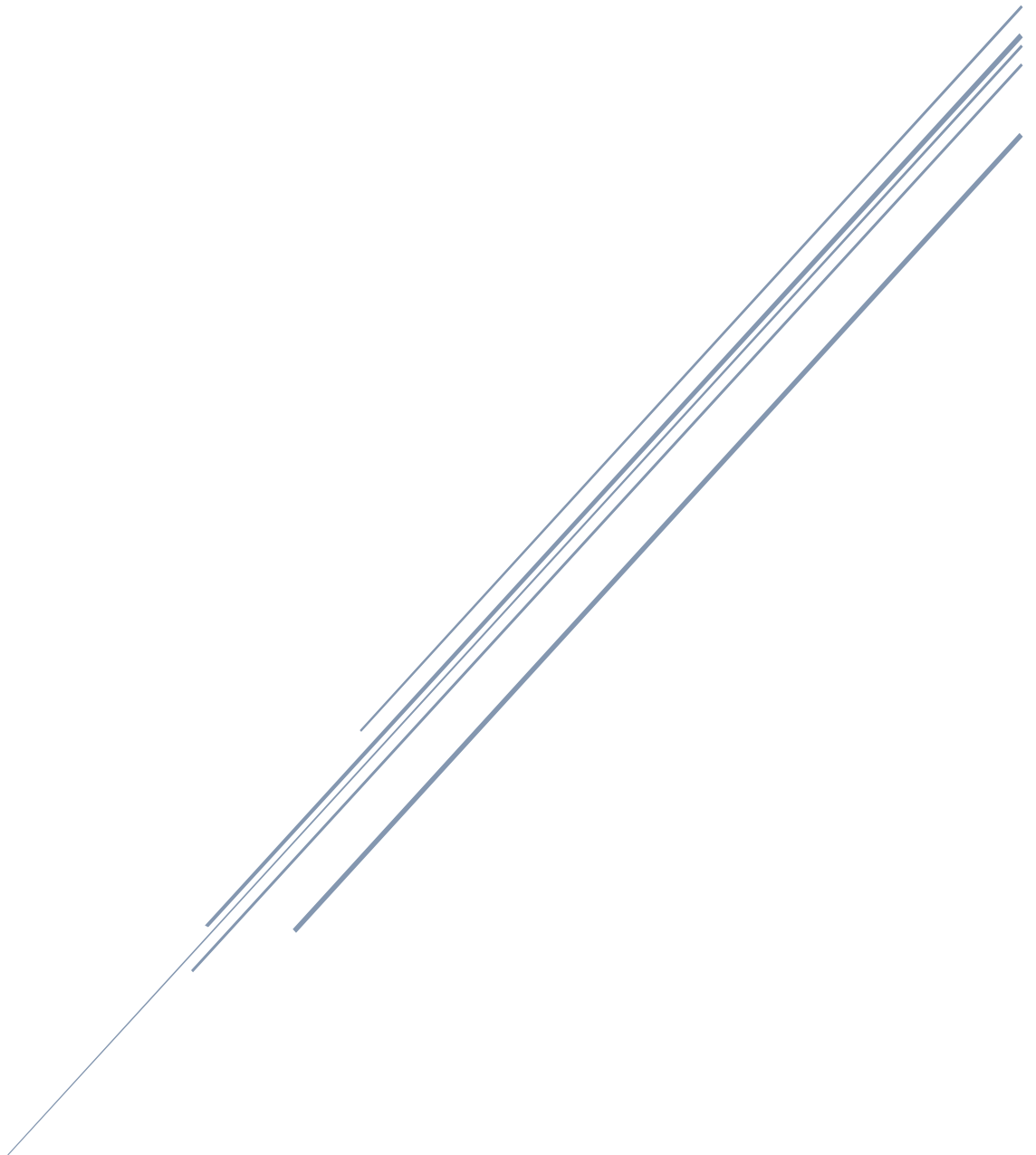# TEACHING DEMOCRACY ACROSS SUBJECT BOUNDARIES

A qualitative study of the Pestalozzi Programme's TASKs for democracy and its impact on democratic education in all subjects

Contents

1. Introduction

Democracy has always been a concept closely associated with education. Since its conception, societies have relied upon the educational system to develop enlightened and critical citizens with the capacity for political participation. This has been the case from the streets of Athens to today's modern representative democracies. Over the course of history democracy has been considered to encompass different ideals, yet there is one condition that few democracies can be without. For government to be deemed democratic, it requires that the rulers (*kratia*) act upon the will of the people (*demos*) (Held 2006). Thus, a legitimate "rule by the people" presupposes participation by the public. Philosophers have considered education the essential mechanism that provides the people with the necessary competencies to govern, including the promotion of a sense of citizenship, while guarding against political apathy among its pupils. To quote Franklin D. Roosevelt, "the real safeguard of democracy, therefore, is education".

However, this prompts the question; what kind of education is necessary in order for people to become democratic? There are claims that traditional approaches to democratic teaching fail to create the active, critical and humane citizenship values we seek to instill in our pupils (Mompoint-Gaillard and Lázár, 2015; Sloam 2008). According to Solhaug and Børhaug (2012:), schools have a tendency to focus on transferring formal knowledge about governance and electoral politics to the learners when teaching democracy, while finding little time to practice and develop democratic skills in the classroom. The underlying assumption is that if the educational system neglects to provide relevant, citizenship training, schools could end up creating passive, indifferent and alienated pupils. In the long run, this is an evolution that shakes the very core of our democratic society. Thus, there are calls for a pedagogical shift from "teaching *about* democracy", towards an ideal of "teaching *through* democracy", in which fundamental democratic competencies, such as participation, diversity, and empathy, are a focal point of every teaching method.

The objective of our study is to assess how the teaching resource *TASKs for Democracy* (Mompoint-Gaillard and Lázár, 2015) aimed at the promotion of democratic citizenship in education, works in practice. Collaborative and participatory teaching strategies are meant to promote the skills, knowledge and values seen as essential to the democratic individual. We find it interesting to examine the pedagogical rationale of this method and particularly its merits in the classroom. In order to achieve this end, we have employed a teaching resource from the Council of Europe's Pestalozzi Programme called *TASKs for Democracy*

(Mompoint-Gaillard and Lázár 2015) in two different subjects in school. The research question chosen for the study is as follows:

1) What effect does *TASKs for Democracy* have on the learning outcomes of pupils, and how can it be used as a productive tool for democratic citizenship in all subjects?

The first part of the research question seeks to explore the quality of two activities from the teaching resource used in two classes at the upper secondary level. We will examine whether or not the pupils understand the purpose of the tasks, and whether or not we could find positive learning outcomes. This is based on the task criteria as stated by the Pestalozzi Programme (Mompoint-Gaillard and Lázár 2015). To answer the second question, we seek to lift our gaze and broaden our pedagogical scope from confines of the empirical data at hand. Based on our findings for the learning outcomes in the first sections, we ask whether these outcomes can contribute to the development of citizenship features for pupils across educational subjects. For this concluding discussion, we examine our data in light of pedagogical and political theory and determine the potential of the teaching method for promoting democratic citizenship in education.

1.1. Justification of the study

Democratic education has perhaps never been more central to educational discourses than today. In 2009, Europe was plunged into its most serious economic crisis in decades. Financial crisis later evolved into a broader political crisis for the European Union (EU) and many of its member states (Rye 2013: 11). In the words of the European Commission, the EU suffers from a "crisis of confidence" (2012). This has only been added to the established idea of Europe's democratic deficit. In Norway, the state of democratic education has been called into question as well. Research has indicated that there is a trend of reduced political trust and participation among adolescents. According to Solhaug and Børhaug (2012: 13) many pupils believe that they have no influence on the political process, and feel the democratic system has no place for them or their interests. Thus, the topic of democracy is at the forefront of both political and pedagogical debate. For the education system and teachers alike, the development remains a current challenge that must be faced. Recently, this was exemplified by statements by the Norwegian Minister of Education and the Ludvigsen-panel calling for a more comprehensive emphasis on democratic citizenship in school (KUD 2016; NOU 2015: 8).

The research project was conceived and initiated against the backdrop of these developments. With democratic education at the heart of both influential global and national discussion, the topic must unquestionably attract curiosity among teachers and researchers concerned with educational development. In particular, we find it, as future teachers, intriguing to examine democratic citizenship where it all begins; in the classroom.

2. Education for democratic citizenship – theoretical concepts

There are a number of different conceptions of the term *democratic citizenship*. According to Solhaug and Børhaug (2012: 29) education commonly reflects whichever ideal of democracy and citizenship that individual teachers or schools subscribe to. Whether or not teachers are conscious about the ideas they put forth to their pupils, their underlying preferences play an important role in how the topic of democracy is presented in the classroom. As Biesta has noted (2009: 119) the answer to the question about what democratic education should look like, "crucially depends on our view of the democratic person". This is also the case for teachers. In order to construct a credible discussion about citizenship education, we need to clarify our position on these terms. This chapter therefore presents two contrasting traditions on democratic citizenship, and evaluate them in relation to learning theories. Subsequently, we will explain the theory behind the Pestalozzi Programme and the conceptualization of the study.

Democracy is commonly defined as a "rule by the people". However, what kind of participation is envisioned for "the people"? Theories of democracy have differed with regards to the question of how much the people should participate in decision-making processes. Certain models of a liberal democratic tradition have claimed that the people's primary function in society is to elect their political representatives and provide legitimacy. For instance, Schumpeter's (1976) minimalist model saw democracy as a market competition between political elites. The people, or electorate, would provide the governing elite with legitimacy and keep government accountable, but play no larger role in the shaping of society.

This is in contrast to deliberative and participatory models of democracy. In these normative traditions, democracy is "more than a form of government". This means that democracy encompasses a variety of different, humanistic values, attitudes and skills, and is considered a prerequisite for both personal and collective liberation (Biesta 2009). Being democratic thus requires us to act in accordance with fundamental social and ethical rights and responsibilities. Naturally, these models also hold citizenship to entail participation in all

aspect of society. One of the most influential advocates for this ideal was John Dewey (1916: 87), who saw democracy as a "mode of associated of living". Democracy is in itself a form of life, and must therefore be practiced continuously. The same can be said for Arendt's concept of democratic action (Biesta 2009). Participatory models of democracy places more emphasis on the role of the people, and requires the public to have the necessary skills, knowledge and values to exercise influence.

For the purpose of this study, the term *democratic citizenship* is defined broadly to include essential competencies for democracy, such as participation, empathy, diversity, co-operation. This is echoed by the Council of Europe, where the term is understood as pertaining to "inclusion rather than exclusion, participation rather than marginalization, culture and values rather than simple procedural issues (such as voting) and is about being active in shaping understandings and practices of citizenship" (Starkey 2002: 8). Therefore, an education for democratic citizenship based on this premise, calls for classroom activities and practices that makes young people better equipped to take part in every aspect of democratic life.

2.1. A social constructivist approach to learning

There are few in the educational field that would admit to promoting limited civic ideals. Yet, it has been suggested that "traditional" democratic teaching can advance certain authoritarian and passive practices in the classroom (Mompoint-Gaillard and Lázár 2015). In particular, some teachers approach democracy with pre-defined notions about what the pupils should achieve, the specific sequence of events they imagine will produce the desired results, and follow this progression rigorously. In this line of thought, it is only a matter of providing the correct *stimuli* to produce democratic learning (Sloam 2008: 513). Though educators claim that they are teaching ideals of "active democracy", the non-participatory approach and lack of inclusion in the teaching session can have a contradictory message. Koritzinsky (2014: 30) specifically makes the point that although the teacher *teaches* a certain content, it does not necessarily promote *learning* for the pupil. If pupils experience informal cues that are perceived as authoritarian and critical of pupil participation from their teacher, even a message that advocates participatory democracy can appear hollow. This top-down teaching method is associated with behaviorism (Sloam 2008).

On the other hand, participatory ideals of democratic citizenship are closely related to the social constructivist theory of learning. It is a rather well know concept that pupils only really

learn what they manage to construct. As such, it is not sufficient for learners to only listen and repeat the knowledge the teacher tries to transfer. Knowledge should not be seen as a fixed object that can be obtained by instrumental learning, but rather a phenomenon constructed through social interaction. In particular, social constructivism holds that *deep learning* often requires concepts to be practiced or experienced (with others) in order for *knowledge* to become *understanding* (Sloam 2008: 514). It is suggested that this is achieved through a *scaffolding* process. As learners approach new concepts, a mediator provides level-appropriate, cognitive support structures to promote understanding. When the learner starts to grasp the concept, these support structures can be removed, while more advanced scaffolds can be introduced (Leclercq 2011).

This has repercussions for how we view both learning processes in general and education for a democratic citizenship in particular. First, social constructivism points towards the strength of a learner-centered approach to teaching. Educational practice must acknowledge that effective learning happens when teaching is based on the pupil's pre-existing knowledge, as explained in Vygotsky's (1978) proximal zone of development. This includes allowing pupils to act, create, construct and reconstruct prior conceptions without imposing "fixed" and authoritarian ideas about how learning occurs (Leclercq 2011: 67). As such, they can effectively scaffold unfamiliar concepts and reach a higher level of understanding. Secondly, a collaborative pedagogy helps to promote the scaffolding process, as it opens up for the pupils to provide support structures to each other. As stated by the Pestalozzi Programme, a collaborative approach has "the merit of helping to develop active citizenship" (Leclerq 2011: 67). A (social) constructivist approach thus seems to activate core democratic skills in the learning process.

2.2. The pedagogical foundation of the Pestalozzi Programme

The Pestalozzi Programme builds on the core principles of a social constructivist approach to learning. It was initiated by the Council of Europe, as a means to help develop teachers and education actors in their profession. The main focus is to prepare young pupils to participate in diverse democratic societies and to help them develop their personalities, so that they can meet the complex world we are now facing and to have the best starting point when doing so (Mompoint-Gaillard and Lázár 2015). This includes promoting an education that "teaches pupils to teach themselves", since an advancing world means that learning is no longer limited to the educational sphere.

The Pestalozzi Programme is a result of the Council of Europe's focus on democratic education. The program has included teachers and educators within the member countries to participate in making training resources that can help teachers and educators to involve democracy in their work. In 2015 they published what they call *TASKs for democracy* (Mompoint-Gaillard and Lázár, 2015), which is "60 activities to learn and assess transversal attitudes, skills and knowledge" (Mompoint-Gaillard and Lázár 2015). The handbook is a resource that teachers and educators can use actively in their day-to-day work, in every subject. In this educational context, the concept of democracy involves more than democracy just being a "form of government". Democracy rather pertains to the values and attitudes that make us democratic citizens. In the training resource, these fundamental democratic competencies are; diversity and empathy, co-operation and participation, human rights and equality, knowledge construction and epistemology, and self and interaction (ibid). Although psychological determinants of commitment to democratic values have received limited attention in research, empathy and co-operation has been found to be strong predictors. There is also rather solid consensus on the importance of these values for democratic societies (Miklikowska 2012, Mompoint-Gaillard and Lázár 2015). The thematic words can therefore be said to make up the pillar of democratic thinking and are the inspiration for the conceptual framework of the study. It is this understanding of democracy as a concept that will follow throughout the text. However, it would be difficult to include and assess all of these competencies in a single, qualitative study. Therefore, we have chosen to examine three concepts. These are selected from the expected learning outcomes of the tasks, and based on Huber and Mompoint-Gaillard (2011) and Olafsdóttir (2011/2012).

Social categorization: an unconscious and universal phenomenon whereby all new information is perceived, memorised and processed through a filter of previously acquired knowledge according to the principle of assimilation between objects presenting common features (Final report, Education for the prevention of discrimination, Trainer training module series from the Pestalozzi Programme, 2012).

Self-reflexivity: the ability to engage in encounters with others with confidence, without fear of making mistakes or of being convicted to change one's mind. Being able to reflection on and question personal attitudes, beliefs and values at the meta-level and showing awareness of others (Lenz, 2011:21).

Discrimination: Any negative behavioural or verbal act, whether individual, collective or institutional, directed against individuals because of their origins, sex, family situation, physical appearance, name, state of health, disability, genetic characteristics, morals, sexual orientation, age, political opinion, their real or imagined affiliation to a particular group, ethnic community or religion (Final report, Education for the prevention of discrimination, Trainer training module series from the Pestalozzi Programme, 2012).

These concepts are described as integral for the active, critical and compassionate citizen. As such, they may be referred to as *threshold concepts* (Langseth 2015). Certain ideas are seen as necessary in order to grasps fundamental ideas in a particular field. Without a conceptual understanding of the basic key competencies, learners would remain within the current level of understanding and struggle to progress forward. However, when learners are able to make use of these essential concepts, it can lead to affective and cognitive transformations where existing knowledge can be reconstructed. Once understood, these fundamental concepts are seen as hard to "unlearn", and can present new ways and strategies for thinking to pupils. Thus, they have the potential to initiate reconstructive shifts in learners' comprehension (Langseth 2015: 134). In particular, understanding the dynamics of *social categorization*, engaging in *self-reflexive* thinking and taking an active part in the prevention of

discrimination have been considered essential for democratic citizens (Huber 2011). Therefore, these form the basis of our study.

2.3. Democracy in the Norwegian Education Act and LK06

Norway is a member state of the Council of Europe, with its own educational policy. In Norway the Directorate for Education and Training launched The National Curriculum for the Knowledge Promotion in Primary and Secondary Education and Training of 2006 (from now on in this study called LK06). LK06 is based on The Norwegian Education Act that states what teachers, and the school as an organization, are legally committed to follow. The law determines democracy as a concept in *§1-1 Formålet med opplæringa,* the educational purpose, and claims that the education in primary and secondary school shall encourage democracy and equality (Opplæringslova 1998 §1-1). The Norwegian Education Act focus on the democratic values that the education should support, for instance; respect for the value of human kind, compassion, solidarity, equality and aspects that are founded in the human rights (ibid). These concepts go hand in hand with the ones found in the Pestalozzi Programme (Mompoint-Gaillard and Lázár 2015), which are defined above. These values and attitudes are important components in the understanding of democratic thinking in the Council of Europe. Norway, not only as a member but also as one of the founding countries of the Council of Europe, supports and contributes to the Council's work with promoting human rights and democracy (Norway - the permanent mission to the CoE, no date). This shows both in the work with LK06 and in the Norwegian Education Act.

In LK06, the concept of democracy is to be found in several parts of the curricula. Especially in The Core Curriculum, the values of The Norwegian Education Act are described by the different aspects of the human being. Overall, seven diverse ideas of human beings are described in The Core Curriculum, and all of them have democratic ideals in their description. For example, the idea of *the spiritual human being* (UDIR 2011) which emphasizes the Christian and humanistic values, describe the importance of pupils developing tolerance and solidarity with other cultures. The Norwegian Department of Knowledge launched their wish to develop a revised Core Curriculum in Stortingsmelding 28 *Fag – Fordypning- Forståelse. En fornyelse av Kunnskapsløftet* (KUD 2016), in order for it to be more adjusted to the changes in society than it is today. One of the aspects that can be changed is the focus on Christian values, as mentioned earlier. The Department of Knowledge argue that the revised curriculum shall express values that *all* can relate to, regardless of religious or spiritual affiliation. A democratic society shall have acceptance for disagreement and diversity, and

this is of great importance for the values that the Core Curriculum should front. The revised Core Curriculum should promote the importance of democratic pupils to a larger extent, in order to encourage them to use their freedom of speech and to have respect for diversity (ibid).

In NOU 2015: 8 *Fremtidens skole. Fornyelse av fag og kompetanse*, commonly called the Ludvigsen-panel, democratic education is an important aspect. The Ludvigsen-panel (NOU 2015: 8) has come up with recommendations for educational revisions, and they justify this with the rapid development in society, for instance technological development, as well as cultural, ethnical and religious diversity. They argue that the concept of competence should not only imply the subject specific competence aims, but should also include social and emotional competence that is important for the complex world we live in. The Ludvigsen-panel (NOU 2015: 10) states this: "A central goal for the pupils' education is their ability to interact on different social arenas, especially related to democratic participation, tolerance and social accountability" (our translation). This is in line with the understanding of democracy and democratic citizenship as a broader concept than electoral policy and governmental regimes.

The Directorate for Education and Training has defined principles for education that underlines the importance of the pupils' ability to contribute to their own education (UDIR 2006a). Here the concept of democracy has a more pedagogical approach. It opens up for a shift from pupils being passive receivers, towards giving them the opportunity to contribute with suggestions and ideas. Pupil participation does not just invite learners to share opinions, but also exercises their abilities to participate daily in democratic processes on the micro and macro level. In the tradition of Dewey (1938), this can in itself have an aspect of liberation in it, as education encourages pupils to act as free individuals. In the short term, pupil participation has the added benefit of creating a positive learning environment in the classroom (UDIR 2010).

In LK06, the Subject Curriculum states more precisely what the pupils are supposed to learn in each subject. The concept of democratic citizenship comes to sight in various ways. In some subjects, democracy is a part of the formulation of the *subject's aim*, e.g. the formulation in English for 8.-10. Grade:

> Communicative skills and intercultural insights can promote greater interaction, understanding and respect between people with different cultural backgrounds. Language- and cultural

competence can attend the public formed perspective and help to strengthen democratic involvement and citizenship (our translation, UDIR 2010: 8).

For other subjects, the concept of democracy is not found explicit. However, the Directorate for Education and Training shows in a report from 2010 (ibid) that democracy can be found *implicitly* in the competence aims. In the curricula for Norwegian after Vg1, which states that pupils should be able to "use relevant and factual arguments in discussions and show openness to others argumentation" (our translation, UDIR 2010: 1). Thus, in the policy document, the concept of democracy appears implicitly in the attitudes and values that the pupils should learn.

3. Methodology

This is a qualitative study of democratic citizenship education in school. We have employed teaching activities that aim to promote fundamental democratic skills, attitudes and knowledge in the classroom, with the purpose of assessing the quality and value of the method across the subject-divide in the educational system. The study was conducted at an upper secondary school in Nord-Trøndelag, Norway, and two tasks were utilized in two different classes. All in all, 35 pupils aged 16-18 participated in the study. The pupils agreed upon participation through an oral consent in class, and they were told that this was a small research project on school development. The data collection was carried out over two days, during one single school hour (45 min) in each class, April 2016. In order to answer our research question on the value of the Pestalozzi Programme's teaching resource *TASKs for Democracy* (Mompoint-Gaillard and Lázár 2015) in all school subjects, the tasks were conducted in two different subject classes**.** The classes were supervised and led by one of the researchers that had previous experience with the actual class, and the researcher functioned as a teacher.

In this methodology chapter, we will first describe the method we chose for this study. Subsequently, we will justify the choices that were made, with regards to the research design and give a brief description of the tasks with corresponding aims and learning outcomes. A detailed description of the conduction can be found as an appendix (1), together with the analysis of the collected data material (appendix 2).

3.1. Qualitative method

We chose a qualitative design for this study because this is a suitable approach to gain a deeper understanding of social phenomena. We wanted to examine the response, reactions and learning outcomes that the pupils achieved in the teaching session. As Kvaale (1997) has

described it, we were interested in the experiences and opinions of the pupils, dubbed the "world of the informants". For this purpose, we needed an open design and the qualitative method is suitable for studying areas where there is a lack of research and where a large degree of openness and flexibility is expected (Thagaard 2011: 11-12). On the basis of the data we could achieve insight in the situations, contexts and persons that are a part of the study.

The data collection was sampled from short question handouts and observational notes taken by four observers located at different corners in the classroom. Overall structure of the lesson was as follows; 10 minutes of practical activity followed by a small group discussion, then 15 minutes on task 2, followed by a short written question. Afterwards, there was a 20-minute discussion/debriefing between teacher and pupils, before the two last questions were handed out and answered during the last 5-10 minutes of the teaching session.

3.2. Triangulation and the hermeneutic tradition

In addition to capturing the experiences and reflections of the pupils, it was necessary for the study to employ a design that would enable us to examine learning outcomes. As such, we chose to utilize a qualitative triangulation methodology, with a comparative approach. This type of method is useful when researchers want to use multiple data material, and analyze similarities and differences between the observed phenomena within a defined focus area (Denzik 1978; Patton 1999). In this case, the gathered data was primarily related to the participants' statements and thoughts throughout the activities. The approach of using comparative observations helps us to achieve a more neutral assessment of learning outcomes, as the researchers can compare and contrast findings among each other, while also including pupil experiences. Body language, reactions, and facial expressions were also taken into account in the observation. For this type of study, the various ways of collecting data by triangulation can support/confirm each other, strengthen reliability and increase the quality of the work. This is what we hoped to achieve. Such interpretation of observations and collected data, is referred to as a hermeneutic approach. In the hermeneutic research tradition, there is an emphasis on the interpretation of a deeper meaning in the data that is collected than what is immediately shown. Thus, hermeneutic research is founded on the understanding that the meaning of the content, can only be understood in the context of what is being studied (Thagaard 2011: 39). By using comparative data collected from observations, written statements and the interpretation and participation of the researcher during the conduction, this is combined in a method of triangulation.

3.3. Inductive vs. deductive approach

When choosing an inductive approach, the researchers enters the field as a "tabula rasa". The researcher should not have any prior conceptions about what he or she is looking for, and base subsequent findings in the study solely on the data collected from the field research. At least this is the ideal approach. In the inductive method the material speaks for itself, and is therefore dubbed an open approach. On the other hand, using a deductive method, the researcher enters the field with a clear theoretical thesis. The researcher will enter the field with the intention to either confirm or dismiss a certain set of hypotheses and assumptions. The hypothesis will in this case work as a filter to narrow the focus, and will decide the direction of the collected material. This approach is also described as a closed approach. In reality these two approaches will interact with each other in a field research (Postholm & Jakobsen 2011:40-41). For the purpose of our study, the predefined theory of the Pestalozzi Programme meant that we already had a theoretical framework in mind, and entered the classroom with a deductive approach.

3.4. Methodological design and the tasks

The study was designed as a didactical approach to teach democratic citizenship. The activities used were found in the Pestalozzi Programme's teaching resource; *TASKs for Democracy* (Mompoint-Gaillard and Lázár 2015). Joseph Huber from the Pestalozzi Programme sent out an open online invitation where he invited the authors of this study to explore the didactical tools developed in this handbook. Two activities were chosen and used; "Mime a tree" (Mompoint-Gaillard and Lázár 2015) and "The neighbourhood yard", (Mompoint-Gaillard 2015) with a duration of 15 and 30 minutes, respectively. Descriptions and aims of the activities from the Pestalozzi Programme's handbook are as follows:

Mime an animal

Each participant receives a paper with the name of an animal on it (e.g. elephant, horse, moose, cat). Each participant has to find the two or three other participants with the same animal using only mime. The participants with the same animal form a group.

Aim: *this is a grouping technique for co-operative learning structures. It introduces any activity that calls for dividing the whole group into micro-groups* (Mompoint-Gaillard and Lázár 2015: 57).

The neighbourhood yard

In this activity, the participants are asked to form a circle. The facilitator gives them the following instructions: *"We are going to start an activity. You are not allowed to talk at all. First I will ask you to close your eyes and then shortly after you will be able to open them again. But you still must no speak, and it is important that you remain silent throughout this exercise. Now, please close your eyes."* The facilitator then silently places small coloured stickers on the participants' foreheads. Dividing them into majority and minority groups and one person is left by himself. The following instructions are given to the group*: "When I say so you will open your eyes but you will not be able to talk. Your task will be to group yourselves* [the facilitator says this clearly, twice]. *Now open your eyes... and group."* The group tries to solve the task, while the observers interpret and makes notes to use during the debriefing of the activity.

Aim: "*The aim of the activity is to raise learners' awareness of the psychosocial dynamics of inclusion/exclusion, co-operation/competition and discrimination/prejudice. It may be exploited to develop learners' reflection their own attitudes, beliefs and values, and to help them gain new skills and develop their knowledge of important concepts related to intercultural competence such as identity, discrimination, otherness, empathy, diversity, co-operation and interdependence"* (Mompoint-Gaillard 2015: 44).

3.5. Data collection and analysis

The collected data was sampled through the researchers' observational notes and the written answers from the pupils on three questions asked during the session**.** Subsequently, the entire set of data was analyzed. Afterwards, we started to categorize the empirical material according to the Pestalozzi Programme's thematic concepts; "social categorization, self-reflexivity and discrimination", as defined in the previous chapter. As Postholm and Jacobsen (2011: 102) notes, the categorization process helps to produce meaningful findings and to recognize patterns in vast material. Nonetheless, the categorization work, where material is taken out of context and interpreted by the researcher, poses challenges when it comes to the validity and reliability of the study (Postholm & Jacobsen 2011). It is important to ask is whether or not the material would be interpreted in another way, had the categorization process been conducted differently. It would be a difficult claim to make that it would be the same, and we do recognize that pupil statements and observations of the study could be placed into several categories at once. Despite this fact, it appears that the patterns that emerged, would not be altered to any large extent.

The collected data was categorized according to the concepts in a scheme, divided into two parts; observational notes and written answers. Then, the data was placed according to which concept they corresponded to. Material that could not be categorized into the concepts, were not included in the analysis. This process is published in appendix 2 for transparency.

4. Results and analysis

In the subsequent chapter, the results from the teaching sessions are presented. First, there is a description of the two teaching sessions in a combined section. The pupil statements have been included to provide the necessary context in which they were said, and it can be considered a first step in the analysis process. Postholm and Jacobsen (2011: 107) refer to this as "narrative analysis". The chapter ends with the categorization of our findings.

4.1. Mime an animal

The majority of the group easily found their animal partners during the activity, although some participants gave up on completing the task, and asked the others for help. Subsequently, the pupils were asked to discuss important aspects of group collaboration in their respective groups. They discussed for about two minutes. We talked about their answers in plenary, and they gave some small comments like "*we did not agree*" "*the majority agreed on(…)*". Overall, the pupils mentioned aspects as "*everyone need to be heard and seen*", "e*veryone needs to be included in the whole proces*s" and "*everyone needs to be able to state their opinion*".

4.2. The neighbourhood yard

The task began with the pupils walking towards the participants with same coloured stickers. The pupil without a sticker in class 1 started to help some of the others with solving the task, but after a while they managed to do this themselves. The participant without a sticker in class 1 tried to seek inclusion with the biggest group, but the group showed no interest in including. The same thing occurred in class 2, where the pupil with a white sticker, that did not have any group, sought inclusion, but was rejected from several of the larger groups. Some of the pupils registered the colour of their sticker by rolling their eyes upwards, while some did not, and this made the task easier for some. One girl in class 1 said "*it was easy, I knew what colour I had*". Another pupil in class 1 expressed that it was difficult and confusing not knowing the colour. The session went by quickly and they divided themselves according to the colour stickers.

Written answers and reflections:

The pupils were asked to answer two questions related to their thoughts and strategies during the activity. They also needed to write down the colour of their sticker. The pupil without a sticker in class 1 said " *I did not feel that I was included so much, everyone were divided into groups but I stood there alone. At the same time I felt that I had the task to place the others in groups. The result was good for all the others but I was all alone, it did not feel any good"*. A participant from the biggest group in class 1 (8 participants), wrote the following about the process: *"I felt insecure due to not knowing what colour I had on my sticker",* about the result the pupil answered *"It was unfair because some groups were big and some were small"*. A pupil from class 2 said: *"I didn't actually find myself a group, but the others placed me together with another pupil with the same colour. After this I also used the colours to create groups"*. One of the pupils from the biggest group in class 2 said that she *"felt sorry for the one with the white sticker who was all alone"*.

Debriefing session:

After the writing session, we initiated a plenary, debriefing assignment. The first question asked was how the pupils felt while having their eyes closed. The answer in class 1 were: *"it was uncomfortable, I did not know where I was, I was also curious about what was about to happen"*. The following question dealt with how the pupils chose to group once they opened their eyes. In class 1 a pupil said: "*I feel like I could have done it in another way. Since no one said anything about colours, we should have mixed up more. In society today this happens often. That we hang out with the ones most like ourselves, maybe it is an idea to group with others that are not like us"*. Another question was if they could see similarities between the way they chose to group and the way people form groups in real life. Answers in class 1 were*: "religion", "nationality" "colour of the skin"*. They were also asked if they would divide themselves into groups after the colour of their skin. To this question a lot of the pupils from both classes agreed that they probably would. The next question was how they would divide the groups if they were to do the task again. An answer in class 1 were: "*the whole class as one group? boys and girls!",* in class 2, one suggestion was*; "we could divide us into groups with those people we like the most"*. However, both classes stated that they would do more to include the one left alone.

After the debriefing session, the pupils were asked to answer one question anonymously in writing. They were also asked to note down which group they belonged to. Question in class 1

were: *"How do you feel regarding how you chose to group yourself?"* In class 2, the question was: *"What do you think characterizes a democratic citizen?"*

In class 1, the pupil without a sticker commented *"I did not feel well, it was a bit uncomfortable. I did not feel included; everybody else had someone except for me."* Two other pupils commented that they found the grouping results as natural; *"I felt that it was correct and natural to group myself after the colour which I was given."* and *"The way we grouped ourselves felt natural"*. Two pupils commented upon the group mentality; *"I originally thought that we did not need to group ourselves after the colour, but everybody else did it, so I followed."*. Some pupils commented on their disappointment with at the result: *"I was a bit disappointed after the task. I am not the kind of person who thinks about gathering in groups with those who look the same, and I am disappointed that I did this naturally. I wish I had done it differently."* One pupil reflected on the process by saying: *"the way we grouped was predictable. Most of us think that there are some kind of pattern in the task, which tells us how we should group"*.

In class 2, four of the pupils answered that the characteristics of a democratic citizens were: *"That the majority gets to decide"*. One pupil answered this: *"To listen to others. Respect. To be heard. To be allowed to be yourself. To let others have the opportunity to make decisions"*. Another pupil from the majority group, answered this: *"That you include everyone, and listen to everyone's thoughts, thus making an effort to see a case from different views. To see the positives and to try to come up with a common solution"*. Another pupil claimed that: *"To be a democratic citizen means that you do not only think of yourself, and that you do not only make choices on your own. You have to rely on others and their beliefs"*.

4.3. Categorization of the findings

In the second step of the analysis process, we categorized all the statements and observations according to the conceptual framework outlined in earlier chapters. This process is crucial for several reasons. In order to locate interesting patterns in the data and gauge the quality of the task, we must attribute meaning to the text, as textual material cannot speak for itself (Postholm & Jacobsen 2011: 109). We have chosen to categorize the observations we did, and the answers the pupils gave, in light of the theoretical framework (see chapter 2). The discussion displays a selection of these results. The entirety of the categorization can be found in appendix 2.

5. Discussion – using TASKs to promote learning?

One of the initial objectives of the study was to assess the quality of the Pestalozzi TASKs. Do the *TASKs for democracy* have any effect on learning? An essential condition for how to gauge the success of any teaching session, is to assess if the pupils can be said to have gained any type of beneficial learning from the tasks. This holds true in most educational contexts. However, teacher and educational thinkers could in truth interpret "learning" and "effect" very differently. So for our study, we sought to find out whether or not the pupils understood the specific purpose of tasks, and if the teaching resource had an impact on the pupil's learning outcomes. In order to achieve this aim, we have decided to examine *how* some selected pupil statements and observations can be seen as expressions of the core concepts of democratic citizenship.

5.1. Social categorization

It is a well-established idea that the psychosocial dynamics of identity formation in extreme situations, can lead to hostile and dangerous "us and them" categorizations (Perdue et.al.1999). Such a topic can be a daunting to grasp in most educational contexts. However, the debriefing session gave certain indications that task 2, in particular, managed to promote understanding of the concept of social categorization among the pupils. The teacher asked question if the pupils were able to see similarities between the way they chose to group and the way people form groups in real life in task 2. Some of the answers were *"religion", "nationality"* and *"colour of the skin"*. We interpreted this as an indication that the pupils were able to make connections between this exercise, and real world identity formation.

The interpretation was further strengthened when the teacher brought up some famous examples of "us and them" categorization. There was a mention of both the type of categorization used in Nazi-Germany and in the Ku Klux Klan. Pupils nodded in agreement at the mention of these examples, indicating that they saw the similarities between the class experiment and the extreme real-world examples of social exclusion. Acquiring a more general overview of how the concept of social categorization works, and why its consequences can materialize in social settings, is mentioned as an objective of the task.

Understanding the connection between "The neighbourhood yard" (Mompoint-Gaillard 2015) and historical examples of exclusion, must be considered a good point-of-departure for further learning for the pupils. It could be said to be in line with Vygotsky's (1978) *proximal zone of development*, as the pupils are actively using pre-existing knowledge to understand new, abstract concepts. However, it is not enough that some learners saw the similarities, as the

teacher elaborated on this to the whole class. Simply telling pupils about these connections, by trying to transfer factual knowledge, does not necessarily promote the type of *deep learning* that was envisioned in the task (Sloam 2008). Rather, understanding social categorization as a *threshold concept* requires the pupils to experience, feel and engage in the activity. This is what would promote the scaffolding process where pupils get to experience why and how social exclusion can have negative consequences.

Several of the pupils expressed that they felt bad for the person that did not belong to any group, and several claimed that the groups were unfair. This was a pattern in the material. Reactions like these can be referred to as an "affective experience" (Langseth 2015). In truth, it would be difficult to assess to which extent this affective reaction helped the pupils to grasp the concept of social categorization in the long term, or if there was any positive learning outcome at all. However, our theoretical foundation indicates that such reactions promotes learning.

5.2. Self-reflexivity

The concept self-reflexivity included the idea that being able to reflect on your own personal attitudes, beliefs and values was an essential, democratic skill. In particular, questioning your beliefs, stereotypes, ideas and perceptions at the meta-level was important to exercise the capacity for critical thought (Huber & Mompoint-Gaillard, 2011). In response to the question of how the pupils felt about the way they arranged themselves in groups, one pupil wrote the following:

> *I was a bit disappointed after the task. I am not the kind of person who thinks about gathering in groups with those who look the same, and I am disappointed that I did this naturally. I wish I had done it differently.*

At the outset, we found this statement to be surprising. The aim of task 2 was not to make the pupils feel as if they made discriminating and exclusive choices in trying to solve the problem. Rather, it is designed to promote understanding of the dynamics of social categorization; that the division of social groups is often made on the basis of common characteristics, while the lack of critical approach to our individual and collective perceptions in extreme cases can create "us and them" categorization (Perdue et.al.1999). Nonetheless, this proved a very interesting finding for our research project. It specifically underlined how at least one pupil managed to link the experience of the activity to his/her personal values,

beliefs and perceptions. This is a type of self-reflexivity, where the pupil is critical of the choices made while arranging in groups.

In educating democratic citizens, the promotion of critical judgment is perhaps one of the most important aspect to teach. Society cannot move forward and create sustainable democracies in the absence of critical voices. As underlined by Koritzinsky (2014: 99-103), however, it is also a challenging skill to teach in the classroom. One must find a balance between social conformity and the capacity for critical thought, which can work as opposite concepts. Although it is difficult to attribute this solely to the teaching activity, the pupil statement underlines that this type of active and collaborative task managed to promote critical reflection around personal values, perceptions and biases. Nonetheless, the activation of the pupil's reflections on this subject, seems to indicate that simply doing and experiencing the task has learning benefits.

The previous statements suggest that *TASKs for democracy* (Mompoint-Gaillard and Lázár 2015) might initiate reflection and awareness around individual actions for some pupils. However, several of the pupils did not reflect in the direction that the tasks aim for. One observation showed that during "The neighbourhood yard" (Mompoint-Gaillard 2015) the majority group with the yellow stickers used their hands to reject the pupil standing alone, and showed with their body language that he/she was not wanted. In addition, the group showcased a confident behaviour and expressed that they were "the winners of the game", because their group contained the most pupils. One of the pupils said: "*I feel that I did the right thing*". Although this might not be an unwanted outcome of the task itself, several of the pupils also regarded the group division as natural. This suggests that they did not see the exclusion as a problem, and it was a tendency in the biggest groups.

5.3. Discrimination

Awareness of discrimination is another core feature of the democratic citizen (Huber& Mompoint-Gaillard 2011). The Pestalozzi teaching resource mentions how knowledge of this essential concept of is one of the aims of task 2. During the tasks, it was possible to observe several interesting traits in the group process, and in particular the extent in which they excluded and included each other. The pupils showed varying degrees of inclusion/exclusion awareness, especially in the "The neighbourhood yard". In this activity, the concept of discrimination is perhaps mostly present when pupils categorize each other, on the basis of different coloured stickers. The ease with which the pupils excluded "class sticker minorities" is in a sense a type of discrimination.

However, there are obvious flaws with this argument. "The neighbourhood yard" is supposed to be an activity where participants form groups on the basis of the common, characteristic of a coloured sticker. As such, it should mirror real world social categorization, and underline how humans have an instinct towards creating group identity based on common premises (Perdue et.al.1999). Moreover, the fact that the pupils "fall into the trap" of the task, is what enables the participants to take part in the meta-reflection. It is in this debriefing session, that reflection and critical judgement opens up potential reconstruction and scaffolding of important concepts (Leclercq 2011). This is also the case for discrimination, as noted by Langseth (2015). As we found, several of the pupils argued "for inclusion" after the activity, both during debriefing and in written answers. They seemed to question the choice of excluding the pupil without a group.

> *I feel like I could have done it in another way. Since no one said anything about colours, we should have mixed up more. In society today this happens often. That we hang out with the ones most like ourselves, maybe it is an idea to group with others that are not like us.*

This statement underlines how the debriefing session had an impact on the pupil in question. In particular, there are two features that stand out. First, it suggests that the pupil was able to reflect on the group formation at the meta-level. By acknowledging that he/she could have solved the task in a different manner, there is also a mention of *why* the activity went this way. Since "we hang out with the ones most like ourselves", the pupil considers this the cause of the group formation. Secondly, the statements can be said have initiated a scaffolding process. The pupil seems to use the task as a foundation, and then link new knowledge with prior insights into real-world issues. Leclercq (2011: 65) saw this as "modifying and destroying prior conceptions".

The sum of the findings presented here shows that the collected material remains conflicting. Certain statements and observations showcase how task 2 worked in accordance with its aims and objectives. Yet, there are other statements from some pupils that contradicts the argument that the purpose of the tasks was reached. Furthermore, task 1, "Mime an animal" provided some results that indicated inclusionary values, e.g. *"everyone has the right to be heard"*, and *"we can make others feel well by including them"*. Yet, the task did not appear to help initiate a process of reflection among the pupils, and primarily functioned as an introductory activity. As such, it produced few interesting findings and received little attention in the discussion. In

retrospect, we would also have liked to have more time with the two classes in order to follow up some of the results that we found, and thus base our conclusions on a stronger foundation.

5.4. How can *TASK for democracy* be implemented in all subjects?

The Pestalozzi Programme claims that its tasks can be employed to teach democratic citizenship in all school subjects. "Taught in a conscious and purposeful way, all these subjects can lend themselves well to the inclusion of and enrichment by additional values, attitudes, skills and understanding" (Mompoint-Gaillard 2015: 18). An underlying principle in this statement, is that teaching democracy and citizenship includes much more than learning factual knowledge. As such, the pedagogical practice of the teachers in the classroom can promote learning *through* democracy, although the subject topic might not be related to democracy in a narrow sense. In Norway, this is important as well, since it has been suggested that teachers have a tendency to focus on the subject curricula, while neglecting to teach democratic skills and values that the core curriculum promote, thus neglecting this part of the teacher mandate (NOU2015: 8). The *TASKs for Democracy* (Mompoint-Gaillard and Lázár 2015) have been seen as a way to teach democratic citizenship across subject boundaries.

The content of the Subject Curricula in Norway places much emphasis on the knowledge, skills and attitudes that are democratic. In Norwegian, for instance, the importance of rhetoric, discussion and argumentation are present in several of the competence aims on all educational levels. In particular, to achieve the competence aim from oral communication after Vg1, "use relevant and factual arguments in discussions and show openness to others argumentation" (our translation, UDIR 2010: 1), requires some democratic skills and attitudes to be in place.

For the pupils to achieve the competence aim, democratic values such as respect and participation, are necessary. Learning *through* democracy could therefore be a natural objective in this subject. Social science, on the other hand, might be the most natural subject to include citizenship education, both when it comes to democratic knowledge and taking part in democratic processes Koritzinsky (2014). For instance, a competence aim from Vg1 says*:*

> "Discuss and elaborate on the causes of prejudice, racism and discrimination and what measures can counteract these. Give an account of the various challenges faced by democracy, including issues of representation for indigenous peoples and minorities, discuss how power and influence vary due to ethnicity and socio-economic conditions" (UDIR 2013).

The curriculum of Physical education focuses mainly upon its role as a subject that should stimulate pupils to continue using their body and attain a healthy lifestyle through their whole

life. However, social abilities and respect for each other is also outlined as important areas that should be emphasized in the subject. PE is maybe the only subject where physical differences between pupils has to be taken into consideration by the teacher (Standal & Rugseth, 2015). In many classes, the teacher's actions are largely influenced by behavioural issues. If 5-6 pupils often challenge the teacher on which activities to do, the teacher will most likely give in on certain occasions, because he thinks that this is a common wish from the entire class, and thus perhaps undermining the wish of others. This highlights the importance of democratic processes in the PE subject as well, with focus on codetermination, tolerance and respect for each other.

In Religion and ethics, the focus is on learning about the diversity of religions in the world. Although several of the competence aims concern specific religions, the core aim of the subject is to create a deeper understanding and tolerance of the diversity and plurality that is one of the central aspects of the global world. This is exemplified in one of the competence aims in Religion and ethics for upper secondary education. "The aims of the studies are to enable pupils to discuss and elaborate on cooperation and tensions between religions and views on life and reflect on the pluralist society as an ethical and philosophical challenge." (UDIR 2006b). Democratic core concepts as co-operation, tolerance, diversity and equality is the underlying base for the subject of Religion and ethics, and constitutes the foundation of the subject. In Science, these competencies are also present. Yet, the ability to participate in public debates within topics, such as environmental challenges, are stressed to a larger extent. As Sjöberg (2015:194) notes, it is central that to attain a certain level of basic knowledge in science. However, learning the basic knowledge is not enough. Scientific progress depends on an open, critical and scientifically grounded debate. One could imagine what the world would look like today if scientific findings were left unchallenged, and there was no Darwin's evolution or any chemical revolution. This showcases the need of the critical judgment.

The significant space that democratic concepts occupy in the Subject Curricula, illustrate how democracy is present in all our subjects. Our study used the *TASKs for Democracy* (Mompoint-Gaillard and Lázár 2015) resource in two subjects; Norwegian and Social studies. By assessing the learning outcomes of the pupils in these examined subjects, we found indications that many pupils benefitted from the activities. In Norwegian and Social studies, the content of task 2 works well with the existing framework of the Subject Curricula. However, this does not provide the study with sufficient evidence that these tasks can be used

as an effective tool in *all subjects*. Our data collection remains too limited to draw this conclusion for all subject in Norwegian education.

Nonetheless, it is possible to recognize some strengths that can be attributed to the Pestalozzi Programme's *TASKs for Democracy* (Mompoint-Gaillard and Lázár 2015). First, the activities in the teaching resource can easily be adjusted to a variety of different topics and themes in various subjects. As such, tasks that are meant to promote democratic citizenship could be included in teaching sessions, as an introductory activity, or in-between parts of a teaching plan. The *TASKs for Democracy*, with its transversal activities could then be a useful handbook for teachers in every subject to use, and the tasks can be further developed to suit whatever class you may have. Mompoint-Gaillard (2015: 18) refers to this as the "piggy-back method", where the *TASK*s *for Democracy* accompany existing subject material.

Yet, there are problems with this method as well. In particular, there is a tendency for teachers to neglect these "soft competencies" that are considered as less-relevant additions to already crowded subjects (NOU 2015: 8). Stortingsmelding 28 (2016), has indicated that this might change in the near future, and has called for a revision of the Core Curriculum, while the Ludvgisen-panel (NOU 2015: 8) has looked at implementing several changes to the curriculum. Secondly, the tasks for citizenship education have the advantage of being closely related to constructivist principles. Leclerq (2011: 67) argues that the social constructivist approach to learning, naturally promotes democratic citizenship in the classroom, through a collaborative, active and participatory pedagogy. In other words, if one accepts the premise that *deep learning* must entail the (social) construction and scaffolding of knowledge, then subject specific learning and learning a democratic citizenship are built on the same foundation.

6. Concluding remarks

The study began with an ambitious question. What effect does *TASKs for Democracy* (Mompoint-Gaillard and Lázár 2015) have on the learning outcomes of pupils, and how can it be used as a productive tool for democratic citizenship in all subjects? In the discussion, we have argued that our research illustrates that the Pestalozzi Programme teaching resource prompted a majority of the pupils to gain a desired learning outcomes with at least one of the activities we examined. In particular, we noticed that the debriefing sessions produced valuable reflections from the pupils, that could be considered expressions of core democratic values and attitudes. We have no way of arguing that this applies to everyone, or that the

indications we observed, are the result of the pupils acquiring *threshold concepts* in the long term. Nonetheless, reaching the learning outcomes for these tasks, in the concepts *social categorization, self-reflexivity* and *discrimination,* are seen as essential for the development of an active democratic citizenship. As such, we consider the teaching method to have a potential worth that might be currently lacking in the Norwegian curriculum framework. This can be said to be echoed by the Ludvigsen-panel's conclusions as well (NOU 2015: 8). However, we remain cautious in our conclusions due to limited data material.

In order to provide a thorough conclusion on the full effect *TASKs for Democracy* (Mompoint-Gaillard and Lázár 2015) has on the learning outcomes and democratic citizenship amongst pupils, we would have preferred to include a broader scope of material to base conclusions on. Therefore, further research is needed to assess the true strength of the collaborative teaching method that is advocated by the Pestalozzi Programme. Preferably, this could be done by the implementation of more activities in a teaching context for a longer period of time, across several different subjects.

In conclusion, the *TASKs for Democracy* resource has certain strengths that should be welcomed in most classrooms. The basis in social constructivist theory, would arguably also make it attractive for teachers seeking to find participatory, collaborative or alternative methods of conveying their subjects. It is also simple to adjust to most subjects, but we do believe that continuous work with the activities is important if it is to contribute to an active, critical and collaborative democratic citizenship. As the Ludvigsen-panel states; society is changing, and the focus on democratic attitudes and values are more important than ever. Perhaps they should be at a higher priority than today. It is reasonable to think that the focus on democracy never can be completed, and that the pupils never can become «too democratic».

6.1. Working forward with Pestalozzi

To move forward with improving the handbook, it would be useful with a common platform where teachers can discuss different approaches and experience with the activities. This could be an open discussion board online and would have the possibility to let researchers reach out and collaborate with teachers from different countries in a joint, global effort. Europe is experiencing an increase in civic disorder and with the elevated rates of unemployment, and the topic of democracy is on the agenda in many corners of the world. This makes the focus on democratic citizenship even more important. The sharing of experience and knowledge between teachers has the potential of improving many classrooms across different countries.

A democratic society requires each individual to continuously reflection upon their attitudes and values. The teacher's responsibility towards the pupils is not a set amount of hours allocated for teaching democracy. It is, and has to be, an ongoing effort to aid the pupils in committing and reflecting around the core ideals that constitute a democracy. Activities in the classroom should be viewed and practiced with regards to open, collaborative and inclusive democratic values to achieve this end. In light of this, it seems apparent that the activities in the Pestalozzi Programme's handbook can be employed as a suitable point-of-departure on a continuous course from classroom teaching towards a sustainable and lasting democratic society.

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Appendix 1

Conducting the activities from the Pestalozzi Programme

Mime a tree

Aim: *this is a grouping technique for co-operative learning structures. It introduces any activity that calls for dividing the whole group into micro-groups* (Lázár, Mompoint-Gaillard 2015:57).

Expected learning outcomes: *Willingness to work together with others and become actively involved*

The neighbourhood yard

Aim: "*The aim of the activity is to raise learners' awareness of the psychosocial dynamics of inclusion/exclusion, co-operation/competition and discrimination/prejudice. It may be exploited to develop learners' reflection their own attitudes, beliefs and values, and to help them gain new skills and develop their knowledge of important concepts related to intercultural competence such as identity, discrimination, otherness, empathy, diversity, co-operation and interdependence.*" (Mompoint-Gaillard 2015: 44)

In Both classes, the 45 minutes' lessons consisted of two activities about democracy and group collaboration. The two lessons will be addressed as class1 and class2. Class 1 had social science on their schedule, while class2 had Norwegian. Class1, a general studies class, consisted of 25 participants, Class2 is a vocational class and consisted of twelve 12 participants. In class1 there were five out of six researchers present and four researchers present in class2. One researcher in each class knew the pupils fairly well as a result of previous lessons; therefore, it was natural for this researcher to conduct the lesson as the teacher**.** The researcher conducting the lesson also had a helper, and the rest of the researchers had the role of observers and were sitting on opposite sides of the classroom making notes on how the lesson were performed and how the pupils responded to the tasks and their comments.

The pupils were told that they were included on a research project about school development and that they would participate in some fun alternative activities. The aim was to give the pupils limited information about the aim of the project, but still give them information enough to make them secure and willing to share. The researchers leading the lesson gave instructions to the pupils that the only object allowed on the desk were a pencil or pen. They were also instructed to move the desks towards the walls to make space in the center of the classroom since the activities needed room. In the following section the two activities will be described in detail, the results with the pupils' comments will be described further down.

Task 1, Mime an animal. The aim is to have a small task that promotes democratic values that teachers can use to divide pupils into groups for any type of group work in any type of subject. The original task from the Pestalozzi program, instructs the pupils to mime a tree. Due to the time aspect, we adapted the task into "mime an animal" which were found to be easier for the pupils to relate to. One can easily mime an elk or elephant but a tree requires more detailed knowledge. The pupils were instructed not to use any spoken language. The pupils were given a piece of paper referring to different animals and then asked to group accordingly, the groups were fairly equal in size. After the grouping session, the teacher discussed with the pupils about the ability to communicate and collaborate without using words and sounds. As mentioned, one can start any type of group work at this point, but in this case there were no time for any larger group activity, so they were only given a small task: to formulate three important aspects to be aware of when working in groups. The different aspects were discussed and pupils were encouraged to speak about their experience and thoughts about the tasks. This activity took approximately 15 minutes. The results will be shown and discussed later.

Task 2 the neighbourhood yard: Step 1: the pupils were asked to stand in a circle and to close their eyes, they were not allowed to talk. Small stickers in different colours were placed on their foreheads, unequally distributed throughout the class. In the Pestalozzi programme they ask for the pupils to not be able to see what kind of colour they have on their stickers. We were not able to contorl this. In both classes some pupils saw their colour, some did not. 1-2 groups were big,1-2 groups medium in size and one pupil were placed alone by either not

having a sticker or being the only one with one special colour. We asked the teacher to find a suitable candidate for this position because we did not want to stigmatize pupils who already feel alone or who do not have the confidence to be in such a position.

Step 2: they were asked to open their eyes and to organizes themselves into groups. Step 3: After the grouping session, the pupils were asked two questions which they answered in writing. The questions for class 1 and 2 before the debrief were slightly different because we wanted answers that were more elaborated. The questions in the different classes were as follows; Class 1: How did you feel during the grouping session? What do you think of the final result? Class 2: how did you solve the given task and why? What do you think of the final result? After handing in their answers a 15-20 minute debrief started. The result from this debrief will be published later in the results from class1 and class2.

One last question was asked before the lesson finished, class1:" *how do you feel about the way you chose to group?"* Class 2:" *what do you think characterizes a democratic citizen*?". An adjustment on the question was done because we wanted to ask question that required the pupils to give more elaborated answers.

Changes in the different tasks:

In the first class we asked the pupils "How do you feel about the way you chose to group? After reading through the answers we realized that by asking this question the pupils reflected upon the task that they just conducted in the classroom, and how they divided themselves into different groups and why they did the way they did. After reading through the answers from the pupils and discussing amongst us we decided to change the question. The idea behind the change was that many of the answers we got had the same reflections and thoughts that the pupils expressed during the oral debrief in the classroom. We changed the question to "What do you think characterizes a democratic citizen?" Our motivation behind this change was to get the pupils to see a connection between the situation in the classroom and the society that they are a part of. We are aware of the fact that the question is leading in a way. In our discussion and analysis of the material we have realized that to get a broader and more elaborate material from the pupils.

Another change that we did was in the conduction of the task itself. In the Pestalozzi Programme it says that the person standing alone should not have a sticker in his forehead, but the others in the class should have coloured stickers that they are supposed to use to divide into groups. One observation that we made in the first class was that the person without a sticker approached the task with the role of a leader and started organizing the groups according to colour. Since this was not the intention with the division of the stickers, we gave the person that where alone a sticker as well, but in a different colour than the others. In this way the person still felt that he had a sticker in his/her forehead just like the others. When the pupil feels the sticker in the forehead this person will automatically try to approach one of the other groups with a different colour on their sticker. In this way he/she will feel like he is on the outside of a group in a different way than if he/she feels chosen for a specific task like organizing the others.

Appendix 2

Analysis

When analyzing the results, we have chosen to categorize both the observations we did, and the answers the pupils gave on the questions we asked them after the *threshold* concepts we have established. These are based on Lenz (2011) and the Final report, Education for the prevention of discrimination, Trainer training module series from the Pestalozzi Programme, 2012.

OBSERVATIONS	

Social categorization	● The facilitator asks how we can make others feel well. One of the students says: "by including them". ● During "The Neighbourhood Yard" the group with the yellow sticker uses their hands to show the student who was alone that he/she does not belong on their group ● The teacher asked if there are any similarities between the way the pupils arranged themselves in groups, and how social categorization occurs in real life. Pupils answered "religion, nationality, colour of the skin".
Self-reflexivity	● During "Mime an animal" the students co- operated well and managed to divide into groups ● The teacher asked if the pupils had the opportunity to do this task one more time, would they divide the groups differently. One student said "I would probably have done more to include the one without a sticker".
Discrimination	● One student says that everyone has the right to be heard ● When discussing the outcome of "The Neighbourhood Yard", one student says surprised that they were racists (when grouping like they did)

ANSWERS FROM THE PUPILS
The questions asked:

- How did you feel during the grouping session?
- What do you think of the final result?
- How did you solve the given task and why?
- How do you feel about the way **you** chose to group?
- What do **you** think characterizes a democratic citizen?

Social categorization	● I did not feel included, everyone was divided into groups, but i stood there alone. ● The result was good for the others, but not for me. ● The result was OK, but I felt bad for the person with the white sticker (the person alone) ● I think the group division was OK
Self-reflexivity	● In a way I did not group myself up, but the others placed me with another pupil with the same colour. After this I also used the colours to group up. ● I was a bit disappointed after the task. I am not the type who thinks about grouping with those who looks the same, and I am disappointed that I did this naturally. I wish I had done it differently. ● I feel that I did the right thing
Discrimination	● I feel like I could have done it in another way. Since no one said anything about colours, we should have mixed it up more. In society this happens often. That we hang out with the ones most like ourselves, maybe it is an idea to group with others that are not like us. ● The result was unequally divided, and maybe it was a bit "unfair" that some of the groups were a lot bigger ● I can express my thoughts without getting any form of punishment for it