: revealingly the researchers comment that in one study a small to medium sized relationship was found between studying arts and figural creativity tests (Hetland & Winner, 2001). It is quite evident that more sophisticated measures than verbal measures should be used when estimating the effects of education to the development of creativity.

Among many others, the above researchers warn about the dangers of instrumental claims for the arts, especially for the claim that arts education could improve children's academic achievement. The arts must be justified in terms of what the arts can teach that no other subject can teach. Yet, they conclude, several things still need rigorous empirical research to advance our understanding of the relationship between arts and non-arts outcomes, and they recommend two kinds of studies, first theory-building studies ("What Happens in Schools When the Arts Are Given a Prominent Role?") and second, theory-driven experiments ("Are the Arts Motivational Entry Points for Non-Academic Students?"). They write about the intriguing and yet to a great extent unstudied motivational aspects of arts education (Hetland & Winner, 2001):
While we oppose justifying the arts based on their secondary effects, there may well be educational value in programs that integrate the arts as vehicles that foster understanding of non-arts content. Perhaps the arts do cause academic achievement, but only for a certain type of student, and only when the arts are integrated with an academic subject. In schools that make the arts important, academic subjects are often taught through the arts. The arts are used as entry points into academic subjects (e.g., role-playing in history courses; analysis of rhythms in a proportions unit in mathematics). Perhaps certain students — those lacking academic interests or strengths in specific subjects — benefit. If these students experience success in the art form linked to the academic subject, they may then believe they can succeed in the academic subject. Or, if they experience success in the subject when it is viewed through an artistic lens, their willingness to stay with the subject may increase. Increased confidence should lead to increased motivation and effort which in turn should result in higher achievement.

References


### Appendix 1.

#### Unrotated factor matrix

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>item</th>
<th>loading</th>
<th>loading</th>
<th>$\eta^2$</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>creativity</td>
<td>0.65</td>
<td>-0.06</td>
<td>0.42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>talents</td>
<td>0.51</td>
<td>-0.49</td>
<td>0.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>teaching creatively</td>
<td>0.45</td>
<td>-0.30</td>
<td>0.29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>extracurricular activities</td>
<td>0.39</td>
<td>0.44</td>
<td>0.35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>empathy</td>
<td>0.64</td>
<td>0.01</td>
<td>0.42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>respecting traditions</td>
<td>0.55</td>
<td>0.37</td>
<td>0.43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>parents &amp; extrac. activities</td>
<td>0.48</td>
<td>0.59</td>
<td>0.58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>self-confidence</td>
<td>0.66</td>
<td>-0.28</td>
<td>0.52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>feelings</td>
<td>0.61</td>
<td>-0.08</td>
<td>0.38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>minorities &amp; other cultures</td>
<td>0.63</td>
<td>-0.03</td>
<td>0.40</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Rotated factor matrix

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>item</th>
<th>loading</th>
<th>loading</th>
<th>$\eta^2$</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>talents</td>
<td>0.70</td>
<td>-0.10</td>
<td>0.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>self-confidence</td>
<td>0.70</td>
<td>0.16</td>
<td>0.52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>creativity</td>
<td>0.56</td>
<td>0.33</td>
<td>0.42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>teaching creatively</td>
<td>0.54</td>
<td>0.02</td>
<td>0.29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>feelings</td>
<td>0.54</td>
<td>0.29</td>
<td>0.38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>empathy</td>
<td>0.52</td>
<td>0.38</td>
<td>0.42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>minorities &amp; other cultures</td>
<td>0.51</td>
<td>0.36</td>
<td>0.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>parents &amp; extrac. activities</td>
<td>0.05</td>
<td>0.76</td>
<td>0.58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>extracurricular activities</td>
<td>0.06</td>
<td>0.59</td>
<td>0.35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>respecting traditions</td>
<td>0.23</td>
<td>0.62</td>
<td>0.43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eigenvalues</td>
<td>3.18</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>4.28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>variance proportions</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>43%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
A key difference between schools in England, France and Denmark is the way in which the affective dimension is taken care of as a result of the national school policies and philosophy, school organisation and pupil delegated responsibility. This is one of the findings from a comparative study of the National Context, Educational Goals and Pupil Experience of Schooling and Learning in England, France and Denmark 1998-2000 (ENCOMPASS)\textsuperscript{1}.

In Denmark, this dimension is to a large extent integrated in school life and in the curriculum. It is primarily taken care of by the class teacher\textsuperscript{5}, but also by subject teachers during lessons and in meeting the children outside classrooms. Parents are invited to dialogue with particularly the class teacher on children’s affective learning. Pupils learn democratic attitudes experientially as representatives. Their concern is influence on decision making in school. In England the affective dimension is part of a particular curriculum or programme and partly taken care of by the tutors. There are two different systems, academic and pastoral, which are both taken care of by teachers in different roles. Parents have little say in this respect and pupils learn, by experience, a more hierarchical/elite democratic way of thinking through the school structure and the delegated representative functions in school. In France the affective dimension has still little, though growing formal place in school life and learning. There are two different systems, academic and educational, which are separate in structure as well as in staff involved. Parents play a minor role. Pupils experientially learn psychosocial thinking/behaviour and solidarity in class. It is not a concern of the school. The pupils function as class representatives, as advocates and transmitters of fellow pupils’ problems and conflicts with the teachers.

In this article it is described how academic and affective education are organised and managed, and how pupils (age 12 – 14 years) experience being met by their teachers in case of problems. It will also be shown how citizenship education, as part of the affective dimension of learning, is provided for in school life in the schools of study in these three countries. The last section is an approach to open up a discussion of the concept of the affective dimension of learning. This
concept has recently gained renewed interest in the rhetoric of education in school, as well as in society and therefore calls for serious exploration in theory and practice.

Organisation of academic and affective education

“Education”

School organisation in the schools involved in the ENCOMPASS study\(^2\) was related to a deeper national understanding of the concept of ‘education’. All three countries share a basically similar understanding of the term ‘education’: that it should include firstly a pedagogical or teaching element; secondly, an intellectual or cognitive element; and thirdly, a non-intellectual and non-instructive element\(^8\). A major problem of comparative education is equating concepts and finding mutually acceptable terminology. This is particularly true in the domain of non-intellectual, non-instructive education for which the term ‘affective’ education is used in England (Lang, Katz & Menezes, 1996,p. 4) “the aspect of the educational process that is concerned with the feelings, beliefs, attitudes and emotions of students, with their interpersonal relationships and social skills”.

In England ‘education’ encompasses an ‘academic’ element (a combination of the first and second concepts) and an ‘affective’ element (the third concept). There is a strong tradition in the development of the individual and the inclusion of the spiritual domain. In the French system, two terms are used which roughly correspond with ‘academic’ and ‘affective’: l’instruction which is the combination of the pedagogical and intellectual concepts and l’éducation which refers to the non-instructive and non-intellectual concept of education. However, more weight is given to pedagogy in the French pairing of pedagogy and cognition than is done in the English pairing and less weight is given to the non-intellectual and non-instructive concept in French education. The Danish conceptual understanding of ‘education’ is very different. The English term ‘education’ covers undervisning which refers to the pedagogical and didactic aspect of education (like the French concept of education, is more encyclopaedic and knowledge-based than it is in England) and danneelse, which consists of both intellectual learning and the non-instructive and non-intellectual concept of education with a moral touch. Academic and affective education are generally not conceived as separate in Denmark.

School Organisation

These conceptual differences can be seen in school organisation. In the English schools the affective (or pastoral system) and the academic were separate but complimentary systems:
Whilst the English pastoral system existed as a separate system with the aim of providing a support system or 'safety valve' for pupils and to 'make sure they’re as happy as they can be and that they turn into decent adults' (A-school language teacher), academic and affective education were perceived as inextricably connected and mutually supporting:

'It's to support pupils' learning. It functions as a sort of academic guidance system, it helps pupils with their personal self worth, it helps in situations of bereavement, where families have medical problems and helps with families that have different values. However I wouldn't separate it from my maths teaching'. (KLB Head of Year)

There were two separate but complimentary systems in France too, but they were more separate than in the English schools:

'Affective' education - "la vie scolaire"
- Conseiller principal\(^7\) (CPE) (head of la vie scolaire)
- surveillance\(^8\) and/or
- Aide éducateurs\(^9\)
- Emplois jeunes
- Appelés du contingent
- Stagiaires

'Academic' education
- Subject teachers
- Professeurs principaux\(^3\)
- Librarian and careers advisor (conseiller d'éducation)
La vie scolaire was concerned with pupils’ éducation as opposed to their instruction. The difference with England was that there was a very strong division between the two systems,

A child has two lives at school. There’s the world of teaching and intellectual learning (le travail pédagogique, de son instruction), but there’s also the child’s general education and learning how to behave (son éducation et son comportement) … school is a micro world and in this micro world we are responsible for the lives of adolescents and future adults. Our role is to teach them how to become adults. All the staff have this responsibility some in their role as subject teachers (en les instruisant), some as educors (en les éduquant). (C-school CPE)

Roles in the two French systems were occupied by different types of school staff whereas in England the role of teacher straddled the academic and affective systems. Furthermore each system in the French schools had a certain amount of autonomy: "[La vie scolaire] it’s a system within a system" (C-school headteacher).

In Denmark, where academic and affective education are conceptually not very different, school organisation was not compartmentalised into two systems. From the level of the school board to the individual teacher affective education in Denmark was seen as an integral part of school life.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Direction and administration</th>
<th>Teaching staff</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Educational management including 'academic' and 'affective' areas</td>
<td>Most teachers are class teachers, responsible for one class</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>carried out by head teacher and deputy</td>
<td>('affectively' and 'academically') as well as subject teachers in other</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>classes (also with some responsibility for 'affective education').</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The class teacher (klasselaer) was the instrument through which educational aims (academic and affective) were put into practice. Affective education was an implicit part of the Danish teacher's role, "It's a responsibility that we all have ... there's nothing in print" (Danish class teacher at the Province school).
France, thus, can be seen at one extreme with its separation of the affective and cognitive into
distinct systems within the school with separate staff; while Denmark can be seen at the other
extreme. In Denmark the two systems were not perceived as separate but were embodied in the
role of subject teachers, in particular in the role of the class teacher, and to some extent in the
subjects. England can be positioned between the two. There were two parallel systems within
English school organisation but the two structures co-existed in the roles of particular staff and most
subject teachers incorporated some affective education into their subject teaching. In all three
countries there was supposed to be a special weekly hour for the purpose of these affective
aspects: in England the "tutor time", in France "l'heure de vie" in Denmark "hour of the class". In the
following section, it will be shown how these were actually used.
This continuum can be expressed in diagrammatic form:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>France</th>
<th>England</th>
<th>Denmark</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Intellectual</td>
<td>Affective</td>
<td>Intellectual &amp; Affective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teacher</td>
<td>Non-teaching</td>
<td>Teacher</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Staff</td>
<td>Teacher</td>
<td>Teacher</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

School structures and staff roles in each country were seen to be related to national concepts about
education so that ultimately, the type and quality of pupil relationships with teachers are strongly
dependent on the national context/culture. The common ground between the three countries was
the realisation that whatever school structures were in place, there was a greater need for academic
and affective education to be combined, and that there should be an increase in the sharing of
information about pupils between staff.

Managing the affective domains of teaching and learning

Within the English system subject teachers also have a separate responsibility as a group tutor for
the personal and social well-being of a particular group of pupils. Within the French system, these
two aspects of schooling are managed by completely different groups of staff: teachers concentrate
on the cognitive domain, whereas the conseiller principal d'éducation (CPR) and his/her staff are
responsible for the pastoral care of pupils. In Denmark, both aspects of education are seen as so
intimately related that it is almost impossible to split them. However, evidence from the teachers
uncovers a more complicated picture when these three different systems are operationalized.
In England, the aims of the pastoral system were similar in all three study schools. It was there to provide a safety net for pupils and to act as a bridge between issues, which affected their lives outside the classroom, and their academic performance. It was characteristic of most English teachers, in common with Danish teachers but very unlike French teachers, that whatever the school context, the affective domain was important. For most English teachers the same priorities applied in subject teaching as tutorial teaching. This duality in the subject teacher’s role was an extension of the English teacher’s double roles in the academic system and the affective system. Most English teachers felt these two roles were mutually supportive, that they had a better subject teaching relationship with their tutor group than with other classes because they knew them better, ‘I view the children (in my tutor group) in a more sympathetic light, and balance perhaps their backgrounds’ (Teacher of science at A-school). English teachers, like Danish teachers, felt that closer relationships with pupils led to better teaching and learning:

_ 'I try to sort of say, you know, ‘And what did you do in the holiday?’ And if they went away, ask where and who with and what they got up to, or sometimes I say, ‘Did you have a nice weekend?’ Or I ask if someone’s injured, ‘How did you do that?’ Most of the kids I’ve ever spoken to, have taken it as that you’re interested in them, and they like it I think. They wouldn’t necessarily smile and say, ‘Oh hello’. But I think they like it and certainly that’s part of good teaching and learning - to know. An understanding of pupils’ lives outside school is extremely valuable. It makes you understand why pupils are performing less well. (Teacher of English at A-school, England)_

_ It’s important that the children like being here, otherwise they won’t learn anything. But it is also important that they learn something and have a positive experience of being together. I think it’s important that they treat each other in a proper fashion. (German, maths and geography teacher in the Province school, Denmark)_

However, it was observed that in an effort to raise standards, there was evidence of a re-focusing of the group tutor role to include more academic support and personal planning. Tutors were being required to monitor the progress of pupils using computer data in order to set targets, which would, then be discussed with individual pupils. However, teachers continued to see a difference in the way they related to pupils in their role as group tutor, as opposed to their role as subject teacher:

_ I view my role as a tutor fairly separately from my role as a teacher. In my_
role as a tutor I certainly am a lot gentler than my role as a teacher, so that the door is always open, and they don't view me as being so disciplinarian that they can't feel that they can approach me any time on any issue. So I do play my role as a tutor somewhat differently. (teacher of humanities, St. B school, England)

In addition to their pastoral role, group tutors were often required to teach a curriculum subject known as personal, social and health education (PSHE) to their tutor group. This involved study skills, as well as issues to do with individual personal and social development and provided teachers with an opportunity to relate to pupils on a slightly more informal level with a more individualistic and flexible curriculum which could include the worries and preoccupations of their pupils:

Kids, there general idea of PSHE is to have fun. It's a chill out zone. It's time to relax. And it will tend to be that because, again, PSHE is not about drumming home this and this and that. It's about your skills as a form tutor, I think that's why it is so important in the lower school. (teacher of English, A-school, England)

In theory, the role as a group tutor was to look after pupils' social and emotional well being and to be the initial contact with parents and home. However, evidence from the project suggested that this role, rather than concentrating purely on the affective domain, was being re-conceptualised as a learning support role in an effort to raise standards, constrained by a highly prescriptive curriculum, which included study skills as well as issues to do with personal development. In practice, the short periods of tutor time at the beginning of both the morning and afternoon sessions were usually taken up with registration and administration, with little time to explore issues or build relationships. Some teachers accepted this situation, others considered it a missed opportunity. Group tutors were often responsible, in a curriculum sense, for the personal, social and health education (PSHE) of their group. Tutor groups were of mixed ability but the pupils usually spent most of their time, grouped by attainment, in subject lessons. Teachers found themselves under increasing pressure to raise standards and meet government targets. This, together with an intense inspection system left many of the sample feeling overworked and stressed.

Despite the administrative separation of the cognitive and pastoral roles within the French system, in theory French teachers have long been required to take on some aspects of the affective domain in the sense that there is the taught subject of civic education. This consists of knowledge-based education about the rights and responsibilities of citizens. In
the more pedagogically innovative schools in disadvantaged areas, teachers of other subjects were also starting to include aspects of affective education. Firstly, they encouraged group and team work, and pupil responsibility in project work. Secondly, depending upon individual personalities and again particularly in disadvantaged areas, some teachers were taking on a more active role in the development of their pupils as people. Several teachers referred to the increasing demands made on the affective dimension of their role. However, many teachers in all three French schools resisted this trend:

*I'm rather against teachers having responsibility for the personal and social education of their pupils. I think that in France teachers are being made more and more responsible for it. I feel that more and more is asked of teachers. As soon as there is a problem, the solution is always to pass it on to the teacher.* (teacher of French, M-school, France)

Most French teachers restricted their aims to the traditional instructive and cognitive ones. As a teacher of English in Bordeaux noted, ‘There is another dimension to the pupil which completely escapes us’. This was partly because of the traditional view of the teacher’s role in France, which recognised that the skills and resources were not necessarily available:

*In France, education means mass participation. Okay, it’s the same education for everyone, so social and personal development isn’t something that concerns us.... Although there are ministerial directives about looking for better strategies with pupils, but we don’t have the means to do that sort of thing.... We neither have the time nor the locations to deal with pupils in that way... to have more personal discussions with them, it just has not been provided for.* (teacher of maths in B-school, France)

Most full time French teaching staff, like their English colleagues, had a second role as professeur principal with a particular class. However, as the term implies, the role has had little to do with affective education or individual pastoral care. It was mostly perceived as an administrative role, to introduce and remind pupils of the school rules and study methods, as there was little time or space in which they could deal with individual problems. Sometimes, as with English group tutors, there was a conflict between the role of tutor and the role of subject teacher, “the problem with individual pupil relationships is that we do not have enough time ... there’s the syllabus to get through”.

110
However, it was seen as more important to guide pupils in their school trajectory and to liaise with other teachers with regard to pupils’ academic progress. In this sense, the role of the group tutor in England appeared to be taking on some of the aspects of this French tutor role. There was some evidence within the schools set in more disadvantaged areas that there was an increasing recognition that a more involved role was needed with a changing school population:

*We look at relations between kids, fighting, insulting, knowing when they are insulting, that it’s not just a way of talking, how to speak to adults. At the beginning of the year it was, ‘Don’t spit on the floor’, but now it’s more like how to become a responsible teenager. I teach them how to respect each other, because there are many different nationalities, different colours, different ages….I have some that are three years older, that have repeated.* (American teacher of English, France)

Typically, French teachers maintained a certain professional distance from the parents of their pupils. Their focus was their subject teaching and their aims concentrated around encouraging pupils to be inspired by their subject and ensuring that they got as many pupils as possible to the correct level for the following year. They were generally clear about where their professional role ended and where the school’s non-teaching staff should take over with regard to the social and emotional needs of their pupils. They appreciated the support they got from these staff. Most teachers spent approximately 30 hours per week in school, though only 18 hours of this were involved in classroom teaching. For anything over their contracted hours, which included time for preparation and planning, teachers would receive extra remuneration. Some teachers had the role of professeur principal for which they received an extra hour’s pay per week. There was no special time set aside for this role, which was normally carried out during one of the subject teacher’s lessons, in a session referred to as l’heure de vie.

For Danish teachers, the tension between the cognitive and the affective domains of teaching and learning was both structurally and personally less of an issue. All teachers considered these aspects to be inter-related and part of an integrated educational process. As one class teacher explained, “The children have to learn what they are supposed to” but that at the same time the class teacher has to be “sensitive to and able to understand the problems of the children”.

The specific role of the klasselaerer took this combination a stage further. There has long been a strong tradition in Denmark that one teacher – the class teacher – has the prime responsibility of providing the best possible atmosphere for a class to work and function well. Class teachers have been considered so important that they are encouraged and facilitated to remain with the same
group of children throughout the whole of their compulsory schooling (9 years). Use of the hour of the class\textsuperscript{14} as either a separate, timetabled period or integrated into other lessons, enabled the class teacher to build up close relationships between themselves and their pupils and to investigate issues of concern within the class group. This class hour was, however, like in England often used to catch up on missing teaching. The class teacher further had specific responsibility for links between home and school. This enabled teachers to build close relationships also to the parents and families of their pupils. The klasselaerer has a total of seventy-five hours a year to execute the very wide range of duties for which they are responsible.

In practice, some pupils with difficulties approached other subject teachers, often choosing teachers of their own sex. For this reason, and also because the role is becoming more complex class teachers are often being encouraged to take on the role as a shared job, with one male and one female teacher.

\begin{quote}
It is sometimes a problem that we are in a team where we teach the pupils in many lessons. You sometimes have to touch on an issue which is not really yours because it is the concern of the class teacher – sometimes you feel that it is a problem that you could help to solve – but the procedure must work the other way round [i.e. be referred back to the class teacher]. (Danish subject teacher)
\end{quote}

Policy initiatives meant that teachers were under pressure to develop cross-curricular project work and provide for a differentiated curriculum within their mixed ability groups. Class teachers often worked in teams of three or four teachers who between them covered the spread of the curriculum between them.

\section*{Pupil experience}

\begin{quote}
You have to be ready to listen to them. Sometimes there are things which have nothing to do with their life at school. But who else can they talk to? [teacher of history, M-school, France]
\end{quote}

How do the pupils experience the teachers' meeting of their feelings, beliefs, attitudes and emotions? One way is to ask them to whom they would go – and did go - if they were in trouble or had problems either with school work, with other pupils or outside school (at home).
As a general observation across the countries few pupils did contact adults (like teachers, heads, assistants) in case of personal (not schoolwork related) problems. It varied whom they would go to – it definitely had to be someone upon whom they could rely. Their answers and the discussions in groups gave an idea of how the systems worked in the schools.

In France pupils felt they could not confide in teachers “as they cannot maintain confidentiality” and some found that social problems]. Others mention that they would go to a “surveillant” if ...quelqu’un nous embête and they would go to the professeur principal with personal problems, but very few among the interview pupils had been to a teacher or to somebody else for these kinds of problems. They were afraid that the teachers would tell the parents. They felt confident to talk to l’assistante sociale to whom they felt they could talk freely, but l’assistante sociale was generally not allowed to have discussions with the pupils.

If the pupils were to talk to a teacher in school they wanted it to be on a voluntary basis “...si les élèves veulent, mais ils [the teachers] ne doivent pas forcer les élèves à dire si ils n’ont pas envie ... ils doivent écouter les élèves oui...”

French pupils wanted the teachers to listen to and respect them more (the latter being mutual), but they emphasised that it had to be within the school domain. They distinguished between the school and outside, the home.

English pupils felt freer than French pupils to go to a teacher, tutor or head of the year in case of problems. They had more confidence in the teachers and felt that the teachers were interested in them as people. They found people whom they could approach in school, for example Miss Q, whom all referred to (in this school) in very positive terms:

*Sometimes there’ll be someone out of school you can talk to but not as much as you can talk to someone in school, like Miss Q..., she’s really nice to talk to, you can talk to her about anything, and she’ll understand. Sometimes there’s someone out of school that you can talk to, but you can’t say everything to them. A boy from another school expressed it this way:...because otherwise you wouldn’t really have anyone else to talk to if you were having problems at home. You have got friends you can talk to but you can’t really do anything about it.*

Some English pupils would not mind the school staff being more involved in pupils’ personal problems...
because if something’s happened at home, and you get told off in lessons for being lazy and that. Then it’s not really your fault, so I think - it’s not really your fault if something happens at home, so I think you should tell someone.

Danish pupils, but few French pupils, had similar suggestions.

In Denmark pupils in general felt very confident and free with the teachers, but they had similar feelings of being cautious (like the pupils in the other two countries) when considering to whom they would talk about personal problems. They seemed perhaps more hesitant than the English pupils but their considerations regarding teacher involvement in problems not related to work were similar: it might be of great help if teachers knew “why you are in a bad mood” - and they should only be involved if the pupils agreed to it.

The communication channels seem shorter and easier accessible in Denmark than in France and England, to a wide extent because there are no formal hierarchy and fewer explicit rules and norms. The reason why, however, it looks as if Danish pupils are less inclined to contact a teacher in case of kind of personal problems may be that the class teacher also is a subject teacher, like in France but not often in England, who is bound to make academic evaluations.

Citizenship Education

The subject of citizenship education as part of affective education is integrated in school life and in many curriculum subjects in Denmark, but in particular courses or programmes in England and France.

Pupil-delegated representation and responsibility is a way of introducing and practising this aspect of affective education. In all three countries pupils had the opportunity to become a representative – but this took different forms in the three countries reflecting the different educational cultures and philosophies.

In France the representative “le délégué” represented the class group. “Par exemple un élève s’il se plaint de quelque chose il va voir le délégué. Si par exemple c’est un problème avec un professeur le délégué va lui en parler.” They defended the class if something did not work. They told the class what happened in the conseil de classe, what the teachers said about them, but they were not allowed to criticise a teacher in plenum (in the conseil de classe). They were supposed to be “good examples” for the other pupils – although, according to the pupils as well as the teachers,
there "are many bad examples". These pupils could ask the teacher to move a course from 4.30 to 3.30. They distributed dinner cards, "des cahiers" etc., listened to and discussed the class group.

Two pupils were elected by the other pupils in class. Some did not find they had any influence but they acknowledged their work. As a boy remarked, "Il's got to be done like getting the papers, books etc". They placed importance in not regarding their representatives as somebody special – "ils ne se vantent pas" one said. They were regarded just like anybody else, contrary to the English prefects. "Le conseil de classe" took place trimesterly: two parents representatives, two pupils representatives, the teachers and may be "l'assistente sociale", maybe the nurse, and the "professeur d'orientation". This is where you talk about each pupil in class.

In England there were two kinds of representatives: prefects and head boy or girl. Prefects, who were also members of a school council, functioned as school and teacher right-hands and supervisors.

Well, they like, go to their council meetings like, from every tutor group one person goes, or two, and they say what [...] thinks the school needs like, if the toilets are all dirty and things, and they've got no toilet paper, they say about that. And - because our bags are like, are mostly really heavy and we're just caring our books around, they think we need lockers.

The teachers or heads appointed the prefects who, in turn, chose the head girl and boy. To be appointed a prefect was a sign of qualification and a kind of award. Head boys and girls had no other function than representing the other pupils.

The school council consisted of one or two pupils from each tutor group. Though organised by a teacher, they often ran the monthly meetings themselves, reporting to the senior management and subsequently to the tutor group. Not all schools had both of these. All pupils regularly met at assemblies in the school, but these assemblies were for information, giving awards, for talking of behavioural problems – one-way communication from the teachers and the school.

In Denmark "[pupil councils constitutes a form of training in the democratic rules of society]" teachers explained. The pupils were elected by their classmates, mostly two from each class. Two pupils were members of the school board, who met once a month. The pupils typically characterised their representatives as "... someone who can speak up " "have a lot of ideas " . They were expected to tell in class what they had talked of at the council or school board meetings, as well as discussing pupils' wishes with regard to the school yard, new toilets etc. The pupil
representatives had been involved in development programmes for the year 2000, making proposals for the use of common rooms in school, and homework cafés. In one community a pupils’ town council was set up. The burgomaster of this town council had for three two-year periods been from one of our schools. Any effectiveness in decision-making, according to this pupils’ representative, was difficult, but he found that the pupils were being listened to.

Not all pupils wanted to become a representative. The reasons for this reflected the local conditions and circumstances. It was a common argument – particularly among French and English pupils - that they did not want to spend all their spare time on the representative tasks after school or during lunchtime or breaks, while Danish pupils were concerned with the possible opportunity for acquiring influence. Other reasons varied, reflecting the school structures and ideologies related to personal, social and democratic learning.

In France pupils in particular called on reasons of solidarity (and equal rights. As one boy expressed it, he was afraid to “faire des préférences entre les copains, par exemple, on peut défendre une personne plus qu’une autre et aprés on a des reproches”. This was perceived as a heavy (psychological) burden “too much responsibility”, according to some.

In England reasons indicated lack of interest, which might be due to a school organisation that did not allow pupils, even representatives, much influence. Another excuse for not wanting to be chosen was no doubt a consequence of the elitist English school system, as one boy stated: “I’m not clever enough.”

In Denmark there were no particular negative answers, – although like in England, lack of self confidence (not good at spelling) was heard as a reason. Danish pupils were concerned with having a say and some influence on decision making in school life. Some gave up beforehand, having little confidence in being able to have any say.

**Conceptual discussion**

A generally agreed upon/general, consensual conception of the affective dimension across the three countries does not exist. Attempts to translate the common concept “pastoral care” used in the UK and the US into French and Danish have proved difficult in England Una Collins (Collins & McNiff, 1999) finds from her empirical research an understanding of pastoral care as:

- “a programme in personal and social education”
- “a class tutor is responsible for each class”
"a back door for religious education"
"a front door for mere humanism"

In 1989 Her Majesty's Inspectorate in Britain gave the following definition of pastoral care: "promoting pupils' personal and social development and fostering positive attitudes; through the quality of teaching and learning.[...] Pastoral care, accordingly, should help a school to achieve success.[...]"

Other conceptions like "personal and social education", "personal social and health education", "citizen education", "soft competencies" are likewise used to cover educational approaches to the affective dimension and more easily understood and explained across the three nation states.

The number of conceptions and terminologies reflect different experiences and not least diverging intentions and educational priorities as seen in the above documentary and empirical findings in the ENCOMPASS study.

Peter Lang (1998) has traced the origins of pastoral care in England to the nineteenth-century public schools where teachers' responsibilities for pupils' moral well-being and general welfare came to be recognised. Contrary to what could be called a North American model (Husbands & Lang, 1998) according to which pastoral care provision emerges from a liberal and humanistic individualism, in English education it emerges historically from the private boarding schools.

The rapid development of boarding (= residential) education for the children of the middle classes in the middle and later nineteenth centuries brought with it a need to provide for and respond to individual, non-academic needs (Ribbins, 1985), whilst the structural transformation of state-funded education in the 1960s entrenched pastoral provision in the management structure of comprehensive schools. (Power, 1996)

In France, according to our findings, there is still little attention paid to pastoral care as part of formal education. The separate systems still in existence in French schools reflect the conflicting interests between the church, the school, the state and private life based on the patriarchal family model according to which the family is the sovereign "life-teacher" for children.

In Denmark, roots to affective education in formal learning may be found in the late 1800 when two school personalities (particularly Kresten Kold, school teacher; and N.F.S. Grundtvig, clergyman and philosopher) influenced the traditional "bookish" school to focus on the living word or tales
Instead of rote learning: "Life and learning must keep company, so that first comes life and afterwards learning". The class teacher structure was introduced in the 1870s to care for upbringing and care taking of the new group of children of parents moving into the big cities and from homes that were often alien to schooling. The class teacher has come "to personify the task which schools carry out in the areas of teaching, upbringing and caring." (Harrit, Kryger, Moos, Reinsholm & Reisby, 1992). The role of the class teacher was further supposed to compensate for a lack of parents' educational competence to take care of what was called "character forming" (which may be equalised to civic education). During the 1980s this upbringing and teaching were becoming professionalised and institutionalised. With the introduction of a government guide for class teachers in 1977 a distinction was introduced between the pastoral (social work) and the academic (school work) - you might call it between the affective and the cognitive/academic sides of the school tasks. The social-pedagogical task was becoming perceived as a special task discernible from the subject-teaching task. In spite of this change in perception the class teacher is still expected to be responsible for both sides of learning and in the curriculum most subjects include specific affective elements.

A concern for the affective dimension is becoming a strong structural component in the majority of the education systems of Europe and beyond (Lang, 1995). Although this concern certainly still takes different forms, there is an intensified interest in developing this dimension of learning, primarily as a result of the technological and economic development influencing social relations, social conformity and cohesion, family life, and understandings of knowledge and learning. Cross-curricular competencies (CCC) are one of the key conceptions in international research aiming at developing models for testing these competencies. *Life skills*, *life long learning*, *cross-subject and cross-cultural learning*, and *problem solving competence* are being taken into consideration.

A new and broader concept of learning is appearing. 'Individualisation', 'development of personal and social competencies' and 'flexibility' are key terms in late modern society. Subject knowledge no longer suffices. Personal and social skills and self-confidence have become crucial qualifications for coping with life and work.

As seen in the above stated findings from the ENCOMPASS study, the terminology used to identify pastoral care and the form and content vary from one country to another. Pastoral care or personal and social education can only be understood within the broad cultural and social context within which it is being developed or elaborated.

The question that now arises is how this looks in other European countries.
References


Notes

1 The ENCOMPASS study was conducted by researchers from Bristol University, Patricia Broadfoot, Marilyn Osborn, Claire Plant, Elizabeth McNess, Pat Triggs, from Bordeaux University, Olivier Cousin; and from the Danish University of Education, Birte Ravn (and Thyge Winther-Jensen). This article is to some extent based on the first writings on the project.

The project was designed to explore the significance of the cultural context in which learning occurs by examining the perspectives of pupils in three European countries on the purposes of schooling and on themselves as learners. The objectives were:

1. At the level of national policy discourse in the three countries, what are seen as the main aims of secondary schooling?
2. How are these national policy discourses mediated by institutional structures at the school level such as school organisation and ethos, pastoral care systems, rules and norms of behaviour?
3. How do teachers mediate these agendas to pupils?
4. In the light of all the above, how do children construct an identity as a learner and as a pupil, and what are the main sources of influence on their perspectives on learning, schooling, and academic achievement?
5. What is the relative significance of intra-national differences in social class, gender, and ethnicity as compared with international differences?
6. To what extent is children’s experience of secondary schooling becoming more similar or moving towards convergence in the context of Europeanisation, globalisation, and the internationalisation of adolescent/peer culture?

Similarities and differences in pupils’ attitudes to learning (obj.2) were explored through a questionnaire given to all pupils in year 8 or equivalent in secondary schools in the three countries (1990). These were followed by individual interviews with a selected number of 18 “target” pupils. Objectives 3, 4, and 5 were operationalised through a series of key research questions. A sample of three secondary schools in each country was matched and selected to be as representative as possible of a socio-economic mix.

A study on the findings from the ENCOMPASS study was published in 2003, see Osborn, M., et al., Comparing Learners Across Europe: Culture, Context and Policy, by the Open University Press.
Ravn

2 A class teacher is a teacher who has the main responsibility for the well-being of a class group and for coordinating subject teaching. She/He follows this same group of pupils throughout the years of compulsory education (9 years) but is sometimes replaced by another at the school year 7.

3 10 state funded schools situated in areas of diverse population, but similar across the three countries.

4 'Education' has a further conceptual meaning in the three countries, which is not the concern of this study, of 'training', uddannelse in Danish, formation in French.

5 As part of their academic role English teachers are legally required to include an affective element. It is laid down in the National Curriculum, that subject teachers are responsible for "promoting pupils' spiritual, moral, social and cultural development through their specialism".

6 A third system covering the direction and administration existed as well, but was quite separate from the other two.

7 The CPE was responsible for monitoring pupil absences and late arrivals, and controlling all untimetabled pupil entrances and exits. The CPE could have some influence on the educational path of pupils as he/she was sometimes consulted about individual pupils' behaviour. The CPE had a double role for pupils, often likened to that of a parent: as disciplinarian, 'He's like your dad, he knows when to have a go at you' (M-school boy) and comforter 'I look after and care for them, their heartaches, when they hurt themselves ...' (C-school CPE).

8 Surveillant duties included policing pupils at the school gate as well as pupil movements about the school, assisting individual pupils with enquiries about their work and in M-school and B-school often organising extracurricular activities. Pupils and surveillants were often close in age, 'Pupils have difficulty in seeing us as adults, they look at us as a friend who's a bit older than they are, but as a friend' (C-school surveillants) and in some cases had similar social backgrounds and ethnic origins. Surveillants often played a role as personal councillor, 'They often confide in us ... the sort of things that they can't tell their teachers' (C-school surveillant).

9 Professeur principal's role is perceived as largely an administrative one.

10 Generally these roles were less disciplinarian and supervisory than that of the surveillants and more concerned with extra curricular clubs and activities.

11 There were also staff who were involved in extra curricular activities and child care before and after school and part time educational psychologists and school nurses to whom pupils could air their problems.

12 The post is a sought after one as incumbents receive slightly more pay than other teachers.

13 L'heure de vie known as l'heure de la classe, is one of the new measures introduced by the Minister of Education in September 1999 to all collèges.

14 Until recently this was a legal requirement, which took place on a specific day each week. It is now been given more flexibility and the klassesærer can use one of their teaching periods each week, whenever they feel it would be most appropriate.

15 See Sally Power p. 15, 19

16 Like OECD, PISA, TIMMS
Key Skills were introduced, initially, to train work-related skills, both technical and interpersonal, on vocational courses: they were revised and extended to academic courses such as A levels in 2000. They have been an established part of vocational training since the early 1990s and staff who have been involved in National Vocational Qualifications (GNVQs and NVQs) and, to a lesser extent, in work experience, often have considerable experience with Key Skills. The main problem for these staff is that changes in Key Skills, as in many other aspects of education, have made their existing knowledge obsolete and have had a partly deskillling effect. Staff involved in vocational training in business firms have the additional problem that training is only a minor part of the firm's work, and that it must not interfere with the firm's main profit-making activities.

The intention of Key Skills is to make students more employable and fitted for the world of work and as citizens; from September 2000 all qualifications accredited by the Qualifications and Curriculum Authority were to 'signpost' opportunities for gathering evidence about, and, where appropriate, for assessing Key Skills. Key Skills are divided into six units, each of which can be taken at three levels. Each level includes and extends the skills at the preceding level, so that at level 1 students apply the skills in a simple and localised way, whereas at level 3 they are expected to show autonomy, the ability to generalise application of the skills and evidence of long-term planning, where appropriate (QCA, 2000a,b). The first three units, which are more widely established than the other three, are Communication (both verbal and written), Application of Number, including data analysis at the higher levels, and Information Technology. These three units are closely allied to the conventional subjects, English, mathematics and information technology. The remaining three units are Working with Others, Improving Own Learning and Performance, and Problem Solving: these units involve generic task-related skills, with some overlap especially with the Communication unit.

The extension and redefinition of Key Skills created a need for support, especially for those teaching more academic subjects who had not previously dealt with Key Skills and a Key Skills Support Programme (referred to below as KSSP) was set up. Following current British government practice, responsibility for this was assigned to two private-sector providers: FEDA, dealing primarily...
with college-based training, and Learning For Work, dealing with workplace based training. These providers produced explanatory materials, training courses, a website (including downloadable materials) and a telephone helpline, but because of the speed with which the new Key Skills were introduced, much of this support was not yet available when the new courses began in September 2000? this caused many problems to Key Skills coordinators (Simmons, n.d.).

Two separate questionnaire surveys were carried out in 2000/2001: postal surveys of college and work-based training provider (referred to below as TP) staff, and a survey distributed to students in their places of training. As the questionnaires were differently designed, they are dealt with separately.

College and training provider staff

Method

The questionnaires had the same basic format for the four staff groups (key skills co-ordinators and managers in colleges and training providers) with variations to match the specific circumstances of each group. They contained closed questions, with a section for open-ended comments at the back; this section was voluntary. Respondents were asked to fill in the questionnaire anonymously. All respondents were asked questions on their gender and experience, the region in which their organisation was located, whether it was located in a rural, urban or city area, and the programmes in which the new Key Skills were being implemented in their organisation. This list of programmes differed between colleges and training providers, reflecting their different involvement. Key Skills co-ordinators were also asked which of these programmes they delivered personally; managers of training providers were asked to give numbers enrolled on each programme. College staff was also asked to indicate the type of college they worked in, and training provider staff to indicate the employment sectors where they offered training.

All respondents were asked the next blocks of questions, about their experience of KSSP. The first of these blocks asked them to rate, on five-point scales from 'not used' to 'excellent', the quality, quantity and timeliness of KSSP materials, training, helpline and website. The second block asked them to make the same ratings of the information provided by KSSP on the topics of management, teaching and learning, assessment and quality assurance.

The third block of questions asked respondents how confident they were at understanding what they need to do to support or co-ordinate a range of aspects of the new key skills, such as their
rationale, integrating them into programmes, assessment issues etc. and how much they had benefited from KSSP for each aspect on the list.

The final block of questions asked about the six new key skills specifications: the level at which respondents worked, how confident they were in understanding delivering them (for co-ordinators) or managing them (for managers) and how much benefit they had obtained from the KSSP.

In addition to descriptive statistics, factor analysis was used with the whole sample and individual groups of respondents, to reduce the large number of questions in the questionnaire to a smaller number of intelligible 'factors'. These factors were then used as part of a structural model, as described in the next paragraph. The groups were compared using both parametric and nonparametric statistics to assess differences between groups, and between respondents who did and did not answer the open-ended questions.

The aim of structural models is to provide a complete model of the interrelations between different stages in a chain of causal processes. Structural models allow the effects of different direct and indirect paths between potential causes and effects to be separated out. In this case we are interested in how experience of the KSSP affects the confidence of participants in working with KS. Their confidence will also be affected by their previous histories. This, together with their experience of the various types of provision made by KSSP, will affect the amount of information they feel they have received from KSSP and therefore the benefit they feel they have received from KSSP. If they feel KSSP is effective, this benefit from KSSP should be reflected in increased confidence.

Sample and context
The return for college KSCs was 109 (14%); only 59 college managers responded, a return rate of 7.4%. Since the forms for college KSCs and managers were sent out together, the lower return from managers indicates a lower involvement with KSSP, though this could be due to the stress of other responsibilities. The return for training provider (TP) KSCs was 161 (12%), that for TP managers was 118 (9%) – as for the colleges, a lower return for managers than KSCs.

Respondents were fairly evenly spread across regions of England. About half the respondents were based in urban areas, with a quarter each rural and inner-city. Nearly two-thirds of respondents were female, over one-third male, with no significant difference between groups. College KSCs and managers were significantly more likely to have over six years' experience, TP KSCs and managers to have 3-5 years'; TP KSCs were also more likely to have 1-2 years' experience, but all groups had similar proportions with less than a year's experience. However, given the pattern described above
for more experienced staff to be more confident at Keys Skills, the more experienced college staff are likely to be at an advantage over the less experienced TP staff.

The overall relationships between categories will be explored more fully through multilevel modelling in the next section, but the following points may be made from the univariate analysis. In general, confidence was primarily related to experience. Though there were variations between groups, reported benefit generally related to information and materials, with training a secondary source of benefit. The value of the website and helpline were reduced by many respondents' ignorance of the helpline and difficulties in accessing the website. The reported value of KSSP related to aspects reported in the written-in comments, such as the level of knowledge displayed by trainers, the appropriateness of the focus in training sessions, or lack of these qualities. The subjective value placed on KSSP by participants seems likely to be the most important influence on its effectiveness.

A structural model of the effect of KSSP on college and TP groups

In order to allow direct comparison between the four groups – KS coordinators and managers in colleges and TPs, a model was fitted to the complete sample including all four groups, and separate models were then fitted to each individual group. Only two of the biographical variables, experience of KS and gender, were suitable for inclusion in the model. Each remaining section of the questionnaire mentioned above (experience, information, benefit and confidence) contained too many questions to make a manageable model: factor analysis was therefore used to group questions which were answered similarly together. This assumes that respondents answer questions similarly because they represent different aspects of the same underlying viewpoint.

New variables were computed from the mean loadings on the factors. These variables were correlated with each other and with experience and gender; this correlation matrix was used as a basis for the model. The correlation matrix and the model differ in that the model takes full account of the possible causal paths: thus both ratings for training and materials, and ratings for information from the KSSP, correlate with benefit from KSSP; but the causal path, which can be represented in the model, is that training and materials give ('cause') information which in turn leads to ('causes') benefit. KSSP materials, training, helpline and website constitute 'experience of KSSP', and 'information received from KSSP' covers management issues, teaching and learning, assessment, and quality assurance. Both 'benefit from KSSP' and 'confidence in KS' cover two areas — organisation or coordination of KS, and the six KS areas. We can now describe the successive stages of the modelling process.
The first stage, the factor analysis, separated the communication, number and IT skill areas from the other three – working with others, improving learning and problem-solving. These two sets of skills were therefore grouped separately as new variables, for confidence about Key Skills and benefit from the KSSP, in the structural model; they can be found in Figure 1 as CNITCON and CNITBEN (communication / number / IT confidence and benefit), and WOIMPCON / WOIMPBEN (working with others / improving own learning / problem-solving confidence and benefit). Though organising / coordinating KS is closely related to the communication / number / IT KS areas, it involves a rather different area of responsibility, and this group of questions was also grouped separately as new variables, represented in Figure 1 as ORGZECO and ORGZEBEN (organisational confidence and benefit). All aspects (quantity, quality, and timeliness) of training and materials had similar factor loadings, and these were therefore combined into a new variable, represented as TRAINMAT in Figure 1. All aspects of information on management issues (quantity, quality, timeliness) were grouped into a separate variable (MANGINFO) from information on teaching & learning, assessment and quality assurance, all of which were combined into the new variable KSSPINFO. Aspects (quantity, quality and timeliness) of the HELPLINE and WEBSITE respectively were grouped into new variables under those names. The final group related to benefit from the KSSP for the problem-solving, work with others and improve learning KS areas (WOIMPBEN).

A structural model can include variables such as those discussed above both as causes and effects, but also ‘latent factors’ (shown in Figure 1 as circles) which represent, in this case, shared feelings across related areas.

The correlation matrix showed large and highly significant correlations between the three types of benefit – organisational benefit, communication / number / IT benefit and working with others / improve learning / problem-solving benefit. These are linked in the model by the ‘benefit’ latent factor. Training and materials, information and management information were strongly intercorrelated and are therefore linked in the model by the ‘Ksinput’ latent factor. The website and helpline were both highly significantly correlated with the three components of the Ksinput latent factor and with each other: as their position on separate factors implies, they were less strongly related than the members of the two groups discussed so far. However, given their similar relationships with other variables, combining them in a ‘Kwebhlp’ latent factor makes for a simpler and more intelligible model layout. The three types of confidence – organisational, communication / number / IT and working with others / improve learning / problem-solving were also closely intercorrelated and were therefore grouped into a ‘Confidence’ latent factor.
The structural model was built up using the EQS program (Bentler 1995); a value of 0.9 for the CFI fit index is regarded as showing an acceptable fit (Byrne 1994). As the value of the CFI remained at 0.95 or above for each of the five stages of the model build-up, it is only necessary to discuss the final model (Figure 1). The components of the model are discussed in the order in which they were added. The figures on the linking arrows show the regression between the two variables they link – a figure of 1 shows perfect association, a figure of 0 no relationship. The arrows marked D and E indicated unexplained variation – influences which make respondents answer related questions differently.

The latent factors of Ksinput and Benefit from KSSP were very closely related, and each of them was very closely related to its three associated variables (Figure 1). Ksinput was most closely related to KSSPINFO (information) while Benefit was most closely related to CNITBEN (communication / number / IT). We may therefore conclude that while respondents who felt they had benefited from KSSP found information, training and materials valuable, they valued information related to communication, number and IT most; these, as mentioned above, were regarded as the three core skill areas.

Figure 1: Staff responses to KSSP
Chi sq.=95.58 P=0.00 CFI=0.96
Confidence in KS also related most closely to confidence in the three core areas, communication, number and IT (CNITCON). The relationship between Benefit and Confidence was positive and quite strong, but that between KSSinput and Benefit was very high. This suggests that the positive correlations between the aspects of KSS provision and aspects of confidence mentioned above were due to an indirect effect; those who felt that they had Benefited from KSSinput would as a result show more Confidence.

The KSwebhp latent factor was chiefly related to the website, with much less influence from the helpline. Though high ratings for KSwebhp were closely related to those for KSSinput, the relationships with Benefit and Confidence were negative and fairly weak. This does not indicate that the website and helpline were harmful, but that their influence was a second-order indirect effect; while they were used by some respondents who had also valued other aspects of KSS input, many had benefited from KSS and had confidence in their ability to manage KS without needing to use either of these facilities.

Turning to the biographical variables, experience (YRSWKKS) relates quite strongly to Confidence; it also has weak positive relationships to KSSinput and the website. This suggests an explanation for the relationships between KSS input and confidence mentioned above; experienced respondents both have more confidence and are better able to make use of KSS facilities. The effect of KSS input on confidence (0.31 x 0.98 = 0.30) is weaker than that of experience (0.36 directly + 0.11 x 0.28 via its effect on KSS input = 0.39). As we shall see below, the effects of experience varied between staff groups and could be related to their experience. The effects of gender were relatively simple but weak; men rated confidence and training materials lower.

It is worth looking at these differences in relation to differences in experience between the groups: half the college KSCs and managers having 6 years' experience of over of Key Skills, whereas half the training provider KSCs and managers had 3-5 years' experience and a quarter of the training provider KSCs had only 1-2 years' experience. The contrast between the more experienced college staff and the less experienced TP staff, especially the TP KSCs, is striking.

We may compare the effect of experience and KSS input for these four groups. For college KSCs the effect of KSS input via the path of KSS benefit (0.77 x 0.12 =.09) compares with the dominant effect of experience (directly 0.46 +, via its effect on KSS input, (0.14 x 0.09) = 0.48). For college managers the effect of KSS input is 0.39, but experience has an indirect effect via its influence on KSS input (0.29 x 0.39) which, added to its direct effect (0.47), sums to 0.58. For training provider KSCs, the least experienced group, the effects are considerably lower; that of KS
input, via direct and indirect routes, is 0.24, while that of experience is 0.25. For the rather more experienced TP managers, the effect of KSSP input, via direct and indirect routes, is 0.27, while that of experience is 0.32. The between-groups comparison indicates that the relative effects of KSSP input and experience depend on the amount of experience; more experienced groups of staff gain relatively less from the KSSP. This is especially striking given that the effect of KSSP was relatively higher for the TP staff, (though lower in absolute terms) - interview evidence suggested that the agency working with this group was seen as less effective than that working with the college staff, though as mentioned in the introduction, the problems of working with training providers, whose priorities are primarily with their own commercial success, are very much greater.

We may summarise the model as follows: experienced staff have more confidence in all aspects of KS and are better able to make use of the facilities offered by KSSP. Those who make more use of KSSP, including the website, strongly feel they have benefited, and are likely to be more confident, but experience is an alternative, and potentially more powerful, route to confidence.

The student survey

Method

Student questionnaires were distributed during visits to colleges, training providers and schools. To ensure confidentiality students were asked to seal the questionnaire in the envelope provided before returning it via their tutor/supervisor, or by post. The first page asked students to provide their home address if they would be willing to fill in a follow-up questionnaire; the remaining pages were to be completed anonymously. Students were asked their gender and age. They were then asked if they had chosen to take Key Skills, how long they had been involved with KS, which units they were following and at what level, where they learnt KS, and when they first heard about KS. They were asked to rate the usefulness of KS in six areas, ranging from their current course to life in general. A series of questions on information about KS followed – which unit literature they had been given, whether they felt they had been given enough information and how good was the information they had been given on four aspects, from the benefits of KS to how to manage a portfolio. Finally, they were asked to rate their confidence on 16 individual skills, covering all the units.

As for the staff, the questionnaires were analysed using descriptive statistics, cross-tabulations, correlations, factor analysis and structural modelling. For the first follow-up sample, the model included data from the initial and follow-up questionnaires to assess changes in views over the
period; numbers in the second follow-up sample were too small to allow this. Matched-sample statistics were used, comparing the responses of individuals on the two questionnaires, so that students acted as their own control.

**Context and Sample**
The initial analysis in 2000 was based on 321 questionnaires from schools, colleges and training providers. Of these, 78 respondents completed the follow-up. The 2001 first-year sample consisted of 154 students from 8 institutions. Only 34 respondents returned follow-up questionnaires; with this small sample sophisticated statistical analysis is impossible.

**Confidence, motivation and usefulness of key skills**
Most respondents, including those who had no contact with KS, had good, or approaching ‘good’ confidence in all transferable skills. Word processing and Internet use were rated highest, the other computer applications also being rated well. However, while respondents had good confidence in planning work with others, reviewing progress, setting targets and making a presentation were the lowest-rated skills, being rated between good and fair. Ratings of the great majority of skills were intercorrelated, while relationships to aspects such as the quality of information on KS were weak. This pattern confirms the subjective impression that most respondents are confident in their abilities and have high self-esteem, regardless of their opinion of KS. (This raises the question of how realistic their high self-esteem is). The link between appreciation of the information about KS, mentioned in the previous section, and confidence in actual skills was limited. This is a pattern similar to that already found for staff, where confidence in delivering skills was only weakly related to the value put on KSSP. As we shall see, the structural model modifies this picture to produce a clearer link between KS input and confidence in KS.

**Development of a structural model**
For intelligibility, the large number of questions on ability in key skills, information on skills and their usefulness, were summarised into six ‘factors’. The factor analysis of the follow-up sample gave factors which were almost identical to those in the previous year, indicating the students held consistent attitudes across the two years. These were related to each other, to measures of students’ experience of KS (described in the next paragraph) and to students’ gender. As in Figure 1, the rectangles in Figure 2 represent factors from the questionnaire; the circles represent ‘latent factors’ – closely related groups of factors. The causal chain reads from the top left; the higher the number on the linking arrows, the stronger the causal link – thus a figure of 1 indicates that two variables are perfectly related to each other, and a figure of 0 indicates no relationship.
Firstly the model built up for the complete sample in the first year of the study was fitted, in a slightly modified form, to the first-year data from the follow-up sample. The top and left sides of Figure 2 represent the data from the first year of the study; the bottom and right of the figure represent the data from the follow-up year (labels end with F or follow-up). Starting at the top left of the diagram, length of experience of Key Skills in the first year (KSEXPRCE) has a weak effect on knowledge, and a negligible effect on confidence in using Key Skills (Kasconfld). The Kasconfld latent factor relates closely to the four factor groups of Key Skills: information technology (USEIT), work planning (CHECKWORK), mathematical (USEMATHS) and social skills (COOPWORK). Gender has a weak effect on confidence in information technology, with boys rather more confident; there is a rather larger effect for work planning, with girls more confident.
Knowledge about Key skills (Knowledge) is fairly strongly related to rating of their usefulness (USEFULNESS) but usefulness is negatively, though not very strongly, related to confidence (Ksconfld) – in other words in the first year students who were less confident thought Key Skills were more useful.

For many categories, there is a strong relationship between the ratings for the first and follow-up year – as shown by the U-shaped arrows linking first and follow-up year ratings (the latter marked by F). This applies to confidence in the four categories of Key Skill (USEIT & USEITF, CHECKWRK & CHECKWKF, USEMATHS & USEMATHF, and COOPWORK & COOPWRF) and to the usefulness of Key Skills (USEFULNS & USEFULF). Students were therefore consistent in their assessment of their own level of confidence, and their assessment of the usefulness of Key Skills. However the relationship in the follow-up year between the usefulness of Key Skills and confidence was negligible; overall confidence was also less closely related to confidence with individual skills in the second year, suggesting that as students built up experience, they developed a more differentiated view of their competence, or lack of it, at particular types of skill, and they no longer thought Key Skills training had given them this competence.

There was, however, a weak relationship between students’ overall rating, in the first and follow-up years, of whether they had enough information about Key Skills (INFOONKS & INFONKSF) and between ratings for the two years of the quality of information on the four aspects of Key Skills (INFOQUAL & INFOQALF); the latter is the more closely related to overall ratings of knowledge about Key Skills (Knowlup). Together with comments on the questionnaires, this suggested that students had been given information when they first encountered Key Skills, and that they had now lost or forgotten it and no longer had a clear idea of the rationale behind Key Skills. This loss of focus may be one explanation for the slight but widespread decrease in reported confidence, described above.

We may summarise as follows. Confidence with Key Skills in the follow-up year was closely related to confidence in the first year. There was a fair relationship between knowledge about Key Skills in the first year and knowledge in the follow-up year, and a fairly strong relationship between knowledge of and confidence about Key Skills in the follow-up year. There is also a strong relationship between students’ assessment of the usefulness of Key Skills in the first and in the follow-up year. There is little relationship in the follow-up year between students’ assessment of the usefulness of Key Skills and their confidence with Key Skills whereas in the first year this relationship was negative, reflecting the fact that those who were already confident at the component skills felt less need for more information. This lack of attention to the information
available, especially as time passes, may contribute to no increase, or even a decrease, in confidence with Key Skills, though a more self-critical attitude as students gain maturity might be the explanation. External factors (gender and the amount of experience with Key Skills at the start of the study) have little effect.

Second follow-up sample

Students rated the Key Skills programme as less useful for all six purposes on the follow-up questionnaire than they had on the initial questionnaire, though the difference was statistically significant only for four categories – quality of work, life generally, current job and for employment. Similarly, the information on Key Skills was rated less favourably in the follow-up questionnaire than it had been in the initial questionnaire, though the differences were significant only for information on opportunities to learn Key Skills and for assessment. This pattern of the value placed on Key Skills training decreasing as experience increases is identical to that found with the first follow-up sample. Students rated their own level of skill as higher in the follow-up for most skills; for a minority they rated it lower. However in only four cases were the differences significant – all skills where students’ ratings of their own skills were higher in the follow-up questionnaire.

We therefore have a situation where students’ self-confidence has generally, though usually not markedly, increased, but their estimate of the contribution of the contribution of Key Skills training has decreased. This is consistent with the results of the first sample.

Comparison between the first and second follow-up samples

In interpreting the results, two possible consequences of the passage of a year between the two samples can be considered. If the Key Skills Support Programme is being successful in improving Key Skills teaching, more favourable outcomes should be expected from the second sample, as at the time they started Key Skills the Programme would have had time to improve the quality of Key Skills teaching. Alternatively, staff may have become disillusioned with Key Skills or distracted by other, more recent initiatives. This would be reflected in less positive attitudes and lower levels of reported achievement.

The second sample considered Key Skills as rather more useful for life, and in their current job, than the first sample, but, as noted above, these were the areas where Key Skills were seen as
least useful. There were no differences between the two samples for any aspect of their assessment of their own proficiency in Key Skills, and in fact, for many skills, scores were extremely similar.

Overall, there is no evidence that the second sample were performing at a higher level in Key Skills, or considered they had gained more from their Key Skills course, than the first sample, and therefore no evidence that the programme is improving in its effect over time. This conclusion is the more striking in light of the differences in age, sex, course and length of experience of Key Skills between the two samples.

Discussion

As indicated in previous sections, reported staff confidence in relation to KS relates mainly to experience rather than KSSP input, whereas, for the first-year students, experience links to greater knowledge, and knowledge links to confidence. In other words, in the first year, students seem to have derived more confidence from the knowledge they have gained via experience of KS; staff have not. However this reflects a threshold effect; at the start of experience of a new programme, as is the case for the students, recipients can consciously link their increased confidence to their experience; once confidence is established, as for experienced staff, and ways of working fitted to individual situations have been established, new programme information does not increase existing confidence, especially as each experienced individual will have to tailor it to their situation. We therefore expected, at the end of the first year, that the apparent impact of the KS programme reported by students would be less in the second than in the first year. If so, this would be consistent with the threshold model described above, and would also offer some explanation for the apparently disappointing response to innovations such as KSSP by experienced staff; new programmes make little apparent impact on them because of the experience and flexibility they have already gained from their experience of previous programmes.

The results of the follow-up samples of students confirmed this assessment; they were less positive about the Key Skills programme in their second year than they had been in their first year, and there was no evidence that the later sample was more positive than the earlier one. This appears a very negative finding, although there is a possibility that the effect of the Key Skills Support Programme, which should have led to better teaching, and therefore greater enthusiasm by students, in the second year, had been undermined by the lack of enthusiasm of staff, as mentioned above – or indeed that the changes towards more explicit objectives induced by the
Programme had interfered with effective and established methods of teaching (William 2001). Rather than the quality of teaching improving as staff became more familiar with the current Key Skills programme, the programme may have led to conflict between coordinators and departmental staff (Simmons n.d.) with a resulting deterioration in quality of delivery. Further, the Key Skills have been introduced in a confusing way, which has made it difficult for staff to know precisely what they are expected to do (Perry & Davis 2001), and lines of authority are often unclear, with Key Skills coordinators lacking managerial authority (Simmons, n.d.). These problems are typical of the current regime in the UK of constant educational change imposed from above, which is a cause of major stress to teachers and one of the most important reasons for them leaving the profession (Smithers & Robinson 2001).

References
http://www.keyskillssupport.net/research/schoolscolleges/research.asp#BasicSkillsKeySkills
http://www.keyskillssupport.net/files/ksspdf/researchingkeyskills coordenators.pdf
INTERGENERATIONAL (DIS) CONTINUITIES IN THE COMMITMENT TO WORK: THE RELATIONAL IMPACT OF PARENTS' WORK

Inês Nascimento, Joaquim Luís Coimbra & Isabel Menezes
Faculty of Psychology and Educational Sciences, Porto University, Portugal

It is widely accepted that family, and parent-child relationships in particular, are fundamental factors in the psychological and social success of individuals. The family system is the primary relational context of human development, the one in which relevant emotional, cognitive and behavioural acquisitions take place. Childhood and adolescent years are certainly important periods of the life cycle regarding the consolidation of these basic developmental structures, but the family of origin's influence does not stop when the basic developmental tasks that allow for autonomy from parents are completed. Its influence proceeds, directly or indirectly, throughout the whole life cycle, both when individuals face problems or situations that can be handled with the emotional or instrumental support of their relatives or when they turn to their internalized family references to decide what to do, what to really value or how to place themselves in their entire life-space (Super, 1980, 1990).

In spite of this generalized recognition, only recently there was an increasing interest in the interface between work and relationships (Bluestein, 2001; Flum, 2001; Phillips, Christopher-Sisk & Gravino, 2001; Richardson, 1993, 2001), reflecting the perspective that work and vocational development in general should not be thought independently of the relational and interpersonal spaces of human experience. In result of this new impetus to a broader understanding of the interplay between work and relationships, the domains of family-to-work and work-to-family relations have registered a considerable evolution in the last decades, including the consideration of the role of significant others such as parents in the process of career choices.

Way and Rossman (1996), for example, concluded that family support has a prominent role in facilitating a sound move to the adult world of work. Philips et al. (2001) also found that in the transition from high school to work, parents figured prominently in the array of others that take part in the pool of helpers or consultants of the young-adults in the decision-making process. Together these findings suggest that an individual's interpersonal and familial relationships and the quality of these relationships could have a strong impact on how and how well his or her career decisions are made but, once again, family and vocational tasks appear related simply at a time of developmental transition which suppose difficult circumstances and a period of some predictable stress.
Career development and family attachment

Indeed, to date, little research efforts have been devoted to the analysis of the transactional effects of parent-child relationships in the construction and commitment to career projects (Blustein, Devenis & Kidney, 1989; Grotevant & Cooper, 1988; Young, 1983; Young et al., 2001). In spite of this, it is possible to find some contributions in that direction. Young and colleagues' work (2001) about the family-career-project is especially eloquent with respect to family participation in adolescents' management of career issues. He proposed that adolescents' career development is a jointly constructed project in the family that engages participants in goal-oriented and intentional day-to-day actions. His study demonstrates that, some of the family career projects were a part of another salient project: the "parenting project", that is, the career project of the adolescent contributes explicitly "to that series of goals and actions in which the parent's role as a parent was constructed" (p. 198). The overlap between family relationships and career is also well documented in Chusid and Cochran's work (1989) when they stated that the meaning of the occupational role is embedded in one's family of origin dramas and scenarios, which form a tacit basis for career options and behaviours. All of it happens as if an individual learns at the family of origin prototypical dramas that can be adapted to make sense of other settings, such as work, shaping the way one construes and acts (Zimmerman & Cochran, 1993). Savickas (1996) too, has stressed the importance of subjects' life story as a potential basis for work meanings' construction considering that the first life episodes that are meaningful to career development should be searched in the family of origin. These authors make explicit the idea that work is pervaded by family circumstances and that the work role can mirror some of the contents of family relations making it possible to revisit some unresolved vocational or family dilemmas. In spite of this consensual view, the psychological mechanisms and factors that participate or moderate the association between family relationships and career behaviour have not yet been explicitly explored.

However, there is some evidence about the role that attachment relationships play in the commitment to the process of career choices (Blustein et al., 1991). Some recent works on the relation between attachment and career development, for instance, have been exploring the indirect and direct contributions of attachment to vocational development transitions emphasizing its conceptual and empirical connection with identity formation, pre-implementation career tasks and adult career behaviour (e.g., Blustein et al., 1991; Blustein, Prezioso & Schultheiss, 1995; Hazan & Shaver, 1990). But, in spite of its expected importance to the exploration or adjustment to new roles and/or settings (Blustein, et al., 1995), attachment with parents has not yet been studied with respect to its potential influence in children's later commitment to the parental and worker roles. O'Brien (1993) has noticed that attachment to mother and attitudinal similarity with mother were moderately predictive of career orientation and incongruent mother-daughter career choices, but so far we have no data about the degree
in which attachment and internal working models may explain generational continuity and discontinuity in the meanings that underscore the patterns of commitment to parental and worker roles.

**Intergenerational transmission of work models**

An abundant research literature, departing from an attachment perspective, has been providing some knowledge about the construct of the internal working model and its instrumental role in the understanding of the intergenerational transmission processes. However, in most cases, studies have been centred in the domain of parenting where internal working models are presented as emotional-cognitive structures that influence people assumptions and regulate their interpersonal behaviours including those directed to their children (Bowlby, 1982; Main et al., 1985; Steele & Steele, 1994). In fact, researchers are confirming that young adults’ attachment to parents is a critical factor in the emergence of some beliefs and expectations about what it is to be a parent, a finding that seems to indicate that certain subjective models of parenting and of parent-child relationships can be formed before the transition to parenthood (Rohles et al., 1987). Although there is not any evidence regarding the role of attachment in the formation of “work” models, there are some good reasons to believe that attachment to parents may also be associated to children’s development of positive or negative work representations and may even predict continuities and/or discontinuities in the meaning that each generation gives to work. We may start to argue with cultural transmission theories which claim that intergenerational transmission can be facilitated by the existence of affection ties between the model and the receptor (Euler et al., 2001; Tedesco, 2001). The first implication that can be derived from this proposition is that the nature of the parent-child attachment may influence the degree in which parents’ work experience contents become meaningful for the next generation. But, at this point, we should also acknowledge that parents’ relationship with work might also be consequential for the quality of their relationship with children.

This last claim corresponds to the recognition that parents do not function in an ecological vacuum (Koren-Karie, 2000) but are subject to certain environmental circumstances that can interfere with the full expression of their emotional potential to be sensitive, responsive and skilled parents. Indeed, from an ecological point of view, it is necessary to take into account that there are other substantially demanding roles in a parent’s life that sometimes may render it difficult for them to construct positive relationships with their children. The worker role, independent of the meaning it may have for a parent, corresponds at least to a highly time and energy consuming activity and, therefore, it may interfere negatively in the quality of parent-child relationship either by subtracting time or presence or by lowering parents’ psychological availability for interaction. As such, parental work may influence children’s lives by altering men and women’s investment in parenting and/or by limiting their availability. Some studies that have
used the “emotional transmission” construct can be evoked to demonstrate that different levels of commitment to the worker role may affect the quality of the parent-child relationship. They make clear that certain parental emotional states, emerging from parents’ daily work experiences, may generate a chain of dysfunctional parenting behaviours detrimental to the parent-child relationship. Repetti (Repetti & Wood, 1997 cit. in Perry-Jenkins, 2000) stressed the negative consequences of this work to family spill-over when he observed that: “although social withdrawal may be an adaptive, short-term coping response [to occupational stress] for both the individual and the family, over time, repeated instances of withdrawal may corrode feelings of closeness and lead to feelings of resentment and negative interactions” (p. 985).

It can be speculated that what happens as a consequence of occupational stress, can also occur in the case of high work commitment especially when it is associated to low parental commitment. Such a pattern may produce a reduction in the amount of emotional responsiveness to children, and may affect the pattern of parent-child interaction in a way that can be significant in the development of specific (positive or negative) models of work and of parenting. We can turn to recent studies about “workaholics” to support that expectation: these studies show that greater work involvement is related to less communication, less clearly established roles in the family, fewer affective responses and less affective involvement (Robinson & Post, 1995). Spouses and children of “workaholics” report feeling lonely, unloved, isolated and emotionally and physically abandoned (Robinson, 1996). Therefore, it seems that when parents are not capable of maintaining a positive balance between work and parental commitments their over-involvement with the worker role produces physical and psychological unavailability eventually giving rise to less secure attachments.

The results of Hazan and Shaver’s study (1990) are encouraging in what concerns the place and importance of attachment in the question of how parents’ personal resources can be allocated to the parental and worker roles. Their work indicated that securely attached people value work but they tend to value relationships more and do not allow work to interfere with those relationships. Based on these results, perhaps it makes sense to consider that the level of parents’ commitment to the worker and parental role may vary according to the degree of parents’ effort for preserving the quality of the relationship with their children. We can go further and consider that individuals’ childhood experiences with respect to the parent’s personal resources that were available to them and to work, once integrated in their working models, may serve as guidelines regarding the place they want for work and parent-child relations in their lives. They probably would not develop a positive representation of the parental role if they perceive that their parents prefer to invest in the work domain more than in the parent-child relationship, unless there is a secure attachment working model that favour positive
interpretations of parents' dedication to work (instead of thinking that their father/mother do not worry about them, children may think that their parents are working a lot because it matters to them that their children have all the conditions and things they need or want). This is consistent with the proposition that internal working models can be conceptualized as a set of rules that are used by individuals for organizing information about interpersonal experiences, feelings and ideations (Main et al., 1985). In this case, we consider that those rules can also be applied to the way children perceive and organize information about the consequences for themselves of their parents' parental and work experiences. The emotional consequences that children may experience in relation to their parents' work or parental higher or lower commitments (that may give rise to internal representations of more or less caring parents) may stimulate the construction of subjective emotional-cognitive models of work and parenting from which they may evaluate their own involvement in those roles as more advantageous or disadvantageous for themselves and (using their own filial experience as a reference) for their children's development. Therefore, through interaction with parents, individuals may become more sensitive to certain values and may start to construct the meanings that will enable them to make sense of their future parental and worker adults' roles. Family culture and relationships can be the departure point from which they may define "the particular roles they deem worthy of vigorous performance" (Marks & MacDermid, 1996, p. 419) and may decide how these roles should be integrated with one another.

Internal working models are thus seen as the basic structures that participate in the process by which children attribute meaning to work and parenting, being, therefore, associated to the degree in which meanings are transmitted from parents to children and are reflected in similarities (intergenerational continuity) or differences (intergenerational discontinuity) in parents' and children's commitment to the worker and parental roles. As such, we can consider that in the daily interaction with parents an ongoing process of career exploration is in motion. The parental and worker experiences of both father and mother in the family may represent to children the possibility of identifying, evaluating and deciding upon the alternative meanings parents attach to each role and to make options regarding the investment they want to make in the parental and worker roles that adulthood will carry. By interacting and interpreting parents' behavior children actively explore and participate in the co-construction of parental and worker roles and then can create or re-create the gendered and commitment patterns of parental and worker roles. In Milkie's (1997) words: "children's perceptions and evaluations of parental roles may profoundly colour parental identities and interactions with their offspring and may be more influential than other actors' views" (p. 234). We add to this, that the same process may operate for worker identities and for children's relationship to the world of work as well. Once again the experience of felt security that secure attachment relationships can provide may be an essential part of this exploratory and meaning construction activity. The existence of an internal working
model of a secure attachment relationship would contribute to more positive interpretations of the parents' patterns of commitment (parents' high commitment to work, for instance, would not be interpreted as parental rejection or personal unworthiness) and would encourage a more active exploration of parents' parenting and work experiences.

In a world in which attaining the traditional markers of adult status has become more difficult, in which the establishment of long-term goals and commitments may be rendered problematic, in which adult role-identity may not be well-defined until the thirties (Furstenberg, 2000), it seems that parents are needed for longer as the secure basis that children can use for continuing exploration in spite of the anxiety and frustration that could result from the delayed transition to adulthood. On the one hand, in the context of significant affection ties, parents may have become more enduring role-models for their children. But, on the other hand, the social and cultural changes that took place may have diminished the validity and usefulness of parents' experiences to children's lives. At a time in which it is not clear what is or should be transmitted from parents to children (Tedesco, 2001), it is both timely and important to investigate whether parents' commitments are influential in children's development of adaptive orientations to work and parenting: What kind of relationship does exist between parents' and children's patterns of commitment to work and parenting? How are children's perceptions of their parents' commitments related to parents' involvement with work and parenting? To what extent are parents' patterns of commitment to work and parenting related to children's internal representations of attachment? How do internal working models affect the intergenerational transmission of commitment patterns to work and parenting? What is the role of gender in all those possible relationships?

Study goals

The study presented here is just a first step in addressing this set of questions. It is a small part of a larger researcher project and it represents a preliminary empirical effort toward the exploration of the relational impact of parents' work. We approach this issue by analyzing the relationship between late-adolescents and young-adults' perceptions of parents' commitment to work and parent-child relationship using a modified version of the Parental Bonding Instrument (Parker, Tupling & Brown, 1979). We also intend to explore some possible relationships between the quality of parent-child relationship and some socio-demographic and socio-psychological variables.

It is important to clarify that it is a retrospective study. Subjects were instructed to evoke their lives and their relationship with their parents during their childhood and adolescence, based on the assumption that this corresponds to a critical period regarding not only identity formation but
also career planning and educational transitions (Erikson, 1988). It is certainly a period of novelty and of enhanced risk-taking both in the career (the selection and implementation of career decisions) and interpersonal domain (the initiation of romantic relationships) that may prompt individuals for enhanced exploration. The adolescent effort to deal with career issues may increase his/her awareness to the reality of work (to their parents' commitment to work too), and their experience of parents' emotional availability and responsiveness in a time strongly anxiety-provoking may, along with their increasing autonomy and ability for perspective taking, have great impact in the actualization of internal working models (Main et al., 1985).

**Method**

**Sample.** The analysis is based on a convenience sample of 250 subjects with a mean age of 23.9 years old (SD=4.11) and an age range from 18 to 34 years. Regarding gender, 66.8% are female and 33.2% are male. The majority of participants are firstborn children (56.2%). 15.6% are single child, 59.6% have one brother/sister and 24.8% have two or more brothers/sisters. Most of them are still living in their parents' household with both parents (64.8%). In general, participants indicated their parents as their main caregivers during their first 18 years (Both parents=72.8%; Only mother=18%; Only father=1.2% and Others=8%). Subjects are predominantly from intact families (89.6%) and are single (82.8%). Only 16.8% have already formed a family with 5.6% having children. 35.6% are already working but the majority are students from high school and university (64.4%). Most fathers and mothers didn’t complete grade 9 (54.8% fathers and 53.2% mothers), 15.2% of fathers and 11.6% of mothers have completed secondary education and 16% of fathers and 23.6% of mothers have attended university. Parents' jobs are representative of various occupational categories varying from blue to white-collar professions. Approximately, half of the fathers are distributed for two main categories: 25.3% are managers, directors and high staff and 25.7% are factory workers and craftsmen. Mothers distribution for occupational categories is a little more homogeneous: the highest proportion of mothers pertain to the factory workers and craftsmen group (17.7%) but there is also a significant number of mothers in higher occupational positions (managers, directors and high staff-16.5%; high skilled intellectual and scientific professions-13.5%; intermediate level technicians-13.9%; administrative personal-13.9%). Most fathers and mothers are described as full time workers (86.8% and 90.8%, respectively). Only 27.6% of the fathers and 18.4% of the mothers are pointed as self-employed. The majority of parents are identified as employees of other person (72% and 70.4%, respectively). According to participants' indications 11.2% of the mothers were not working when they were between 14 and 18 years old.
**Instruments.** Subjects completed a self-administered questionnaire including:

a) *socio-demographic items* (gender, age, academic level, occupation, age of brothers/sisters, mother and father educational attainment and occupation, ...);

b) *a subjective measure of parents’ work in terms of its benefits* using 8 items to assess father and mother accessibility, (e.g.: For professional reasons, my father/mother frequently have to be outside home a couple of days; My father/mother decided his/her work schedule by him/herself; My father/mother used to bring work to do at home);

c) one item to assess subjects’ *identification with father and mother with respect to work and parental domains*: “How much would you like to be like your father/mother in the dedication to work/ in the dedication to children?”;

d) one item to assess *actual satisfaction with both father and mother*;

e) a measure of *parent-child relationship quality*, a modified version of The Parental Bonding Instrument (PBI; Parker, Tupling & Brown, 1979; Baptista & Lory, 1997), that considers participants’ retrospective memories of their parents with two parallel forms of 25 items each, requiring respondents to rate each parent separately, according to how accurately the item corresponds to recollections of parental behaviour during the first 18 years of the respondents’ life. The PBI is organised in two main scales: *Care* (general levels of parental warmth and affection) and *Overprotection* (levels of parental control and intrusion versus encouragement of autonomy). This two-dimensional solution was validated both for the mother and the father sets with good reliability coefficients (mother: Care Alpha=.88 and Overprotection Alpha=.84; father: Care Alpha=.92 and Overprotection Alpha=.85);

f) one item to assess subjects’ *perception of damages provoked by parents’ dedication to work in parent-respondent relationship* (My father/mother’s dedication to work has damaged his/her relationship with myself);

g) 10 items regarding perceptions of *the advantages of parents’ work* (e.g., Having both parents working gave the opportunity to better understand the importance of work in people’s lives; Given that my parents’ work made it impossible to have them closer, I have gained more responsibility and confidence in myself; My parents’ work gave them the possibility of getting money to pay all the things I needed or wanted). Using a factor analysis with varimax rotation only one factor with 4 items showed a satisfactory reliability (Alpha=.73); the items involved perception of parents’ work as a vehicle for exploration, centred in the general importance of work for people.

A 6 point Likert scale was used for items b) through g) (1= “Strongly disagree” to 6= “Strongly agree”).
Results

Parental bonding

Allowing a maximum score of 66, mean scores of 49.4 (SD=12.2) for the father-Care scale and 29.0 (SD=10.1) for the father-Overprotection scale were obtained for the sample. Mean score estimations for mother (the care and overprotection subscales allow, for mothers, a maximum score of 66 and 60, respectively) revealed a mean of 58.3 (SD=10.1) for mother-Care scale and a mean of 26.7 (SD=9.4) for mother-Overprotection scale. The possible influence of gender, both of the parent and of the respondent was examined. The results show that respondents experienced fathers as less caring (t (243)=-14.337, p =0.000) and somewhat more overprotective than mothers (t (245)=-4.417, p =0.000). It is interesting to notice that there is a positive correlation between respondents’ actual satisfaction with father and mother and their recollections of both as caring (Pearson= .709, p< 0.01; Pearson= .545, p<0.01, for fathers and mothers respectively) and a negative correlation between actual satisfaction with parents and overprotection scores (Pearson= -.365, p< 0.01; Pearson= -.352, p<0.01, for fathers and mothers respectively). The means comparative analysis has revealed that, independently of gender, in general subjects are more satisfied with their relation with mothers (Mean= 5.26; SD= 0.91) than with their relation with fathers (Mean= 4.83; SD=1.28) (t (238)=5.977, p=0.000).

Participants gender did not influence significantly the way they describe their parents but there is a tendency for girls to perceive their fathers as more overprotected than their male counterparts (t (245)=1.900, p =0.059). Being the oldest or the youngest of the progeny didn’t have any significant effect in respondents’ evaluation of their parents. The same occurred with respondents’ age even if it had a slightly influence in how subjects remember their mothers’ overprotective behaviour: participants less than 24 years old perceived their mothers as somewhat more overprotective than older participants (t (242)=1.944, p=0.053). There were not differences in the experience of father or mother as more caring or overprotective between those who are still in school and are financially dependent on parents and those ones who are working and are economically self-sufficient. The academic level, both of the parent and of the respondent, was associated to differences in the mean scores of the caring scale. Parents that have high or college level studies were described as more caring than those with lower grades (t (242)=2.589, p=0.010 for fathers; t (242)=2.315, p=0.022 for mothers). Respondents with higher grades (high school and college) presented their mothers as more caring than subjects with academic basic levels (t (242)=2.847, p=0.005).

The relational impact of parents’ work

The relational impact of parents’ work was explored using an objective measure of parents’
work status (occupational category) and three subjective measures of the work-family interface: 1) subjects’ identification with parents in work and parenting; 2) subjects’ perception of work interference in parents’ physical accessibility; and, 3) subjects’ perception of damages provoked by parents dedication to work in parent-respondent relationship. Participants’ scores in each of these measures as well as in the exploration factor were compared to participants’ scores in both caring and overprotection scales for father and for mother.

Parent’s occupational category

There were variations in subjects’ caring and overprotection scores associated to parents’ professional complexity. For father and mother, we compared subjects’ answers to the care and overprotection scales considering the two professional categories that assembled the biggest proportions of cases. Fortunately, in both parents, the categories in this situation were the same and were sufficient contrasted for allowing meaningful comparisons. A t-test for independent samples was performed with subjects’ whose parents pertained to the category of managers, directors and high staff (n=30) and to the category of factory workers and craftsmen (n=30). No differences were found for relationship with mothers in any of the occupational categories. On the contrary, father-Care (t (118)=2,362, p=0,01) and father-Overprotection (t (118)=-2,405, p=0,02) means showed significant differences according to fathers’ occupational category. When having higher occupational positions, fathers were described as more caring (Mean =51,03; SD= 12,43) and less overprotective (Mean = 27,48; SD=10,03) than when they work in lower level professional activities (Mean= 44,90; SD= 13,09 for care; Mean=31,87; SD= 10,16 for overprotection).

Identification with parents in work and in parenting

Results show that there is only a significant difference between participants’ answers with respect to parenting. Subjects’ have stronger identifications with their mothers (Mean= 5,18; SD=1,09) than with their fathers (Mean= 4,49; SD=1,49) (t (247) = -7,296,p= 0,000). There is no influence of both parents’ and subjects’ academic level or occupation. Only participants’ gender seems to be associated to identification with mother in the domain of work with girls describing higher identifications than boys (t (239)= 2,402, p=0,017).

Participants who present high identifications with father in the parenting dimension describe the paternal figure as more caring (t (243) =-11,135, p=0,000) and less overprotective (t (243)=3,842, p= 0,000) than participants with low identifications. Correlational analysis also showed positive significant relationships between self-identification with parents in parenting and self-identification with parents in work. The more participants identify themselves with father and mother with respect to their dedication to children, the more they identify with both in what concerns work dedication (Pearson= .471,p< 0.01; Pearson=.397, p<0.01, for fathers and mothers respectively).
There was also found a negative correlation between identification to father/mother in the parental and work domain and subjects’ answer to the question about the damages parents’ work has caused in the relationship with them. The less participants considered that parents’ dedication to work has damaged their relationship, the more they want to be like their parents in the dedication to work (Pearson=-.144, p<0.05, for fathers; Pearson=-.206, p<0.01, for mothers) and in the dedication to children (Pearson=-.436, p<0.01, for fathers; Pearson=-.306, p<0.01, for mothers).

*Perception of work interference in parents’ physical accessibility*

In this sample, the separate estimation of the physical accessibility index for father and mother, has evidenced a significant difference between subjects’ perceptions of each parent’s accessibility, showing higher means for mothers (Mean=34.82; SD=6.04) than for fathers (Mean=31.44; SD=5.47) (t (249)=8.017, p=0.000). Mothers, but not fathers, occupational category is associated with differences in the perception of physical accessibility (t (124)=2.451, p=0.02). Mothers in higher occupational positions were perceived as more accessible (Mean=35.3; SD=5.61) than mothers in lower occupational categories (Mean=33.3; SD=3.89).

The accessibility index was used to determine if there was any difference in identification and bonding to father and mother as a function of the degree in which subject’s perceived both parents’ accessibility. This variable was recoded in order to form two groups of subjects with perceptions’ scores below and above the total sample index mean for each parent. T-tests were performed having these two groups as independent variable. The perception of parents’ accessibility was not related with the self-identification with parents but it seems to influence subjects’ internal working models. Results showed significant differences in the experience of the father and of the mother as caring, in relation to fathers’ accessibility. Participants who perceived their fathers as less accessible described both their fathers and mothers as more caring (t (244)=2.069, p=0.04, for father; t (244)=2.337, p=0.02, for mother). The same results appeared when we tested the two groups having the perception of mothers’ accessibility as the comparison criteria. Mothers and fathers were experienced as more caring in the case of subjects that reported their mothers as less accessible compared with subjects that pertained to the above of mean group (t (244)=3.532, p=0.00, for father; t (242)=2.204, p=0.02, for mother).

*Perception of damages provoked by parents’ dedication to work in parent-respondent relationship*

The mean comparison of subjects’ answers to the question of the relational negative effect of parents’ work showed a significant influence of parents’ gender (t (248)=4.511, p=0.000). Although participants’ didn’t show themselves clearly in accordance with
the statement (the mode of answers is equal 1) participants evaluated fathers’ dedication to work as more harmful to their relationship (Mean=2.10; SD=1.51) than mothers involvement with work (Mean=1.73; SD=1.17). For both fathers and mothers, subjects’ perceptions of relational damages related to parents’ work, correlated significantly with caring (negative correlation) and overprotection (positive correlation) scores. The more participants agree that father and mother relationship with them has been negatively affected by parents’ work, the less they perceived parents as caring (Pearson= -.514, p< 0.01, for fathers; Pearson= -.495, p<0.01, for mothers) and the more they perceived their parents as overprotective (Pearson= .229, p< 0.01, for fathers; Pearson=.207, p<0.01, for mothers).

The advantages of parents’ work for respondents: the exploration factor

Four items were computed to obtain an exploration score (maximum score of 24) that was used in comparative analysis. We didn’t find significant difference in exploration scores according to parents’ occupational category. On the contrary, participants’ gender showed to be related with different exploration degrees (t (247) =-2.845, p = 0.005) with female participants revealing higher exploration scores (Mean=19.6; SD= 3.36) than their male counterparts (Mean=18.3; SD= 3.38). The exploration score was used to compare subjects with respect to parent-child relationship. The sample has been split into two groups: subjects with exploration scores higher and lower the total group’s mean (Mean=19,22; SD=3,42). Subjects of both groups were compared to examine if they did differ in their mean scores for care and overprotection. Significant differences were found for mother- Care (t (242)=-5.802,p=0.000), mother-overprotection (t(245)=2,309;p=0.022), and father-Care (t (244)=4.728, p=0.000). Participants that have profited more from their parents’ work for exploration, experienced their mothers (Mean=61.77; SD=8.84) and fathers (Mean=52.89; SD=11.62) as more caring than participants with lower exploration scores (Mean= 54.75; SD=10.03 and Mean=45.84; SD=11.77 for mothers and fathers, respectively). Subjects with lower exploration scores experienced mothers as more overprotective (Mean=28.09; SD=9.18) than participants who reported higher exploratory scores (Mean=25.34; SD=9.54). There is no difference in subjects’ exploration scores as a function of parents’ occupational category.

Conclusion

Although this study was just a small attempt to capture some of the paths between the relational dynamics in the family of origin and the influence of the parents’ worker role, it has produced interesting findings regarding the relevance of children’s perceptions of parent’s work commitment for the quality of parent-child relationship.
When having higher occupational positions, fathers were described as more caring and less overprotective than when they work in lower level professional activities. This result is not totally unexpected given that the jobs that are included in the higher occupational category are those requiring a higher academic level, a variable that is also related to the experience of parents as more caring and less overprotective. In fact, parents’ education has been reported in the literature as an important factor for people’s behavior in the role of parents. But here just the occupational complexity of father and not that of the mother is associated to participants’ experience of caring and overprotection. Perhaps, in the case of fathers, that traditionally have not been so involved in the caregiver role, more complex and challenging jobs make it difficult for them to keep up with their children’s daily activities. The low involvement of father, compared to that of the mothers, in monitoring children activities, may result in the participants’ experience of low overprotection from fathers. On the other hand, it is possible that fathers whose jobs tend to draw them from parent-child interaction, try to show more warm and responsive behavior toward children when they are really available to them. It is also possible that high-quality jobs influence fathers’ mood-state at home and that warmth could be anticipated on the basis of a spillover or generalization of positive affect derived from gratifying work experiences. It seems that because mothers are used to cope with multiple role demands, they tend to show warmth and to be caring independently of their specific job characteristics.

Participants who present higher identifications with father in the parenting dimension describe the paternal figure as more caring and less overprotective than participants with low identifications. In a life-period marked for the striving for autonomy it is not surprisingly that participants tend to identify more with their fathers when they consider the paternal figure as more encouraging of independence. But irrespectively to parents’ gender, when participants wish to be like their parents in the relationship with children they also want to be like their parents in the relationship with work. This observation points to the existence of a link between the way subjects perceive their parents’ commitment both to work and to parenting. This association can be taken as a picture of the cases in which parents reach a positive balance between both roles, and in which parents’ commitment to the worker role is not perceived by participants as occurring at the expense of their commitment to children. In fact, participants reported that they want to be like their parents in the dedication to work only when they consider that their parents’ commitment to work was not distressing to the parent-child relationship. This result is very stimulating regarding the hypothesis of the mediating role of attachment in the patterns of commitment intergenerational transmission, especially when we found that participants’ perception of work relational damages was related with their experience of less caring parents. The more participants agree that father and mother relationship with them has been negatively affected by parents’ work, the less they perceived parents as caring and the more they perceived their parents as overprotective.
Subjects seem also to perceive work as a domain that competes with fathers' but not mothers' commitment to parenting. It may be inferred from this finding that participants are aware that work and parental roles are differentially salient to men and to women. But, and perhaps more importantly, it seems to express the perception that fathers' work intrudes more into their parental role than happens with mother's work. If we look at Hazan and Shaver's (1990) conclusions, this finding suggests that, from the subject's point of view, their mothers may be more capable than their fathers to protect the quality of their relationship with children. Even though they may value work, they probably don't let work threaten the core of their mother identity, that is, the mother-child relationship. Probably, participants' fathers are still oriented to the traditional role of breadwinner and this orientation may create some difficulties for them in managing their work role in a way that is not perceived by children as troublesome for the father-child relationship.

The finding regarding subjects' perception of the work interference in parents' physical accessibility has brought relevant information for what seems to be the complementary functions of the parental dyad elements in the provision of emotional security for children. When subjects describe their mothers or fathers as less accessible, both the focal and the non-focal parent were experienced as more caring. At one hand, this finding seems to describe a situation in which each parent is seen as someone who tries to compensate with warm and responsiveness the fact of his/her low physical accessibility. On the other hand, it also depicts a picture in which one of the parents seems to supply the child's needs of care when the other is perceived as not being so much accessible. This verification certainly deserves attention regarding the possible influence of spousal support in the way parents devote themselves to work and parenting. The way children interpret both parents' commitments and, ultimately, the existence of mother-child or father-child intergenerational congruencies in the patterns of commitment to work and parenting may be strongly influenced by the level of agreement, support and consistency there is in the marital dyad with respect to the work and parental role. Accorind to some authors the intergenerational transmission of attitudes is stronger when there is homogeneity in the cultural models (Cavalli-Sforza & Feldman, 1981, cit. in Shonfflug, 2001). Some studies also show that fathers' involvement in childcare decisions is positive related to adolescents' short-term plans for family formation (Starrels & Holm, 2000).

Parental care appeared associated to higher exploration scores. This finding offers support to the idea that exploration is favoured by positive parent-child attachment relationships (Blustein et al., 1995; Grotevant & Cooper, 1988). Subjects' representations of their parents as caring attachment figures may have facilitated the exploration of their real-life experiences, namely those related to their parents' relationship with work. In opposition the sense of overprotection that is reported to mother-child relationship may have inhibited the degree of exploration that was desirable for them to outline some initial ideas about the importance of work in people lives.
Boys presented less exploration gains from their parents' work than girls. It may be that for girls, who appear in this study significantly identified with mothers in the work domain, the family of origin might have constituted the context where they have learned the challenges and gratifications that to be mother and work at the same time may carry for their lives. However we should approach this finding with cautious given that this gender effect may have result from the prevalence of female participants in the comparison sample.

Perhaps empirical efforts in the area of intergenerational transmission of role-commitment, developed from the perspective of attachment theory, can contribute to a greater awareness of the processes that generate continuity and change in the meanings that, across generations, are attached to the work and parental roles. As Ferree (1990) argues it is the meaning attached to role behaviour that holds consequences for individual and family functioning. As primary motivators of the parents' action, those meanings probably determine what and the way through which one generation passes its ideas on to another.

References


Nascimento, C. & Coimbra & Menezes


The present manuscript will describe the various therapeutic programs for treating dropout adolescents in Israel. These interventions are first introduced in schools as dropout-prevention programs and then continue in the community and in residential institutions, through programs referred to as Youth Advancement Programs. The educators involved in the intervention programs in schools include counselors, truancy officers, and special assistants. In the community, it is the Child and Youth Care Workers who play the main professional role in cooperation with other professionals.

**Affective Education**

Lang (1997) defined affective education as that part of the educational process that concerns itself with attitudes, feelings, beliefs, emotions, morals, and values of students. Thus affective education is intensively involved with a concern for the personal and social development of students, which will allow them to take their place as contributing, mature, and worthwhile members of society. Accordingly (Lang, 1998), affective education goes beyond the individual student and is concerned with students' interpersonal relationships and their social skills. Affective education, in all its manifestations, is aimed at ensuring that students gain the most from their education, that their time in school should not only be academically profitable but also enjoyable and secure, and encourage their development in both the cognitive and affective domains.

According to Best (1998) all learning which is concerned with the emotions, feelings or passions that motivate, constrain or shape human action belongs to the realm of affective education. Best's definition of affective education is based on the conceptual analysis of Peters (1964) and other philosophers of education in the 1960s. Best (1998) suggested that affective education be perceived as the intentional and structured bringing about of affective learning, undertaken in ways which recognize the intellectual and moral autonomy of the learner.
Certain researchers (Yuen, Grace & Watkins, 1994) postulated that the affective and cognitive dimensions of education are interrelated. Affective education is an increasingly important aspect of school practice. It may be defined as the aspect of the educational process that is concerned with the feelings, values, beliefs, attitudes and emotional well being of students, with their emotional literacy, interpersonal relationships, and social skills (Marland, 1980; Power, 1998; Pring, 1984). This dimension generally involves a concern for students’ moral and spiritual development and is concerned with the personal and social development of students and their self-esteem. Lang, Katz and Menezes (1998) proposed the following working definition:

By ‘affective education’ is meant that part of the educational process that concerns itself with attitudes, feelings, beliefs and emotions of students. A further important dimension goes beyond the individual students and concerns the effectiveness of their relationships with others, thus interpersonal relationships and social skills are recognized as central to affective education. Students’ feelings about themselves as learners and about academic subjects can be at least as influential as their actual ability.

Other definitions of affective education point to the same aspects. For instance, Hoz and Kainan (1999) describe affective education as a means of promoting and developing students’ abilities to cope with affective and emotional aspects of their lives. Similarly, Beane (1993) points to the importance of integrating the dimension of affect into the total educational program. In his opinion affect is a necessary component of every educational theory. It is necessary for the development of the “whole” student, is integrated with almost every other aspect of learning and schooling, and improves the child’s thinking and behavior. In this sense, a theory of learning or schooling that ignores or denies affect is incomplete.

Although the importance of affective education is increasingly recognized, there is still much about its nature and extent to be investigated. In recent years Affective Education has also become popular as a term for more limited concepts - equivalent to “values education,” “education for emotional intelligence,” or as a pedagogical term, for example, as a reference to the method of “circle time” (Lang, 1998).

The term is used differently, and applied differently in various countries, each culture giving it life by breathing its own values and aspiration into the concept (Lang, 1997). In England and Denmark, it dates back to the 19th century, whereas in Italy, Spain, and Portugal its development has been relatively recent. Often the growth of affective education has often been accompanied by specific legislation, and may be found in different guises in the school system. In Denmark, affective education focuses on the role of the class teacher (Kryger & Reisby, 1998), in England it is manifested in what is known as pastoral care (Lang, 1995), and in Israel
it is identified with educational counseling (Katz, 1994). In German schools affective work
appears only for individual sessions of two or three weekly hours in the school curriculum (Kron,
2000). Elsewhere, affective education is still in its developmental stages, and has yet to have a
significant impact on the educational system. This is the situation in Portugal, where personal
and social education has been introduced through national legislation but is being developed
only in a limited number of schools (Menezes & Campos, 1997). There are also countries (e.g.,
France) where the non-cognitive aspects of education are in their very initial stages (Lang,
1997).

**Dropout Delinquent Adolescents in Israel**

Adolescents who drop out of school are a problem worldwide, and Israel has not been spared.
The Compulsory Education Law (tuition free) requires all children to attend school from
kindergarten to tenth grade, thus anyone who left school prior to completion of tenth grade is
considered a dropout. Most of these teenagers, ranging in age from 15 to 18 years, neither work
nor study. Those who are employed hold unskilled or casual jobs, and usually come from large
families of low socioeconomic status. Many have a long history of failures and transfers from
one educational framework to another, and sometimes they are not involved in any framework
whatsoever (Gottlieb & Brainin-Porta, 1987; Lahav, 1993, 1994, 1999; Romi, 2001; Romi & Tal

Over the years, this population has been variously described in Israel as street youth, marginal
youth, street gangs, youth in distress, and detached youth (Lahav, 1993). In other parts of the
world, terms for these adolescents included school-disadvantaged dropouts, delinquent youth at
risk, gangs, street-corner groups, juvenile delinquent youth, and unattached youth. Lahav
(1994) describes stages in the detachment of these young people, beginning with their
detachment from their studies in school and their relationships with formal frameworks, through
rejection and vagrancy, often resulting in delinquency. In a recent survey of dropout delinquent
adolescents in Israel, Kahan-S rawczynski, Dolev, and Shemesh (1999) found that most of
them were from single-parent families with socioeconomic difficulties, parental unemployment
and elementary education or less, violent families with alcohol or drug abuse, prostitution, or
criminal activities.

A description of the population treated by the Child and Youth Care Advancement Unit in 1999
as reported by the Ministry of Education and Culture is presented in Table 1.
The Youth Advancement Unit treated 13,054 youth (Israeli origin, Arab origin, FSU origin) as well as an additional 550 youths of Ethiopian origin who were not included in the study. At its inception, the unit was entrusted with the treating of boys only but over the years some girls were included. Over half (55%) of the youth treated by the Child and Youth Advancement Unit in 1999, were male youth of Israeli (Jewish) origin and about 18% were female youth of Israeli (Jewish) origin. Only 5% of the youth treated were of Arabic origin, mostly males; only a minority were females. This percentage is relatively low in comparison to the percentage of Arab youth among the entire population in Israel and in comparison to the relatively high percentage of these youth that do not study. About 22% of the youth treated at the unit are of FSU origin. This percentage is double the percentage of the FSU immigrants in the general population of youth ages 15-17 (9.7%).

**Therapeutic intervention as an approach of affective education implementation**

The program for Child and Youth Advancement was announced in February 1992, following a joint decision by the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Finance to apply the Compulsory Education Law to adolescents who were not enrolled in any formal framework. The program was to be implemented in areas where there were few activities operated by the Ministry of Education. Its target were youngsters aged 14 and 15 who had been officially exempted from attending school under the Law of Compulsory Education, and for those age 16-18 who were
not enrolled in any educational framework. The program was also made available to working adolescents, up to age 18, enrolled in schools and/or in vocational apprenticeship programs sponsored by the Ministry of Labor and Welfare within the Compulsory Education Law.

Figure 1
Therapeutic Educational Input Basket
(Application of the Compulsory Education Law on Dropout Students)
(Ministry of Education, 2002)

Includes:

2.5 - 5.5 weekly hours

- Personal Care and Guidance by Counselor
- Personal Skills Development Process
- Completion of Educational Studies
- Social-Value Educational Program

Comprised of a personal educational program suited to each adolescent

The proposed program (as it appears in Figure 1) points to the suitability of the educational intervention to dropout youth. On the one hand it is designed to address maximally the limitations of this group, and on the other hand it takes its special needs into consideration. The program is unique in that it contains the built-in option of constructing a personalized apprenticeship program, flexible enough to enable each individual to fulfill his or her potential according to personal situation and abilities.
The Ministry of Education refers to two guiding considerations in providing preferential treatment for these detached adolescents who are not part of the educational system (Lahav, 1999). First, they perceive the contact that this population has with the Unit for Advancement of Youth and with its personnel to be perhaps the last one they would have with the educational establishment. It is through this venue that the Ministry of Education still hopes to imbue the detached adolescents with a sense of social values. Second, there is a basic assumption that this population has a potential and has a chance, despite the fact that it lacks the opportunity to realize this potential in a meaningful way.

The treatment of detached youth by the Ministry of Education has changed over the years. The most prominent change took place in 1992, when the Ministry decided to include this population within the Compulsory Education Law (1949), even those who are not enrolled in any formal institution. This historical decision represented a continuation of the trend in the Ministry of Education to assume responsibility for those youth who are outside of the formal setting, and to accord them the same resources and opportunities available to mainstream adolescents.

The decision stated that adolescents who are treated by the Ministry-supervised Units for the Advancement of Youth are entitled to a basic educational/therapeutic "basket" of 2 1/2 - 5 1/2 hours a week. These inputs are aimed at attaining the main goals of youth advancement, and refer to budgeting and operating the following services:

- Educational and social treatment and accompaniment (an individual personal advancement counselor for each boy or girl)
- Completion of education – either for a complete or partial high-school diploma or vocational training (HILA program for detached youth)
- Social education and education for social values (preventive programs and preparation for life educational programs)
- Development of social and occupational skills (certificate programs and enrichment programs)

The direction taken by the Ministry of Education is, to a large degree, an implementation of affective education. The programs consider the youngster's perceptions, feelings, and values (Lang, 1997). They operate as independent procedures aimed at the noncognitive aspects of the adolescent's functioning, and as an auxiliary procedure for the type of cognitive learning required in school. Addressing the noncognitive and the cognitive aspects of a detached individual provides him or her with the necessary educational foundation required by any person in today's culture, and equips him or her with basic coping skills within the social environment. The programs provide the adolescents with basic school-acquired skills (reading, writing, and arithmetic) and with the social skills of conversation and communication.
 Dropout adolescents do not possess learning habits, and have difficulties integrating into educational and occupational frameworks. At the same time these youngsters have negative attitudes toward any attempt for such integration. Therefore, attention to the emotional and social aspects enables cracking open the walls of resistance, and gradually allowing room for help in personal growth and expansion within society.

Summary

Affective education is consistent with current trends in other fields (e.g., health and medicine) in its multi-faceted approach to a situation. In the case of detached youth, the affective education abandons coercive measures and addresses the social and emotional needs of the adolescents. The unique Youth Advancement Program developed by the Israeli Ministry of Education provides the youngster with individual guidance who helps him or her acquire basic literacy skills that are imperative to coping in modern society. At the same time, the counselor helps the adolescent enhance the areas of weakness in social skills — conversing and communicating — so that the graduate of such a program will be equipped with the necessary social skill to be integrated into society.

References


Citizenship education in schools and beyond
EDUCATION FOR CITIZENSHIP IN THE LAST DECADE: A EUROPEAN CONTEXT

Concepción Naval
Universidad de Navarra, Spain

The objective of this paper is to present the highlights of the courses of action that have been taken with respect to Education for Citizenship within Europe in the last decade of the twentieth century. The 90's is known as the *Decade of Citizenship* (Dahrendorf, 1990), with the interest in Education for Citizenship being attributed to the following:

- To maintain the stability of democratic states
- To face the problems and the challenges of present-day society: cultural diversity and globalization
- To create the identity of a European citizenship

Education for Citizenship is considered as *The Curriculum of the Twenty First Century*. There is a widespread interest in Europe to implement this in schools.

- What have been done in practice in various contexts?
  a) Research undertaken by international organizations
  b) Initiatives on Education for Citizenship in some Eastern European Countries
  c) Educational Reform in England

**Research by international organizations**

**Council of Europe**

The Council of Europe through the Council for Cultural Cooperation seeks to actively promote public awareness of European Citizenship. Some of the more important documents are as follows:


1996. *Teaching About Society Passing on Values: Elementary Law on Civic Education* (Audigier). Objective: To provide the educational principles and the theoretical framework for the development of Civic Education.
1997. Council of Europe and European Union organized, in Strasbourg, a *Seminar on Education for Democratic Citizenship* (EDC). Objective: To elaborate on the essential concepts and the key competencies of democratic citizens. The recommendations to member countries include the following: 1) to give attention to the initial and the continuing formation of teachers with regard to this area, and 2) to introduce Civic Education in the programs, in the curriculum and in the school schedule of all levels of the educational system.


**The European Union**

The European Commission, throughout the XXII General Directorate: Study Group on *Education, Training and Youth* is charged to promote education in active citizenship in both formal and non-formal contexts.

1993. CIDREE project: *Values Education in Europe: A Comparative Review in Twenty-Six Countries* (Taylor, 1994). Objective: To know the values of the different European Countries. Emphasis on environmental awareness, inter-cultural education and citizenship.


1997. Study Group on Education and Training present the report: *Accomplishing Europe Through Education and Training*. Guiding principles for the development of Civic Education programs are also proposed.


1998. XXII DG: *Education and Active Citizenship in the European Union*. Objective: To disseminate the idea that to learn active citizenship is a key challenge for the construction of Europe in the 21st Century. Programs intended for the development of active citizenship are evaluated.

182. **The United Nations and UNESCO**

**United Nations Organization (UN)**

Education for citizenship in the last decade

United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO)


Education for Citizenship in the Eastern European Countries

The fall of communism in 1989. The need for the consolidation of new democratic states. Projects related to Civic Education are undertaken through collaboration between European Countries and the United States.

1995. The International Civic Education Exchange Program (CEEP) was affiliated with CIVITAS. Objective: To promote Civic Education in the Czech Republic, Hungary, Latvia, Poland, Russia and Boznia Herzegovina.

Goals of CEEP:
- To provide educators of these countries with sample curricular materials and with teacher formation programs concerning Civic Education;
- To help educators to adopt and to execute these programs;
- To facilitate the exchange of experiences on Civic Education among politicians and educators from these countries, the U.S. and other democracies;
- To promote research projects that would evaluate the effectiveness of the Civic Education programs;
- To establish a clear and coherent framework for a complete Civic Education that could serve as a guide for the development of programs that may be implemented in any democratic country. A point of reference is the National Standards for Civic and Government (1994) which was developed by the Centre for Civic Education based in California (coordinator and administrator of CIVITAS; http://www.civnet.org).
Naval

Educational Reforms in England

1988. *Educational Reform Act.* Cross-curricular themes are proposed and among them is Civic Education. These are not included as compulsory material.


1993-1995. Review of the National Curriculum headed by Ron Dearing. Recommendations include a flexible curriculum and the use of about 20% of class hours for the teaching of the cross-curricular themes. The *School Curriculum and Assessment Authority* (SCAA) that replaced the *National Curriculum Council* (NCC) sets year 2000 as the deadline for the introduction of changes in the National Curriculum.

1996-1999. Period of a grand scale political, social and educational response in favour of Civic Education. Key developments:

1996. Chief Executive of SCAA (Nichollas Tate) calls for a meeting called *National Forum for Values in Education and the Community.* The discussion focuses on the values that may be held in common in society and that the schools may transmit.

1997. *White Paper, Excellence in Schools.* The establishment of an advisory group to discuss citizenship issues and the teaching of democracy is announced.


Proposals and recommendations:

a) Citizenship education should be a statutory entitlement in the curriculum;

b) the statutory entitlement is established by setting out specific learning outcomes for each key stage rather than a detailed program of study (the report only details them from 1 to 4 key stage);

c) Citizenship Education in schools has to include the knowledge, skills and values relevant in a participatory democracy. (The report offers an overview of essential elements that have to be attained in citizenship education by the end of compulsory schooling),

d) the learning outcomes should be based on what should take no more than 5% of curriculum time across the key stages;
e) separate articulation of citizenship in Key Stage 3 and 4 and combines with other subjects in 1 and 2 as a part of Personal, Social and Health Education (PSHE) programs of primary school;
f) the introduction and implementation of the learning outcomes should be phased in over a number of years (for key stage 1 to 4 from 2001 to 2004);
g) to use learning through action and whole-school approaches;
h) to improve teacher training, both initial and in-service on citizenship issues (Crick, 1998).


*QCA Consultation on the Revised National Curriculum.* QCA has produced a set of proposals on the revised National Curriculum and announces the start of a period of formal consultations with schools and other sectors. One proposal is to establish a theoretical framework for the teaching of citizenship in schools. It is further reiterated that Citizenship Education is a new and important part of the National Curriculum.

*School Survey for IEA (International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement) Citizenship Education Study.* The Secretary of State for Education and Employment (DFEE) agreed to participate in the second phase of an international study involving 29 countries as a result of the decision to strengthen Citizenship Education in the revised National Curriculum. The study will examine in a comparative framework the understanding, attitudes and experiences of 14 to 15 year old students, of their teachers and the schools with regard to citizenship issues.

**Conclusions**

a) There is an international consensus on the need for democracy and the importance of education for its advancement.

b) Many of the projects that have been undertaken in relation to Civic Education are direct responses to recent political and socio-economic changes in Europe. Another influencing factor was the realization by governments and by educators that the existing curriculum intended to prepare the students for active citizenship is inadequate.

c) A holistic Civic Education must include knowledge, skills and attitudes, values and habits.

d) It has been acknowledged that the Civic Education should have a definite time and place within the curriculum.

e) The use of active and participative methods in civic formation is being advocated. This has implications on the entire school environment (*ethos*).
f) The initial and continuing formation of the educators is given prime importance.

g) The great challenge and for which a lot of effort is being expended concerns to the formulation of a theoretical framework that systematizes, inspires and allows the creation at an international level of a common language, the definition of clear objectives and the development of flexible programs.

References


European Council (1996). Education for Citizenship, "The Basic Concepts and Core Competences". Cultural Cooperation Council, European Council (DECS/CIT 7 def.)


THE PLACE OF CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION IN THE CURRICULUM:
ITS ROLE, IDENTITARY RECORDS, AND INTERVENTION STRATEGIES

Paulo Torres Bento
Escola Secundária de Caminha, Portugal

In this paper we assume a diachronic perspective which considers the various shapes and
denominations that citizenship education has assumed in some western educational systems,
since the beginnings of the XX\textsuperscript{th} century until the educational reforms of the 80's and 90's. The
current position of citizenship education in the curriculum is reconceptualised, recognizing the
different roles it can play – as a social, political, cultural or religious control factor, as a measure
of compensatory legitimation or as an emancipatory opportunity – as well as the identitary
records (civic or affective) it can assume. Finally, we will question the efficacy of the intervention
strategies previewed in the curricular revision of basic and secondary education, which is about
to become widespread in Portugal.

Reconceptualizing citizenship education nowadays: its role in the curriculum, identitary
records and intervention strategies

From a diachronic perspective, which has been privileged in our research on citizenship
education as an explicit area and/or concern in the educational thinking and curricula of North
America and Europe throughout the XX\textsuperscript{th} century	extsuperscript{1}, and being aware that we are dealing with an
area that, together with the fundamental concepts of citizenship or democracy (Giroux, 1993),
needs to be problematized and reconstructed in every generation, we begin to address the
problem of the place of citizenship education in the curriculum nowadays.

Firstly, resulting from the political-educational projects that underlie several curricular proposals,
what is noticeable is the fundamental ambiguity about the role of citizenship education in the
curriculum. Even if frequently not in an assumed, conscious or unanimous manner (one and the
same reality leads to several, often opposed, perspectives), but always depending considerably
on the contexts, politics and actors, citizenship education may represent, on a continuum where
the different plans have overlapping areas:

(1) a social, political, cultural or religious control factor from the part of the established
and dominant powers, as happened with the original “character education” movement in the
U.S.A. (Beane, 1990) and with the “republican civic education” in Portugal and in France
(Pintassilgo, 1998) in the early decades of the XX\textsuperscript{th} century; contemporary and more
dissimilated forms can include Personal and Social Education in Malta (Sultana, 1992) and England (Allen, 1997) and the recent version of “character education” encouraged and supported by successive North-American administrations (Beane, 1990; Beyer & Liston, 1996);

(2) a compensatory legitimation measure which, in times of crisis of a school that no longer guarantees, as before, a job and social progression, may motivate the students by promising to humanize the bureaucratic and competitive nature of the system, and to include issues related to everyday life, legitimating the existence of the educational system itself (Sultana, 1992). This idea is compatible with Roldão’s (1999) analysis of various forms of citizenship education that appeared since the sixties, when she considers that these still reflect the early XXth century beliefs of the saviour and redemptive role of the school;

(3) an emancipatory opportunity as expressed in the purposes (and not necessarily in the results) of Dewey, of the North-American reconstructionists and of the European pedagogues of the New Education in the first decades of the 20th century; of Louis Raths (values clarification) and Lawrence Kohlberg in the U.S.A., and of many of the promoters of Personal and Social Education projects in England, in the sixties and seventies; of those involved in the Portuguese experiences of Civic Service and Civic and Polytechnic Education, soon after the Portuguese Revolution of 1974; and, more recently, in the thinking of many of those who embraced the diverse forms of citizenship education that emerged from the European educational reforms of the 80’s and 90’s (Morrison, 1994; Yus Ramos, 1997).

Obviously, the most important factors to characterise the many proposals that this area has been given (or may come to give) raise to in the “visions of the world” and their diverse political-educational interests and projects (no matter how ambiguous and diffuse their outlines might be) that afterwards reflect, inevitably, in the curricular forms and contents of citizenship education. However, it is sometimes justifiable to make a rationalisation effort, mostly with operational purposes, that will force us momentarily to abstract from some of the main presuppositions that lie underneath the various approaches. As such, it may be possible to recognise in citizenship education as an explicit area and/or concern, as it reached the eighties and nineties, two vast identitary records which, even though emerging from different curricular traditions, share some principles, objectives or methodologies. These identitary records, through a phenomenon which globalisation and diverse particularities help to explain, have sometimes co-existed in the same curricular operationalisation scheme, and will tend, more and more, to combine into vast proposals:

(1) a civic record, more socializing and the heir of the republican and laic European tradition, integrating (i) an elementary level that includes the knowledge of political bodies or of juridical mechanisms and the learning of basic abilities for integration in the civil society (Roldão, 1999); and (ii) a more complex level, that authors such as Ibañez-Martín (1999) or
Audigier (1996) help to understand, where the concerns of the elementary level subsist but grounded on an ethical reflection based on several axiological frameworks, added by a contact with current and everyday life problems, the creation of participation opportunities and the development of concrete capacities to initiate and make youngsters able for social and political integration and intervention in democratic societies. We can, in some way, associate the transition from one level to the other to the recent evolution (even if with hesitations and contradictions) of the French educational system.

(2) an affective record (Beane, 1990; Lang, 1998) more individual-centred and bearing a clear Anglo-Saxon mark, where there are similar concerns to those of the complex level from the prior record – like the contact with contemporary and everyday life problems – but together with concerns about feelings and emotions, as well as the development of social and life skills and of personal, social and moral development; in sum, the several forms that values education and psychological education have integrated since the sixties.

Finally, with obvious connections to what has just been said, comes the complex, decisive issue of the operationalization strategies and lines that should be adopted in citizenship education – Menezes (1999), who recently re-conceptualised the main curriculum strategies that co-exist nowadays in Europe and North-America, actually states that in this area the selection of strategies and methods is more determinant than the content itself. When we analyse the various proposals that have been introduced in the curriculum along the past decades, this issue always revealed a good deal of insufficiencies, and, deep down, has always remained an almost unresolved question. Reviewing the various recommendations of the Council of Europe on the operationalization modes (Audigier & Lagéée, 1992; Stobart, 1995; Fogelman, 1995; Birzea, 1996), it all seems to add up to four possible strategies, which are not incompatible, on the contrary, they could and should be combined, according to these authors. Thus, citizenship education can/may:

(1) pervade the entire school life, taking into account the hidden curriculum (like its organization and ethos) but not forgetting its formal features: the educational project or the students’ participation in decision-making and in the definition of rules presiding over the institution’s collective life;

(2) assume a cross-disciplinary form, pervading all learning processes, even if some subject matters seem to gather better conditions, as is the case of History (Stobbard, 1995);

(3) become concrete in curricular complementary activities, like clubs or, opening itself to the outside world, with community service projects;

(4) be the object of disciplinary approach, to prevent a serious inconvenience of the remaining strategies, i.e., the dilution of responsibilities (Fogelman, 1995).
Citizenship education in the Portuguese curricula for the XXIth century

After the failure of the experience of Personal and Social Education in Portugal, in the context of the educational reform of the eighties and nineties (see Bento, 1999, 2001), the curricular reorganisation of 2001 (Decree-Law 6/2001 of January 18) brought along a new understanding of this issue which, in pace with the international tendencies, would be re-named citizenship education. After some hesitations on the curricular format, the solution adopts three complementary strategies for this area in basic education:

(i) cross-curricular, citizenship education is one of the guiding principles for the curriculum organisation and management;

(ii) cross-disciplinary, citizenship education is one of the curricular cross-disciplinary formations;

(iii) a curricular space, the curricular non-disciplinary area of Civic Education is created, as a privileged space for developing citizenship education.

Beyond all other considerations, which only posterior curricular orientations will be able to completely enlighten, namely at a programmatic level, it should be noted what seems to be a return to the spirit which over a decade ago lead the introduction of the Personal and Social Education Area in the Education Act, at least when we consider the interpretation put forward at the time by the vast majority of the educational community and expressed in many of the documents of the educational reform, ranging from the positions defended by the CRSE (Educational System Reform Committee) to the CNE (National Council of Education). Therefore, the universal and compulsory nature of this curricular area (and its consequent separation from the confessional domain of religion) is finally established, particularly at the basic school level. Additionally, the curricular format – cross-curricular, cross-disciplinary and with the creation of a specific curricular space – practically coincides with the solutions indicated both by the CRSE and the CNE. It is therefore not surprising that the CNE supports this curricular format but stresses that the class tutor is not the most adequate solution for this new curricular space “given the risk of being absorbed by [administrative] tasks and finalities that do not contemplate citizenship education” (CNE, 2000 b) – a critique which was taken into account by the Ministry of Education that opened to virtually all teachers the involvement in the new Civic Education.

Yet, and concerning the curricular identity of this new citizenship education, especially in the curricular non-disciplinary/space of Civic Education, it is legitimate to expect that the chosen denomination does not correspond to a limitation of the anticipated goals to a mere civic record, which would not only be impoverishing in the current identity context of this area, as it would probably increase the temptation to reduce this space into a de-contextualized accumulation of knowledge (turning it into a discipline) and/or, what would be even worse and more useless (as
The place of citizenship education in the curriculum

educational research has widely demonstrated), reduce it to a moralist repository over the norms of individual and civic "good behavior" – a concern reinforced by the CNE when it recommended special attention in the definition of the goals, work methods and curricular guidelines of Civic Education.

As for secondary education many questions emerge based on the Ministry of Education's decision not to repeat the curricular format adopted in the basic level (see Decree-Law 7/2001 of January 18): even though maintaining the focus on cross-curricular and cross-disciplinary approaches, it does not preview the specific curricular space – a decision which, independent of the objections raised by this strategy (just referred in relation to the new Civic Education), does not stand in favor of curricular coherence and articulation between different school levels. This was also the opinion of the CNE (2000a) stating that

*it seems unrealistic to expect that, without specific time allocation for the discussion of certain themes of personal and social development, one can guarantee that they are approached in a coordinated and systematic manner by several teachers, in various contexts, during three years. (...) Young people have been reclaiming, repeatedly, a space for intra and interpersonal expression and civic education which does not seem contemplated here. A specific time for personal and social education could exactly be that break – but this is ignored by this curricular project.*

In conclusion, and even keeping only to the limited field of school education, if the political-educational contexts in which citizenship education now re-appears in national curricular plans for the XXIst century, seem to put aside the perspective that we are facing here any attempt of political control, as in recent times, we are also very far from recognizing in this solution a real emancipatory opportunity, capable of dealing effectively with the authentic and recurrent citizenship problems inside our school system, beginning with school drop-out and failure that research has shown (or, better, confirmed) to result to a large extent from the difficult relationship between lower class youngsters, especially from rural areas and with parents with a low educational level, and the official body of knowledge transmitted by the school (see Villaverde Cabral & Pais (1998) and Gomes da Silva (1999)). Therefore, in a curriculum that, despite some rhetoric and some undeniable positive efforts (the introduction of Guidance Study, for instance), will remain essentially sectional and academic, this new form of citizenship education risks not only legitimating the current status quo but also, very likely, not going beyond the usual curricular inferior status, close to invisibility in the case of secondary education.

References

Bento


Notes

1 This paper is based on a research carried out during a Master thesis supervised by Prof. José Augusto Pacheco and presented at the University of Minho.

2 It is symptomatic – even if this could be a more prosaic legal caution – to respect article 47 of the Education Act – that the Ministry of Education maintains "Personal and Social Education" as the designation for the whole of the Curricular Non-disciplinary Areas, Moral and Religious Education and Enrichment Activities. In any case, this discursive trick is not enough to prevent the expression to be transformed in an curricular archaeological trace, enriching the vast denominative corpus of this curricular domain.

3 As Sarmento (2000) stresses "the core meaning of citizenship education regards, by definition, the creation of living conditions in the city. In this sense, there cannot be citizenship education without considering the possibility of exercising civic participation in the society as a whole. This questions the school and its role in constructing the civic space, i.e., makes citizenship education is a social issue to be debated also within the school, and not merely a curricular project. See also Trindade (2000).
Recent transformations in modern societies place on individuals a new set of responsibilities for the sustenance of democratic regimes that are associated with the exercise of an active citizenship characterized by high levels of political participation. Citizens’ participation, particularly, in the deliberative process in formal political structures and in civil society, has been associated with the sustentation of democracy in modern societies (Putnam, 1995; 1995; Benaëbibi, 1999; Sullivan & Transue, 1999). It is through the participation in formal political structures, either by representative or by direct participation, that citizens support and take part in the process of democratic decision-making. Thus, political participation implies access to resources and the mobilization of knowledge, values, attitudes and skills. From an individual perspective, the development of knowledge, values, attitudes and skills, is influenced by the contexts in which the individual lives, as is stated by the ecological model of human development (Bronfenbrenner, 1979, 1986). The context in which political action may occur determines a set of resources and stimulations, therefore individual action results from the interaction of several internal and external variables and elapses from the psychological development of the individual (Sprinthall & Collins, 1994; Bandura, 1997; Menezes, 1999).

Citizenship implies the adhesion to norms and values, being particularly relevant the acceptance and identification with the democratic system as a form of socio-political regulation. Among these norms and values, Sullivan and Transue (1999), in a revision of literature on the psychological underpinnings of democracy, demonstrated the importance of attitudes and of dispositions for civic participation and that these depend on contextual and historical variables as well as on the individual past experiences of participation. For example, tolerance is related to lived social experience (e.g., news in the media) that generates a threat perception of certain social groups (Sullivan & Transue, 1999). In what regards disposition for civic engagement, Putnam (1993, 1995, 1996) has advocated that participation generates participation, that is to say that the development of political participation is related to previous participation experiences, particularly in organizations within the civil society. These organizations have deliberative dynamics, similar to the ones of formal political structures, that allows individuals to exercise and develop competencies of active participation. Additionally, participation in these organizations enables the individual to access resources, through the establishment of informal nets of information and influence (Putnam, 1993). Therefore, active
participation in the formal political domain (i.e., State) and informal (i.e., civil society) is extremely determined by the diverse social contexts in which the individual lives and the experiences they provide.

Some authors (Putnam, 1996; Inglehart, 2000) have evidenced the decline in levels of participation in civil society. There is evidence in Portugal that the availability for participation in formal organizations of associativism as well as trust in political institutions within youth is diminishing (Teixeira, 2001; Pais & Cabral, 1998). Teixeira (2001), not only find decreased rates of active participation in associations, but also a lack of trust in students associations within educational institutions (66% of the students declare to have little or no confidence): from those involved in a list for the students council, 53.6% entered for exogenous reasons (invitation, influenced by a group of friends, etc.), with only a minority (8.9%) assuming an active participation. The majority seems not to trust formal organizations, privileging the informal ones, and the identification with the traditional instances of political participation (e.g., political parties) seems to be diminishing (Pais & Cabral, 1998).

The verified decrease in levels of political participation, particularly among young people, raised the need for research in the political participation domain. The possibility to, as an individual, take part in political decisions is associated, not only with the sustaining of democracy, but also with the gain and exercise of higher control on one's own life (Putnam, 1995; 1996; Benhabib, 1999; Sullivan & Transue, 1999). The current level of disinterest and apathy in political processes, in most democratic countries has also raised the question of the role of social institutions in the promotion of the so-called active citizenship (Torney-Purta, Schwiller & Amadeo, 1999). It is important to understand what is the responsibility that social institutions have had in the decline of the participation levels (Putnam, 1996), and also to know the dynamics that are associated with the development of an active citizenship and what role do social institutions play in this process (Yates & Youniss, 1996).

Social institutions and citizenship

The relation between social institutions and citizenship is evident through the norms, values and attitudes that they promote and reproduce. As a nation-state, social institutions define a set of norms that can generate, from a citizenship point of view, exclusion or inclusion processes. Social institutions stipulate a set of norms that regulate action and assume a citizenship ideal. These norms regulate individual and collective action in the institution, but also they emit a representation of citizenship (e.g., values, attitudes). Thus, the intentional transmission of norms and access to information concerning them are an explicit aspect of citizenship promotion by social institutions. In the context of a higher education institution, for example, the possibility for
students, employees and professors to choose representatives for the decision-making bodies constitutes, from the practical point of view, a way to involve and to make responsible all the members of the community.

The role of social institutions, particularly educational institutions, is therefore one of enormous responsibility in the social reproduction of norms, values and attitudes, and also in the replication of inclusion or exclusion processes. This responsibility is not limited to the promotion of knowledge and understanding about citizenship processes, but also includes the provision of opportunities to exercise rights and duties, i.e. the qualification of citizens for action, including the development of motivation and of personal and social competencies (Torney-Purta, 1999). Qualifying individuals for the exercise of citizenship implies going beyond knowledge about the law and emphasizing active participation in the continuous process of re-signification and reconstruction of citizenship as a social practice (Gentili, 2000). Consequently, this process cannot be limited to direct instruction, to “a mechanism of diffusion, socialization and recognition of the rights that define the field of the citizenship” (Gentili, 2000), but must take into account actual current opportunities for getting involved in the institutional life, solving real problems, expressing one’s point of view, ... which are highly related to the psychosocial quality of human interactions with peers and other significant members of the institution.

**Citizenship and higher education**

The role of higher education institutions in this process is of particular relevance. Students face a complex world where they have to adapt themselves to circumstances that are in constant change (Loeb, 1994; Tierney, 1993). It is expected from citizens of modern democratic societies to be informed about the normativity that rules them and to be, simultaneously, aware of the socio-political changes that occur in order to be able to participate in the political sphere. Today, more than ever, the understanding of the global order and the associated socio-political and economical processes is crucial to comprehend changes at the local level (Albrow, 1998). This complexity is not restricted to the domain of employability (vd. Declaration of Bologna, 1998), it places new and diverse requirements in the field of citizenship. The challenges that modern societies place on citizens emphasize the importance of considering citizenship education at higher education level (Ichilov, 1998). In Portugal, experiences of intentional citizenship education have only been implemented at basic and secondary education (Fuldão, 1999).

Several studies on higher education demonstrate the relevance of experiences that take place in and out of the classroom for individual development to occur (Yates & Youniss, 1996; Terenzini, Pascarella & Blimling, 1999). The identified effect of experiences in the classroom, particularly, the ones that make possible the exercise of significant roles and promote
opportunities for reflection and debate, brought about specific programs of learning and promotion of human development in higher education (Santagatti, 2001; Yates, Youniss, & McLellan, 1997).

The mere access of students to higher levels of education has revealed low effect in personal development of dimensions associated to an active citizenship. Effects are, essentially, in terms of lower levels of intolerance and other undesirable attitudes (i.e. social prejudice) and values of non-repression and non-discrimination (Emler & Frazer, 1999). Experiences of citizenship education that have only taken in account curricular programs based on the transmission of norms, values and knowledge about the democratic political system, have revealed poor results (Roldão, 1999; Emler & Frazer, 1999; Menezes, 1999). However, the study of educational practices in terms of the classroom climate has demonstrated promising results with implications for the development of citizenship education programs.

Research in basic and secondary education reveals an association between an open discussion classroom climate and some dimensions of political development (Hahn, 1998; Torney-Purta, Lehman, Oswald & Schultz, 2001; Amadeo, Torney-Purta, Lehman, Husfeld & Nikolova, 2002). Hahn (1999), in a cross-national study, reveals the impact of classroom climate on political interest and trust and perceptions of political self-efficacy. The analysis of classroom climate showed that the opportunity to discuss citizenship themes resulted in higher levels of trust in institutions and higher levels of political self-efficacy. Torney-Purta et al. (2001) in an international study of civic education with secondary school students found similar results: students’ perceptions of teacher support and participation in the classroom predict students’ knowledge and support for democratic values.

In fact, research on classroom climate has long evidenced the association between students’ perceptions and learning results in the affective and cognitive domain (e.g. Fraser, 1993, 1994, 1998; Fraser & Walberg, 1991; Graham & Gisi, 2000; Menezes, 1999). In the specific case of higher education, research suggests that students’ satisfaction with classroom climate has a positive impact in the evaluation of the institution (Graham & Gisi, 2000) and that the quality of the relation with professors is very relevant for students (Myers, 1995; Quay & Quaglia, 2004; Romine, 2001; Wierstra, Kanselaar, Van der Linden & Lodewijks, 1999; Wierstra, Kanselaar, Van der Linden, Lodewijks & Vermunt, 2003). The opportunity for involvement in the classroom and autonomy are also much valued by European students (Wierstra, Kanselaar, Van der Linden & Lodewijks, 1999; Wierstra, Kanselaar, Van der Linden, Lodewijks & Vermunt, 2003). Additionally, perceptions of classroom climate constitute an important predictor of academic achievement and satisfaction and also have a significant impact on students’ learning strategies and competencies (Lizzio, Wilson & Simons, 2002).
Furthermore, the importance of higher education institutions in preparing students for life has also led various authors to advocate the provision of significant out-of-class experiences for students' personal and social development (Astin, 1999; Kuh, 2001; Ehrlich, 2000). In order to attend to these needs some higher education institutions have introduced community service into their educational programs (Ehrlich, 2000). With community service programs it is expected that students not only develop a higher sense of civic responsibility, but also that they can exercise and develop competencies for an active participation. Yates and Youniss (1996) made a revision of 44 studies on students' participation in community service programs from 1952 to 1994, presenting strong evidence that this is a significant predictor of involvement in civic activities and politics in adulthood. The impact of community service programs is also evident in terms of higher self-esteem, personal confidence, sense of efficacy and of moral reasoning. Participants in community service activities also present a pro-social orientation, in terms of attitudes and behaviours, with a higher sense of responsibility and understanding of political processes.

These positive results made some authors advocate the implementation of community service programs in higher education institutions given their responsibility in preparing and qualifying students for citizenship (Santagati, 2001; Yates, Youniss, & McLellan, 1997). However, research casts some doubts on the existence of a direct relationship of community service to political action. Walker (2000) reviews the results of some studies on community service programs and concludes that despite the impacts being positive with regard to the pro-social orientation and higher understanding of the political system, they seem to have significant imperfections in what concerns the development of the capacity to act in political terms, in order to generate social change. Angelique, Reischl and Davidson II's (2002) findings suggest the same idea: students involved in a community service program reveal, at the end of the experience, a higher level of understanding of the political system, along with a higher sense of orientation to social problems; however, their levels of political self-efficacy are lower than the control group. These results suggest the importance of not only analysing participation in a citizenship education program, but also of considering the quality of the experiences provided during intervention.

On the whole, research on higher education has documented the positive impact of in- (e.g., classroom climate) and out-of-class (e.g., community service programs) in students' civic development including the promotion of attitudes, perceptions and behaviours relevant for active citizenship. However, results show that this positive impact does not necessarily imply similar changes in engagement in the political sphere, and therefore it is of major significance to consider in detail the quality of these in- and out-of-class experiences in order to understand possible mediating processes which can explain these results.
A study on the effects of classroom climate in higher education

The purpose of this study was to analyse the effect of higher education students' experiences in the classroom on political participation, attitudes and perceptions. If citizenship education cannot be limited to the transmission of knowledge but implies the development of competencies and dispositions for action, it is important to understand the relationship between students' perceptions of higher education contexts (classroom climate) and dimensions of personal development in the domain of political participation.

Sample
The study involved 286 higher education students, both from university (53.4%) and polytechnic (46.6%) subsystems, in the following subject areas: human and social sciences, engineering, teacher education and health. 196 students (66.2%) were females and 100 (33.8%) males. The mean age was 26 years (sd=3.9), ranging from 21 to 46. The socio-cultural level was analysed by an index of family literacy, the number of books at home, which proved to be a good predictor of academic achievement and civic knowledge (Torney-Purta et al., 2001).

Questionnaire
An adaptation of the College and University Classroom Environment Inventory (CUCEI, Fraser, 1994) with a 7 point Likert type scale was used to evaluate students' perceptions of various dimensions of classroom climate: teacher support, student participation, affiliation, satisfaction, organization, innovation and autonomy. We also included six items from the Constructivist Learning Environment Survey (CLES, Fraser, 1991b) regarding perceptions of knowledge diversity in the classroom. For political self-efficacy and dispositions for future political activities we used items adapted from Ribeiro (2001). Political self-efficacy was related to both individual and collective actions and dispositions to future political activity included: passive political activities (e.g. voting), and civic political activities (e.g. advocating for others). Trust in social and political institutions included a list of organizations covering media, education, political and judicial institutions. Table 3 shows the confirmatory factorial analyses indexes for the scales used.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subscale</th>
<th>GFI</th>
<th>AGFI</th>
<th>RMSEA</th>
<th>CFI</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Teacher support</td>
<td>0.966</td>
<td>0.964</td>
<td>0.044</td>
<td>0.966</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Student participation</td>
<td>0.982</td>
<td>0.982</td>
<td>0.060</td>
<td>0.964</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Affiliation</td>
<td>0.975</td>
<td>0.946</td>
<td>0.059</td>
<td>0.962</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Satisfaction</td>
<td>0.952</td>
<td>0.937</td>
<td>0.052</td>
<td>0.937</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Organization</td>
<td>0.963</td>
<td>0.936</td>
<td>0.089</td>
<td>0.923</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Innovation</td>
<td>0.966</td>
<td>0.923</td>
<td>0.094</td>
<td>0.938</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Autonomy</td>
<td>0.991</td>
<td>0.972</td>
<td>0.037</td>
<td>0.983</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Results

Students have clearly negative perceptions of autonomy and innovation in the classroom. In the 7-point Likert type scale the means for perceptions of autonomy and innovation are 2.75 and 3.09 respectively. The means for perceptions of support from the teacher is 3.48. The most valued dimensions (but still below 5) are: affiliation with peers, diversity in knowledge presentation and satisfaction with class.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subscale</th>
<th>GPI</th>
<th>AGFI</th>
<th>RMSEA</th>
<th>CFI</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Diversity</td>
<td>0.981</td>
<td>0.943</td>
<td>0.078</td>
<td>0.913</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political self-efficacy</td>
<td>0.967</td>
<td>0.938</td>
<td>0.061</td>
<td>0.960</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disposition for future political activities</td>
<td>0.921</td>
<td>0.971</td>
<td>0.083</td>
<td>0.902</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The sample was divided into two groups based on the median of perceptions of classroom climate; ANOVA was performed to analyse differences between these "low" and "high" levels of classroom climate perception groups, with gender, age and number of books as co-variants.

**Teacher support**

Students with positive perception levels of teacher support display more trust in the media, political parties and courts, and higher levels of political self-efficacy.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 2 Results of ANOVA on teacher support perceptions and trust in institutions and political self-efficacy</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dependent Variable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newspapers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TV news</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political parties</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Student participation in the classroom

Students who perceive their classrooms as having more opportunities for participation reveal more trust in the media, courts, schools, political parties and the government and higher levels and self- and collective political efficacy.

Table 3
Results of ANOVA on student participation perceptions, trust in institutions and political self-efficacy

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dependent Variable</th>
<th>Sum of squares</th>
<th>Ld</th>
<th>Mean square</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>Sig.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Newspapers</td>
<td>35.93</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8.98</td>
<td>6.71</td>
<td>0.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TV news</td>
<td>46.55</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>12.14</td>
<td>5.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Schools</td>
<td>17.38</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4.34</td>
<td>3.04</td>
<td>0.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political parties</td>
<td>20.33</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5.08</td>
<td>3.60</td>
<td>0.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Courts</td>
<td>45.06</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>11.27</td>
<td>4.57</td>
<td>0.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government</td>
<td>31.94</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7.98</td>
<td>3.83</td>
<td>0.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political self-efficacy</td>
<td>17.88</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5.96</td>
<td>5.50</td>
<td>0.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political collective efficacy</td>
<td>13.13</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4.38</td>
<td>2.61</td>
<td>0.05</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Affiliation with other students

Students with more positive perceptions levels of affiliation attain higher levels of political self-efficacy.

Table 4
Results of ANOVA on affiliation perceptions, trust in institutions and political self-efficacy

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dependent Variable</th>
<th>Sum of squares</th>
<th>Ld</th>
<th>Mean square</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>Sig.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Political self-efficacy</td>
<td>21.10</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7.03</td>
<td>7.24</td>
<td>0.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Satisfaction with class

The group with higher satisfaction also showed more trust in the media, courts, schools, political parties and the government.

Table 5
Results of ANOVA on satisfaction perceptions, trust in institutions and political self-efficacy

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dependent Variable</th>
<th>Sum of squares</th>
<th>Ld</th>
<th>Mean square</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>Sig.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Newspapers</td>
<td>26.10</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6.53</td>
<td>4.75</td>
<td>0.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TV news</td>
<td>28.87</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7.22</td>
<td>3.36</td>
<td>0.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Schools</td>
<td>28.20</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7.05</td>
<td>5.97</td>
<td>0.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political parties</td>
<td>20.86</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5.22</td>
<td>3.91</td>
<td>0.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Courts</td>
<td>45.13</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>11.28</td>
<td>4.58</td>
<td>0.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government</td>
<td>21.66</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5.42</td>
<td>2.55</td>
<td>0.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United Nations</td>
<td>35.81</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8.96</td>
<td>4.88</td>
<td>0.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Innovation

Students with more positive perception levels of innovation show more trust in the media, courts, political parties and the government.

Table 6
Results of ANOVA on innovation perceptions, trust in institutions and political self-efficacy

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dependent Variable</th>
<th>Sum of squares</th>
<th>Ld</th>
<th>Mean square</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>Sig.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
### Learning climate in higher education

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Newspapers</th>
<th>TV news</th>
<th>Political parties</th>
<th>Courts</th>
<th>Government</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>25.91</td>
<td>32.72</td>
<td>15.34</td>
<td>42.51</td>
<td>24.09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.48</td>
<td>8.18</td>
<td>3.83</td>
<td>10.83</td>
<td>6.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.71</td>
<td>3.83</td>
<td>2.83</td>
<td>4.30</td>
<td>2.85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.03</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.02</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Autonomy

Students who perceive their classrooms as more autonomy-oriented have more trust in the media, schools, political parties and the government, and have higher levels of political self- and collective efficacy.

**Table 7**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dependent Variable</th>
<th>Sum of squares</th>
<th>Ld</th>
<th>Mean square</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>Sig.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Newspapers</td>
<td>30.19</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7.55</td>
<td>5.56</td>
<td>0.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TV news</td>
<td>44.37</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>11.09</td>
<td>5.39</td>
<td>0.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Schools</td>
<td>20.31</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5.08</td>
<td>3.88</td>
<td>0.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political parties</td>
<td>21.82</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5.46</td>
<td>4.10</td>
<td>0.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Courts</td>
<td>45.97</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>11.49</td>
<td>4.67</td>
<td>0.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government</td>
<td>34.17</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8.54</td>
<td>4.12</td>
<td>0.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political self-efficacy</td>
<td>16.88</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5.63</td>
<td>5.70</td>
<td>0.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political collective efficacy</td>
<td>18.23</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6.08</td>
<td>3.67</td>
<td>0.01</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Diversity in knowledge

Students who perceive their classrooms as more diverse in terms of knowledge diversity reveal more trust in the media, schools, political parties and courts; attain higher levels of police efficacy (both self- and collective) and are more disposed to become politically active in the future.

**Table 8**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dependent Variable</th>
<th>Sum of squares</th>
<th>Ld</th>
<th>Mean square</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>Sig.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Newspapers</td>
<td>28.99</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7.25</td>
<td>5.32</td>
<td>0.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TV news</td>
<td>36.52</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6.13</td>
<td>4.31</td>
<td>0.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Schools</td>
<td>16.73</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4.18</td>
<td>2.82</td>
<td>0.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political parties</td>
<td>15.47</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3.87</td>
<td>2.85</td>
<td>0.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Courts</td>
<td>33.22</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8.30</td>
<td>3.31</td>
<td>0.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political self-efficacy</td>
<td>26.72</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8.97</td>
<td>8.87</td>
<td>0.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political collective efficacy</td>
<td>14.43</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4.81</td>
<td>2.88</td>
<td>0.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disposition for future passive political activities</td>
<td>8.51</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4.26</td>
<td>3.73</td>
<td>0.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disposition for future civic political activities</td>
<td>50.53</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>25.22</td>
<td>16.89</td>
<td>0.05</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 9 synthesises the statistically significant associations encountered between classroom climate perceptions and citizenship attitudes and dispositions. ANOVA shows significant differences in terms of attitudes and dispositions for political activities between students who have "low" and "high" levels of classroom climate perceptions. It is relevant to note that a variety of classroom climate dimensions appear to make a difference in political attitudes and dispositions, even if we cannot argue for a causality effect. In particular, teacher support, opportunities for student involvement and action, innovation and knowledge diversity – the first clearly being a relational dimension, the second appealing to involvement in learning and the last two suggesting the relevance of teaching strategies.
Table 9
Association between classroom climate perceptions and citizenship attitudes and dispositions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Trust in institutions</th>
<th>Individual political efficacy</th>
<th>Collective political efficacy</th>
<th>Disposition for passive political activities</th>
<th>Disposition for civic political activities</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Support</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>☑</td>
<td>☑</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participation</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>☑</td>
<td>☑</td>
<td>☑</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Affiliation</td>
<td></td>
<td>☑</td>
<td>☑</td>
<td>☑</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Satisfaction</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>☑</td>
<td>☑</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Innovation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>☑</td>
<td>☑</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Autonomy</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>☑</td>
<td>☑</td>
<td>☑</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diversity</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>☑</td>
<td>☑</td>
<td>☑</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Conclusion

Although this is an exploratory study, results suggest that classroom climate perceptions at higher education are related to citizenship attitudes and dispositions for action. The quality of perceived experiences in the classroom therefore appear to be relevant to citizenship education, particularly in terms of teacher support, participation in the classroom, innovation, and knowledge diversity.

Perceptions of teacher support, participation and autonomy, which relay to engagement in the class, are associated with higher levels of trust and political self-efficacy. Therefore, opportunities for real engagement activities in class, with students having a more active role — rather than being passive receptors of knowledge —, may be relevant for the development of attitudes and perceptions associated with a more active citizenship. Perceptions of knowledge diversity, which may be related to more opportunities to confront, accept and deal with pluralism, also appear to be a particularly salient variable associated with higher levels of trust in institutions, political self-efficacy and disposition for future political engagement.

Such results suggest that classroom climate in higher education is an important variable for student development. This carries implications not only for citizenship education programs, but also for higher education policies. There seems to be some evidence that exposure to a ‘pluralistic’ and innovative teaching climate in the classroom promotes higher levels of active citizenship. The same could be said regarding the need to give students opportunities to have a say in their own learning and to be more actively involved in this process. Finally, the significance of teacher support suggests that attention to a relational dimension may have other consequences than making teachers and students “feel good”. Even if more research is necessary for a better understanding of the impact of higher education classroom climate on students’ citizenship development, these results challenge us to think about the role of higher education besides a knowledge-base approach to “civics” instruction or the provision of out-of-
class extracurricular activities — and basically to think of classrooms as places where citizenship is, whether we acknowledge it or not, in motion.

References


Teixeira & Menezes


THE RELEVANCE OF THE QUALITY OF LIFE-EXPERIENCES FOR CITIZENSHIP DEVELOPMENT: AN INTER-DOMAIN DEVELOPMENTAL STUDY

Pedro Ferreira* & Isabel Menezes
Faculty of Psychology and Educational Sciences, Porto University, Portugal

There is no general agreement on the nature of developmental change (Demetriou & Raftopoulos, 1999). If the central aspect of development is change, developing cannot be equated to merely becoming different. The interest in using development as a conceptual tool comes from defining around it a particular kind of change that may enlarge our understanding of important changes occurring during the life course of humans. What develops becomes irreducible to what it was (i.e., development involves emergence), involving a more complexly organized whole, with higher differentiation in its integrated parts (Demetriou & Raftopoulos, 1999; Lerner, 1986), a progression on qualitatively different levels of organization that both expand (with higher differentiation and integration) and include previous ones (Kohiberg & Wasserman, 1980; Piaget, 1977). Developmental change is then seen as the emergence of "more inclusive and cohesive", "more stable and effective" levels of organization (Demetriou, 1998, p.186), or "patterns of meaning-making" (Strange, 1999, p.574), where the integrated parts (such as behaviors) acquire meaning (Lerner, 1986). Besides this, psychological development has a spontaneous element: it happens as the person faces situations and finds out (and abstracts) ways of comprehending them by means of coordinating own actions and internal operations.

The study of developmental sequences, in various domains, has been a major concern in developmental psychology leading to the identification of several different domains and sequences but at the same time almost disregarding and forgetting "the larger picture" of how they could relate to each other and together describe the developing subject (Flavell, 1982; Steinberg, 2001). Inter-domain research, comparing development sequences and their relationships, does not abound. The present research project has an inter-domain focus, the two domains being: the moral, represented by Lind's description of the development of moral judgment competence (1985a), and the intellectual, as proposed in Perry's scheme of 185 Intellectual development (1970).

Perry's model of intellectual development

Since the seventies, several authors worked on revising and extending Piaget's description of intellectual development (e.g. Riegel, 1976; Commons & Richards, 1984; Kitchener & King, 1981; Sinnott, 1984). William Perry (1970) was one of the first and most influential. With a
scheme of intellectual and ethical development built to describe how college students construct the college experience in context, Perry focused on the conceptions of both nature and sources of knowledge and his findings are often read as referring to epistemological development (Hofer & Pintrich, 1997, Pillow, 1999). The "main line of development" (Perry, 1970, p. 9) has nine positions of increasing complexity, regarded as qualitatively different ways of construing meaning (Hofer & Pintrich, 1997, Strange, 1999). These positions are usually clustered in three levels: dualism, relativism and commitment within relativism (Pascarella & Terenzini, 1991). Dualism goes from straightforward distinctions of right vs. wrong associated with authority in knowledge and a belief in the certainty of truth (position 1) to the acknowledgement that sometimes authorities themselves disagree and so introducing some uncertainty at this stage, but still considered as illegitimate in terms of the status of truth, with regard to right vs. wrong authorities (position 2), to the acceptance of uncertainty of knowledge as legitimate but only in some areas and temporarily, where and as long as authorities have not found the true answers yet (position 3). The relativist level begins by generalizing legitimate uncertainty to all knowledge, which acquires the status of opinion. The epistemological realm becomes constituted by discrete entities with no internal structure or external relations with each other (position 4). When subjects start to perceive a contextual structure in knowledge and values (including authority's) they begin considering them as plural and produced by active selves but relative to contexts and so again analyzable and comparable with each other (right vs. wrong is now a special case) (position 5), and gradually become aware of their need to orient themselves in a relativistic world by personally committing in some areas (here opposed to the unquestioned or unconsidered commitment to a simple belief in certainty) (position 6). At this point subjects are in transition to the Commitment within relativism level, starting to commit in certain areas (position 7) then experiencing the responsibility implications of commitment (position 8), until finally considering the affirmation of identity among multiple responsibilities and perceiving commitment as an ever-unfolding activity closely connected to their life-style expression (position 9). Rapaport (2001) remarks that movement along these positions can happen back and forth (subjects can retreat to earlier positions or escape) and also that subjects' positions for different knowledge areas may be different at the same time.

Lind’s perspective on the development of moral judgment competence

Lind (1985a) based his work on the previous work on moral cognition developed by Piaget (1985) and Kohlberg (1969, 1981, 1984). Piaget (1985) identified two distinct moral stages: the heteronomous morality stage or moral realism, based on obedience to rules and submission to power, and the autonomous morality stage or morality of cooperation that takes into account purpose and consequences of rules and considers obligation as subject to reciprocity and exchange. These stages were assumed to be "overlapping thought processes" with a gradual transition occurring as children were provided "opportunities for reciprocal social interaction" (Lickona, 1976b, pp.220-221).
Kohlberg’s model (1969, 1981, 1984; Levine, Kohlberg & Hewer, 1985) rests on the work of Piaget, but also on the philosophical moral principles of Kant, Dewey and Rawls (Rest, Narvaez, Thoma & Bebeau, 2000), and postulates the existence of three levels of moral judgment: the preconventional level (when the subject judges from outside the social group), the conventional level (when s/he judges from inside the group) and the postconventional level (when subject’s judgment takes a perspective prior to the social group’s moral conventions and expectations) (Kohlberg, 1976), that comprise the well-known sequence of six stages of moral judgment. Lind (1985a) takes Piaget’s and Kohlberg’s models as supplementary considering that moral judgment development is “a two-dimensional process in which Piaget’s phases describe a recurring sequence of cognitive transformations on each of Kohlberg’s stages” (p.38): within each level of socio-moral perspective there is a progression from the cognitive-moral phase of heteronomy to autonomy. He also rereads Kohlberg’s model arguing that the structural aspect is distinguishable from the content aspect but ontologically inseparable from it. This means that content aspects are necessary to define the cognitive-moral stages that he understands as being types of socio-moral perspectives in which the content appears differentiated. Moral judgment competence, “the ability to integrate and differentiate moral principles and apply them to everyday decisions” (p.27), is seen as progressing developmentally, its structural component, “the organization and process of moral thinking, the way and the degree to which moral maxims or principles are brought to bear in specific situations” (p.30), being dynamic structures by their possession of meaning that is only determinable in relation to content. Progression happens toward higher integration (toward a more complex socio-moral perspective in formulating moral judgments), and at the same time, toward higher differentiation (higher accounting for the particular circumstances and the specific implications of a moral dilemma).

The relationship between the two models and the role of the developmental quality of life-experiences

When one considers the relationship between these two particular models there seems to be no work providing a definite answer. If we look at the relationship between the intellectual and moral domains prior research reports mostly moderate positive correlations, not accounted for by age or educational differences (King, Kitchener, Wood & Davidson, 1989). The results are consistent with the position held by Kohlberg (1976; Kohlberg and Wasserman, 1980) in which he regards intellectual development as a necessary but not sufficient condition for moral reasoning. So, although the distinctness of the moral domain is asserted, the relationship between domains is one of subordination of moral to intellectual development: “Because moral reasoning clearly is reasoning, advanced moral reasoning depends on advanced logical
reasoning. A person's logical stage puts a certain ceiling on the moral stage he or she can attain" (Kohlberg & Wasserman, 1980, p.561).

In terms of the relationship between these domains it is important to note that both models used in the study presented here relate developmental change to the overcoming of conflict in the meaning-making structures and assume an interactionist perspective (Hofer & Pintrich, 1997; Lind, 1985a, 1985b), stating that individuals and environments play an active role in bringing about opportunities for development (Brandstädter & Lerner, 1999; Lerner, 1986). The interactionist perspective is nowadays widely accepted, the course of development being shaped by active individuals in active environments (bi-directional interactions). Development is then seen as a fully relational happening between the individual agent in a certain active environment (Brandstädter & Lerner, 1999; Bronfenbrenner, 1979, Bronfenbrenner & Evans, 2000; Lerner, 1986; Sameroff, 1982), a "dynamic process of mutual shaping and influence" (Strange, 1999, p.579). As a consequence, researchers are now paying more attention to contexts and transactions between contexts and individuals (Flanagan & Sherrod, 1998; Lerner & Galambos, 1998; Strange, 1999; Steinberg, 2001) as important to understand psychological development. This "pronounced shift toward studying the contexts in which these developments take place" (Steinberg, 2001, p.97) strives to identify particular dimensions within contexts that appear to be most relevant, such as the family, the school, the peer group or the workplace.

A somewhat different approach within such an understanding of development draws attention to the transaction situation, to the interaction between individuals and their contexts, an interaction where development may occur, by searching for more transversal features of contexts concerning their developmental quality, i.e. their quality for bringing about developmental change. The focus here is on the opportunities certain life-experiences may provide for involvement in situations where usual ways of meaning-making are set in conflict or contradiction and whether or not the context also provides the atmosphere for these to be productive in generating more stable and complex ways of doing so.

Several theorists and researchers highlight general elements of appropriate action and integration. For Piaget, peer interaction and the exposure to feelings and attitudes of others are considered important sources of development (1977) by confronting the individuals with the reasoning of others and promoting the rise of cognitive conflict, i.e. internal contradictions in the reasoning structures (Lickona, 1976a). For example, in a study involving children, interactions with peers and debates produced heightened awareness of the rights of others, especially of those actively engaged in the debates (Damon, 1998). Piaget used the concept of reflective abstraction to refer to the mechanism that enables the cognitive system to overcome the conflict situation by unifying "a series of actions and their results into a new structure that removes conflicts and inconsistencies generated earlier" (Demetriou, 1998, p.198). Kohlberg (1976) also
considered opportunities for social interaction and reciprocal communication as a source of cognitive conflict and therefore as stimulating development. He referred to them as role-taking opportunities (Kohlberg, 1976), favoring development when they provide problems that defy subjects' reasoning and expose it to the perspectives of others in "an atmosphere of interchange and dialogue" of different views (Kohlberg and Wasserman, 1980, p.563). Damon and Colby (1996; Lind, 2000) argue that "direct engagement with moral issues, in a context that provides several different but integrated sources of guidance and support" (p.36) is required to promote integrated moral development. Studies from learning environments' role-taking curricula, combining real and significant experiences with their examination and discussion, show a positive impact on the developmental level of students and professionals that actively engage in them, from adolescents to adults (King & Kitchener, 1994; Lind, 2000; Reiman & Peace, 2002; Sprinthall, 1991; Sprinthall & Hall, 1992; Sprinthall & Scott, 1988; Sprinthall & Thies-Sprinthall, 1980; Thies-Sprinthall, 1984; Thies-Sprinthall & Sprinthall, 1987)\(^5\). A reference to "optimal discrepancy" (Lickona, 1976a; Sprinthall, 1991; Strange, 1999) needs to be made. The support and reflection, the action opportunities and the exposure to difference must be present and balancing "developmental matching and mismatching", these depending on the initial levels of development (Lind, 2000; Reiman & Peace, 2002; Sprinthall, 1981; Strange, 1999). A balance between reflection and practices embedded in a variety of immediate engagement experiences in communities and institutions appear as lying at the core of integrated development for both the intellectual and the moral domain.

However, research has not considered the developmental quality of life-experiences in non-intentional\(^6\) settings. The present study assumes that, due to their differential features, some everyday life-experiences may also offer those who engage in them a variety of opportunities for development: for example, participation in the civil society can provide experiences that may have continuity, personal significance, and appeal for several different tasks of varying complexity. Thus, the elements of challenge and support, of action and reflection may be an important part of experiences such as getting involved in political parties, unions, social movements, volunteer work in the community, religious or recreational associations. These may (at least for some of those involved) have the high quality social interaction features that seem to prompt development in both intellectual and moral domains.

This adds an extra feature to this study. In times where citizenship and citizenship education are major concerns of social scientists and policy makers, putting a focus on real life participation experiences and how these can be related to developmental outcomes, with the use of at least one instrument adapted to political content in its items (the intellectual development measure) may shed some light on the relevancy of non-intentional settings such as those afore mentioned in the political and civic development of young subjects.
Therefore, the goals of this study were to investigate: i) the relation between two accounts of different psychological domains, in particular between Lind’s model of moral development and Perry’s model of epistemological development; ii) the impact of (broadly defined) political life-experiences of differential developmental quality in both domains.

Method

Sample

A total number of 237 of late adolescent, young adults and adults with high school, college or higher educational levels were tested in group settings between May and June of 2001. Sample’s distribution across the main demographic variables is presented in Table 1.

Table 1
Sample’s Main Demographic Characteristics.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Demographic variables</th>
<th>Number of subjects</th>
<th>Percentage of total sample</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 to 18</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19 to 23</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>46.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24 or more</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>26.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>18.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>188</td>
<td>81.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Educational level</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High school</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>39.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>College or more</td>
<td>139</td>
<td>60.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Instruments

a) The Moral Judgment Test (MJT, Lind & Wakenhut, 1985; Portuguese version by Bataglia, 1998) is a paper and pencil test designed as an experimental questionnaire: the subject's response is seen as behaviour where both moral attitudes and moral cognition are manifest. It aims to assess the structural-cognitive and the content-affective aspects of moral behavior by combining a preference and a recognition task (Lind, 2003; Lind & Wakenhut, 1985). It "consists of elements (responses to items) and their relationship (factorial design). Whereas items elicit individual behavioral acts, the factorial design is devised to reveal the hypothesized dispositions" (Lind & Wakenhut, 1985, p.86). Subjects are presented with two dilemmas (mercy killing and breaking the law for a good reason) and for each they are asked: i) their opinion about dilemma's resolution; ii) their evaluation of the relevance of arguments in favor of the presented resolution; iii) their evaluation of the relevance of arguments against the presented resolution. There is one argument, both in the "in favour" and in the "against" sets, representing each one of the six stages of moral development described by Kohlberg. This makes it possible to assess: a) the affective content by focusing...
The relevance of the quality of life experiences

on the “direction and intensity of the stage-typical concerns”; and b) cognitive structure in the “consistency of judgment behaviour regarding one’s concerns independent of their opinion conformity” (Lind & Wakenhut, 1985, p.85). Its major index, C index, is a pure moral competence index that “indexes the degree to which subjects apply consistently their own moral values and norms”, i.e., the degree in which moral considerations account for subjects’ moral behaviour (Lind, 2003, p.5). The C index varies from 0 to 1.00 — values can be transformed into percentages. A categorized variable of moral competence varies from low (.01-.09), to medium (.10-.29), to high (.30-.49) and to very high (above .50) (Lind, 2003). As stated, the MJT is an experimental questionnaire and common empirical criteria are not appropriate for validity and reliability checking; these are verified using both theoretical and psychological criteria (Lind, 2003).

b) The Scale of Politic (Escala da Política, EP, Ferreira & Menezes, 2001) is an adaptation to political contents of one of the scales of the Portuguese version of the Parker Cognitive Development Inventory (PCDI, Parker, 1984; Portuguese version by Ferreira & Bastos, 1995). Items were rewritten (in order of acquiring a political content) - adolescent and adult cognitive/ intellectual developmental theories were reviewed in order to build a framework capable of providing the underpinnings for the rewriting procedures maintaining the items’ developmental meaning. The EP presents to the subjects items representative of the three major modes of thought described by Perry in his works: dualism, relativism and commitment within relativism conceived as an evolving sequence of complexity of thought. Each of these modes of thought is represented by a set of items — a subscale. The subject has to rate his/her agreement to each item. Factor analysis returned a good three-factor solution, consistent with the expected instrument's structure: factor_1 (hereafter called dualism) representing dualist sub-scale (α= .6983), factor_2 (hereafter called relativism) representing the multiplicity/ relativistic sub-scale (α= .6104), and factor_3 (hereafter called commitment) representing the commitment within relativism sub-scale (α= .6534). Although reliability values only are acceptable, a confirmatory factor analyses further confirmed the instrument's structure — indexes were, in fact, quite high: dualism CFI= 1.00; relativism CFI=.996 and commitment CFI=.999. A score is found per subscale and represents the mean agreement to the items in the corresponding subscale. In the used version, complete agreement equaled 1 and complete disagreement equalled 4; in other words, the higher the score, the higher the disagreement expressed to the items of the particular subscale.

c) The Life-Experiences Questionnaire (Questionário das Experiências de Vida, QEV, Ferreira & Menezes, 2001) has been designed in order to be a simple, paper and pencil, instrument that could tap subjects' participation experiences in associations and other civil society structures and the developmental quality of those experiences. It is theory-guided and follows the remarks made by Lind (2000) aiming to collect both objective and subjective information on the developmentally important features of experiences. The basic logic of this
The instrument has been, in fact, inspired by and abstracted from Lind’s ORIGIN/u questionnaire (Lind, 2001). The QEV has two distinct parts. In the first one, the subject is asked to report if s/he had or did not have the experience of participating in several civil society structures (e.g., political parties, students associations, social movements, religious associations, etc). Duration and age of participation is also asked. In the second part, subjects are told to think about the most significant experience (from their personal perspective) and to report how certain aspects related to the quality of the experience are present. This second part is divided into two major components: (a) the opportunities to actively engage in different types of relevant real actions (e.g., looking for information, participating in activities, organizing activities, decision making, etc) and (b) the frequency of opportunities to share and confront their perspectives into an accepting, challenging and reflexive environment (e.g., your opinions were accepted and respected, there were several different points of view in discussion; elements were concerned with justifying their views; different views were analyzed and reflected upon, etc). Both of these components are considered as factors and the factor analyses are consistent with this assumption. Two factors - qev_1 and qev_2 - emerged representing, qev_1 (hereafter called action), the first component and, qev_2 (hereafter called reflection), the second. Reliability values and confirmatory analyses indexes support the factorial structure of this second part of QEV: action $\alpha = 0.8566$ and CFI = $0.973$; reflection $\alpha = 0.7347$ and CFI = $0.995$. Results are essentially descriptive for the first part, concerning, among other things, duration and variety of participation experiences. For the second part results are the scores in the factors - action and reflection - and their combination.

Table 2 describes the whole range of dimensions/variables of the study.

Table 2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Instruments</th>
<th>Variables</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Moral Judgment Test (MJT)</td>
<td>C index: Dependent variable computed using the author’s algorithm. It varies from 0 to 1.00 and refers to the level of moral considerations that account for moral behavior.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political Scale (EP)</td>
<td>Dualism: Dependent variable computed from the scores (mean of the ratings of the items) in the Dualism factor.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Relativism: Dependent variable computed from the scores (mean of the ratings of the items) in the Relativism factor.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Life-Experiences Questionnaire (QEV)</td>
<td>Action: Dependent variable computed from the scores (mean of the ratings of the items) in the Action factor.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Reflection: Dependent variable computed from the scores (mean of the ratings of the items) in the Reflection factor.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Variety: Independent variable that has three different categories: Null; no experiences reported; Low: one or two different type of experiences; High: more than two different types of experiences.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Duration: Independent variable that has three different categories: Null; no experiences reported; Low: only sporadic or during less than three months; High: during three months or more.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The relevance of the quality of life experiences

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Instruments</th>
<th>Variables</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Action_Cat: Independent variable that has three different categories: Null: no experiences reported; Low: action scoring below or on the median of the sample; High: action scoring above the median of the sample.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reflection_Cat: Independent variable that has three different categories: Null: no experiences reported; Low: reflection scoring below or on the median of the sample; High: reflection scoring above the median of the sample.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Action-Reflection: Independent variable that has four different categories: Null: no reported action or reflection; Low: both action and reflection scoring below or on the median of the sample; Unbalanced: scoring above the median in one and below or on the median on the other of the action and reflection variables. High: scoring above the median of the sample in both action and reflection.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Biographic variables</th>
<th>Gender: Independent variable. Two categories: masculine and feminine.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Age: Independent variable. Three age groups: from 15 to 18; from 19 to 23; 24 or more.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Educational level: Independent variable. Two levels: High School and College or more.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Results
As mentioned above, this study had two major goals: studying the relations between the two domains and observing the impact of the quality of broadly political, participation, experiences in both domains. For this reason the results section is divided into three different parts: i) results using biographical variables; ii) testing the relation between the two domains and iii) testing impact of life-experiences. The alpha value of .05 was used for all statistical tests.

Effects of age, educational level and gender
Age, educational level and gender are important biographical variables against which the developmental measures should be examined. Using these biographical variables as independent variables and C index, dualism, relativism and commitment as dependent, the GLM multivariate analysis results show that age (F = 2.695; p = .007; eta² = .049; observed power = .932) and educational level (F = 5.315; p = .001; eta² = .092; observed power = .970) produce statistically significant and relevant effects while gender (F = 0.890; p = .471; eta² = .017; observed power = .280) does not bring about any meaningful differences in any of the dependent variables considered. On the contrary, age shows interesting results on both dualism (F = 4.085; p = .018; eta² = .037; observed power = .721) and commitment (F = 6.343; p = .002; eta² = .056; observed power = .896). Post hoc tests (Scheffé) reveal that the older subjects (the 24 or more group) score clearly higher on dualism (this means they reject more the dualist statements) and lower (so rejecting less) on the commitment variable than the other two age groups (see Table 3). Educational level also brings about differences between groups but only in the dualism variable (F = 17.637; p = .0001; eta² = .077; observed power = .987). Effects on all the other dependent variables are not statistically significant and have low eta² (≤ .010) and observed power (≤ .315). Pairwise comparisons for educational level show that differences are displayed in the expected direction with the more educated group (the college or more group) scoring higher (this means rejecting more) on the dualist factor (see Table 3).
Table 3
Multiple Comparisons Sheffé Test Results for Age and Pairwise Comparisons (Bonferroni Correction) for Educational Level.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dualism</td>
<td>Age Groups</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 to 18</td>
<td>19 to 23</td>
<td>-0.0174</td>
<td>.391</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>24 or more</td>
<td>-0.1868</td>
<td>.073</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19 to 23</td>
<td>24 or more</td>
<td>-0.1694</td>
<td>.067</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commitment</td>
<td>Age Groups</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 to 18</td>
<td>19 to 23</td>
<td>0.0559</td>
<td>.316</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>24 or more</td>
<td>0.2319</td>
<td>.002</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19 to 23</td>
<td>24 or more</td>
<td>0.1969</td>
<td>.003</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dualism</td>
<td>Educational Levels</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>High School</td>
<td></td>
<td>-0.447</td>
<td>.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>College or more</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Testing the relation between the two domains

Analysis of correlations between the variables from the moral and the intellectual domains, C index, dualism, relativism, and commitment (Table 4), shows that the only correlation reaching statistical significance is between relativism and commitment (r = .288; p = .0001). All other correlation values are in fact very low (|r|< .100) although occurring in the expected directions: positive correlation between the C index and dualism and between C index and relativism — indicating that the higher the value of C index the higher the score on dualism and relativism (subjects reject more the dualism and relativism items); negative between the C index and commitment, so the higher the C index the lower the rejection of commitment items.

Table 4
Correlations Table for the Development Variables of Both Domains.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>C Index</th>
<th>Dualism</th>
<th>Relativism</th>
<th>Commitment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>C Index</td>
<td>1.000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sig. (2-tailed)</td>
<td></td>
<td>.324</td>
<td>.289</td>
<td>.289</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>234</td>
<td>235</td>
<td>235</td>
<td>235</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dualism</td>
<td></td>
<td>.024</td>
<td>1.000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sig. (2-tailed)</td>
<td></td>
<td>.246</td>
<td>.288</td>
<td>.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>234</td>
<td>235</td>
<td>235</td>
<td>235</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relativism</td>
<td></td>
<td>.056</td>
<td>-0.070</td>
<td>1.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sig. (2-tailed)</td>
<td></td>
<td>.295</td>
<td>.288</td>
<td>.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>234</td>
<td>235</td>
<td>235</td>
<td>235</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commitment</td>
<td></td>
<td>-.070</td>
<td>-.038</td>
<td>.288</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sig. (2-tailed)</td>
<td></td>
<td>.289</td>
<td>.596</td>
<td>.0001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>234</td>
<td>235</td>
<td>235</td>
<td>235</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Testing the impact of life-experiences

In order to test the impact of life-experiences on the development variables (both moral and intellectual) GLM multivariate analysis were performed. In both the analysis C index, dualism, relativism and commitment were the dependent variables. In the first analysis the independent variables were variety, duration, action_cat and reflection_cat. Results from this analysis show that action_cat (F = 2.349; p = .056; eta^2 = .052; observed power = .671) and variety (F = 2.055; p = .089; eta^2 = .046; observed power = .605) have interesting results, even without reaching statistical significance, each accounting for about .05 of the variance in the dependent variables although the observed power to make these estimates is not too high. Both these effects are produced mostly in the commitment factor as revealed by “tests between-subjects effects” (action_cat on commitment: F = 7.429; p = .007; eta^2 = .041; observed power = .774 and variety on commitment: F = 4.158; p = .043; eta^2 = .023; observed power = .527). Post hoc Scheffé test showed that, for both variables, they concern differences between the groups scoring high (whether in action_cat or in variety) and the groups scoring low or null (see Table 5).

According to the theory life-experiences are of higher developmental quality if both action and reflection elements are present. To test the impact of life-experiences and their differential developmental quality, another GLM analysis was also performed after computing action-reflection, the variable that represents the synthesis of action and reflection factors (see Table 2). Results indicate that this variable impacts developmental measures (used as dependent variables) having, in fact, a statistically significant effect (F = 2.498; p = .003; eta^2 = .045; observed power = .975).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 5</th>
<th>Multiple Comparisons Scheffé Post Hoc Tests for Action_cat and Variety.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Commitment</td>
<td>Action_cat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Null</td>
<td>Low</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>High</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>High</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commitment</td>
<td>Variety</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Null</td>
<td>Low</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>High</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>High</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 6
Scheffe, Multiple Comparisons, Post Hoc for Action-reflection.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Commitment</td>
<td>Action-Reflection</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Null</td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>-0.0494</td>
<td>.923</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Unbalanced</td>
<td>0.0839</td>
<td>.847</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>High</td>
<td>0.2258</td>
<td>.020</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>Unbalanced</td>
<td>0.1133</td>
<td>.408</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>High</td>
<td>0.2752</td>
<td>.001</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unbalanced</td>
<td></td>
<td>0.1619</td>
<td>.121</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These effects exist especially for the commitment factor where action-reflection accounts for about 8% of the variance, estimated with high observed power (F = 6.303; p = .0001; eta² = .081; observed power = .964). The results concerning the impact on dualism, relativism and C index do not show any important impact of this variable on them. Investigating which groups differed reveals that those with high action-reflection score reject less the commitment factor than those in the null and low groups (see Table 6).

Discussion

Predominantly this study found commitment within relativism as a differentiating mode of thought when analyzing the impact of non-intentional and real-life experiences of different developmental qualities, in what can broadly be called civic participation. This is in fact consistent with the commitment within relativism theoretical accounts. By merging together elements of ethical, identity and intellectual development this mode of thought may be also grasping in a more complete way the developmental outcomes achieved in complex relational settings and multidimensional experiences such as those civic/political. The results obtained in this study also show that these experiences, and their variety, can impact the developmental outcomes of individuals. The opportunities for action they bear especially when subjects engaged in various experiences concur for the subjects to move towards a level of more complex intellectual functioning (as revealed in the significant impact of action_cat and variety variables in the commitment within relativism factor, with those reporting a high number of action opportunities and of high variety agreeing more with the commitment within relativism items than those who had null or low action opportunities or null or low variety of them). The importance of particular features of these experiences is also reinforced by the results obtained. According to the theoretical model described here the developmental quality of an experience is high when it provides high and integrated levels of action and reflection opportunities to the subjects. In this study we tried to translate that into the action-reflection variable and results indicate that those subjects engaging in high-quality experiences actually exhibit more the
commitment within relativism mode of thought than those having no experiences or low-quality ones.

Also, the intellectual development measures used in this study discriminate between age groups and educational levels, the two most common and researched predictors. In fact, the college or more group (includes both college students and graduates) rejects the dualist statements significantly more than the high school educational level group. This high school group includes high school students and those who, although older, never enrolled in college. It is yet important to note that the sample is mostly composed of students and therefore proper comparisons between those who proceeded to college and those who did not enrol in higher education cannot be achieved in this study. Age groups also produced meaningful differences regarding the intellectual development measures. That is particularly the case for those in the 24 or more age group. These not only reject dualist positions significantly more but also display more the commitment within relativism mode of thought than both other, and younger, age groups. This seems to be indicating that the college experience may help students to depart from the dualist positions and achieving more complex modes of thought. Yet, to move towards more complex thinking, beyond relativist positions, it seems to be necessary to go beyond college. After the educational experiences such as college, and not discarding the possibility that these experiences can actually be replaced by others in what concerns their developmental utility in the subject's life course, older subjects had opportunities to further develop the commitment within relativism mode of thought. Other opportunities for development such as professional experiences have certainly influence but as shown in the context of this study, and here it is important to bear in mind that the intellectual development measure was adapted so items displayed political content, the life-experiences regarding broadly political engagement and participation in the civil society structures such as social movements, political parties or associations, also impact the factor of commitment within relativism.

The same ability to discriminate between age groups and educational levels was expected to happen regarding the moral development measure, but was not found. What was found, was the non-existence of relevant differences in moral judgment competence across age groups and educational levels and the non-impact of life-experiences, and their features, on the moral judgment competence of the individuals in the sample. Inter-domain results indicated a low and statistically insignificant correlation with the intellectual domain variables. Although these correlations have the expected direction (the higher the C index the higher the rejection of dualist and relativist modes of thought and the lowest the rejection of commitment within relativism mode of thought) the moderate correlations expected could not be found. The general "necessary but not sufficient" relation is not clearly disconfirmed by this study but no advance is achieved in the study of how these two domains relate. Difficulties in the comparability of measures of different domains might have concurred to these results.
Despite the limitations of this study, the results in the intellectual domain variables not only confirm some of the expected patterns, but also give clear indications of the relevancy of some of the hypothesis advanced therefore opening interesting topics to be addressed by further research. It is important to note that civic/political participation experiences can provide individuals with opportunities for engaging in real and meaningful actions that, especially when balanced with an environment that promotes open reflection, interchange and dialogue, concur to develop more complex and integrated modes of thought in individuals – at least when these regard political content. These findings, consistent with those from intentional settings, clearly indicate that in domains such as political development more attention should be granted to the self-sought spontaneous experiences and their developmental quality. And, given the current emphasis on formal citizenship education and service-learning projects within educational policy documents (Torrey-Purna, Schwille & Amadeo, 1999) and educational research (Battistoni, 1997; Morgan & Streb, 2001; Youniss, Mclelland, & Yates, 1997) it seems particularly relevant to consider how experiences in voluntary associations and community projects should be organized in order to promote adolescents and young adults' political development.

References


Commons, M. & Richards, F. (1984). A general model of stage theory. In M.Commons, F. Richards, & C. Armon (Eds.), Beyond formal operations. Vol. 1. Late adolescent and adult cognitive development (pp. 120-140). New York: Praeger.


Ferreira & Menezes


* Acknowledgements: This paper was produced within the project Citizenship conceptions and practices: the role of psychological development, life experiences and social discrimination supported by the Portuguese Foundation for Science and Technology (POCTI/41310/PSI/2001).

* Pedro D. Ferreira is supported by the Portuguese Foundation for Science and Technology (SFRH/BDO/14112/2000).

1 Some authors prefer to use four levels instead of three when grouping the nine positions (Belenky et al, 1985); several authors have considered that the last positions are difficultly theorized (Basseches, 1988; Hofer & Pintrich, 1997; Rapaport, 2001) with the new level, multiplicity, falling between dualism and relativism (positions 3 and 4).

2 It is beyond the scope of this paper to review major critiques to this model. However, besides claims of gender bias (Belenky et al, 1985), several authors have considered that the last positions are difficultly theorized (Basseches, 1988; Hofer & Pintrich, 1997; King & Kitchener, 1994) with positions beyond the fifth not accounting for the way knowledge is constructed but for commitment processes and for more broad world views (Basseches, 1988).

3 These are close parallels to the levels in moral behavior development proposed by Dewey (see Kohlberg and Wasserman, 1990).

4 In fact, although Kohlberg has revised the model to five stages (after encountering lack of empirical evidence on the existence of the sixth stage) most authors still use the six stage sequences.

5 These investigations on the impact of the conditions of role-taking and inquiry on the development of students and professionals continues presenting results and an account of what today is called learning-teaching framework (LTF) can be found at Reiman & Peace (2003).
Non-intentional settings are considered those not explicitly designed as deliberate interventions, educational or others.

No meaningful differences were found regarding the unbalanced group (when individuals had high results in one of the factors — action or reflection — and low in the other one). More research is necessary to understand what happens when opportunities for action and reflection are unbalanced in subjects' experiences. It will be necessary to use larger samples that permit breaking this group in several others with specific combinations of unbalanced action and reflection to see what sort of combination produces what sort of impact in developmental measures.

This does not mean to refer to post-graduate studies, a hypothesis that cannot be tested in the present study, but to experiences beyond the college educational settings and normal ages.
Back in 1994, a group of European educational researchers and professionals was invited by Peter Lang to a meeting in the University of Warwick. Despite being a diverse group in terms of areas of research, disciplines, work contexts, nationalities ... they all shared a common interest in a specific question that Ron Best formulates very clearly in this book: “Are we really committed to the education of the child as a whole person or are we only really concerned about their cognitive development?” (p. 21). The recognition of the significance of affect as a central component (not as an unfortunate by-product) of the educational process has been the motto for several joint initiatives – including a European network, research projects, participation in scientific meetings, publications, and organization of seminars for presentation and (intense and vivid) debate of our ideas and projects. This book is a tribute to this cooperative work and results mainly from one of our seminars that took place at the Faculty of Psychology and Education at Sciences of Porto University.

FCT Fundação para a Ciência e a Tecnologia
MINISTÉRIO DA CIÊNCIA, INOVAÇÃO E DO ENSINO SUPERIOR Portugal

U. PORTO

Centro de Psicologia