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# I. The Democracy Question

What is democracy? Majority rule/s?

A form of government?

A set of values?

Can one "have" democracy?

Can a person/nation be democratic?

What distinguishes a democratic society from a non-democratic?



# The Democratic Paradox:

(Ernesto Laclau & Chantal Mouffe)

## The democratic tradition

- Political in character, from ancient Greece

*The 'cratos' (power) of the 'demos' (people): the power of the people*

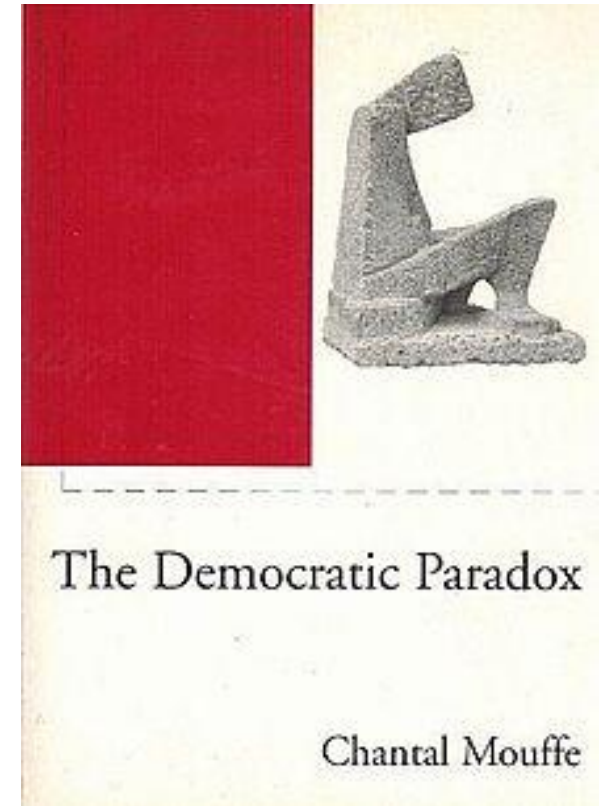
- Aims at making possible the right to deliberate/ negotiate in a “pluriverse”/world of plurality

## The liberal tradition

- Moral in character, from 19<sup>th</sup> century Britain and France, J.S Mill & John Locke

*Liberal values: freedom, equality, solidarity/fraternity*

- Aims at establishing certain (liberal) values



# Liberalism? Democracy?



## A democratic society?

- is a society that allows and makes use of negotiation and deliberation
- is open to difference and different views (liberalist, socialist, conservative)

## A liberal society?

- is a society that endorses, builds on, promotes, advocates - liberal values
- Liberal, conservative, social liberal, neo liberal, socialist, social democratic?

Democracy as form, verb or adjective (not a noun)

Liberalism as the content (broadly defined) to be negotiated/deliberated

Democratic values do not exist

Democracy is not about beliefs

Democratic societies do not exist

Democracy is not a state

# Democracy as form/verb/acting

- Democracy/the democratic cratos (force) is temporary, in flux
- What is a democratic response to x and what is a liberal, conservative, socialist, religious, secular response to x?
- Where is democracy at play? What is negotiated? Why? When is the democratic power closed down? Why? When is it opened it up again? Why?
- **Use the concepts against themselves (Jacques Derrida)**
- How democratic is democracy? Are people open to negotiation and deliberation about its (liberal) values?



# Liberalism as Content: Values Topography

dignity

responsibility

freedom

justice

integrity

generosity

equality

tolerance

solidarity

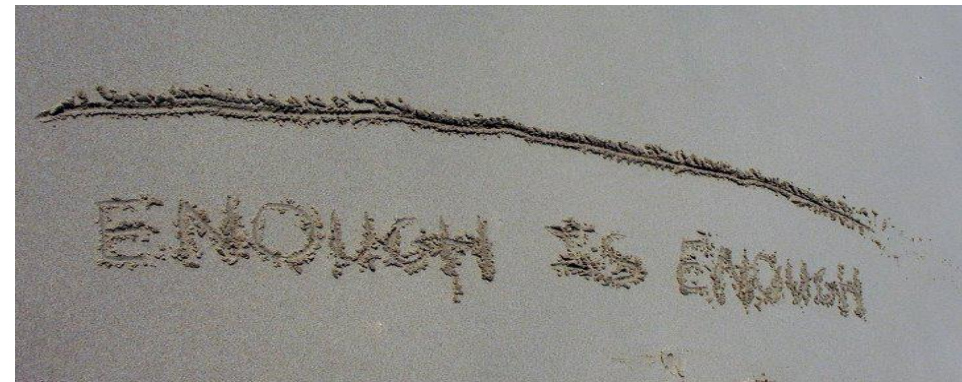
# How tolerant is tolerance?



... to carry a burden (**endurance**)



... to welcome (**power**)



... to draw a line (**moral judgement**)

# How free is freedom?



... to choose (**freedom of choice**)



... to set free (**emancipation**)



... submission (**freedom to/freedom from**)

# Exercises: The Democracy Question

**Draw democracy:** Individually (A4 page) and as a group (large page)

- Draw what it feels like to be different, political or anti-political systems, desires and imaginaries of oligarchy, fascism, totalitarianism, communism, socialism, theocracy, colonised, colonial, imperial.)
- What is the image that each of these systems might want to project of itself and how might it relate to others? Map the primary affects, ideas and values motivating different systems. Describe autobiographically, in the voice of the system, the problems they may face.

**Manifesto:** Take a system and write a short manifesto advocating its values, but do so in the voice of an 8-10 year old child.

## II. The School Question: What is a school?

What is a school?

What/who is a school for?

Why should children go to school?

What characterizes a school?

What governs/rules a school?

What/who does the school serve?

**What goes on in there?!**

I DON'T WANT TO GO TO  
SCHOOL! I HATE SCHOOL!  
I'D RATHER DO *ANYTHING*  
THAN GO TO SCHOOL!





Does it work?



Does it work?

# The “what-works-logic”

- Reduces school/education to a function
- To an instrument (for what? For whom?)
- A tool, a programme...
- Reduces the student to a means for an end

## **A neo-liberal agenda?**

- Students are customers
- Schools are well-functioning units
- Delivers pre-decided measurables

# Education and democracy?

- Education *for democracy*
- Educate for democratic citizenship
- For stability and peaceful coexistence
  
- Education *through* democracy
- Education should be carried out in democratic ways
  
- Schools are not/should not/can *not* be *democratic*

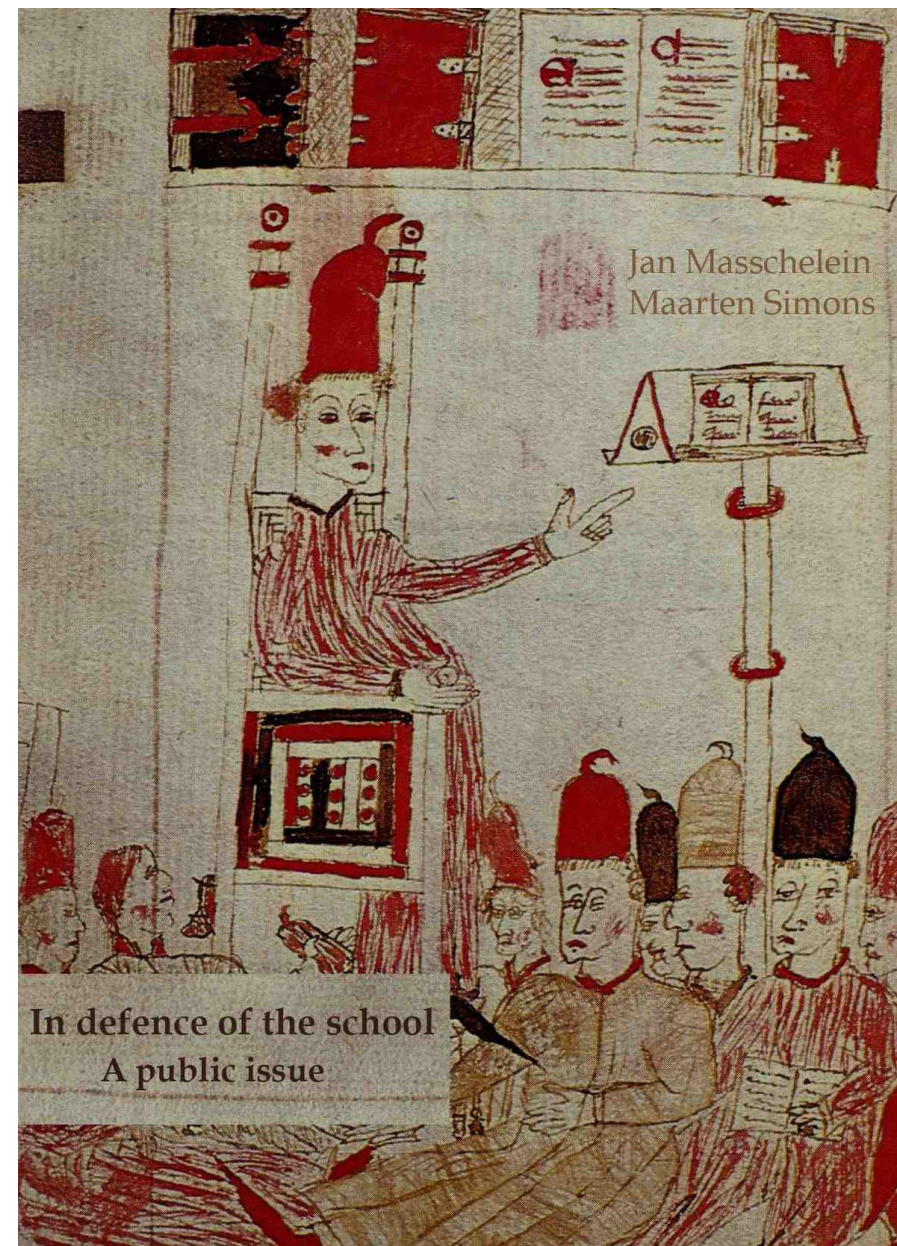
# Democratizing education: Deliberative conversation in schools

- Inspired by political theorist Jürgen Habermas, 70's
- Discursively based ethics
- Rational argumentation
  - The force of the better argument
- Main purpose:
- To prepare for democratic citizenship
- To cultivate moral judgement and rational argumentation
- *Presupposes the content that is to be deliberated*

# School as *scholé*

Inspiration: Jan Masschelein & Maarten Simons: "In Defence of the School. A public issue"

- A democratic society is obliged to school its children – is the society worthy of its schools?
- Free 'time and space'
  - for study, practice, experience
  - *to make something common – public – to everyone*
  - That turns children (of x & y) into pupils by suspending origin, social background
- The 'time and space' we insert...
  - between the past and the future
  - between the private and the public



# Reclaiming the School: The 'scholastic school'

1. Is a *condition of possibility* but not an instrument *for democracy*
  - Without children being educable, democracy would not be possible
2. *Ger. erziehung*: Sees the task of fostering as a passing on of a cultural heritage. Seeks to reclaim the voice/language/role of the teacher
3. Is focused on *studying*: on *making* the world, values, things, knowledge *common* to everyone – despite of origin, intelligence, IQ/EQ, background.
  - Through attending to the world, creating interest, bringing to life, beginning again...
4. Rejects effectiveness and employability
5. *Exists for the children and for the world* - it does not exist for the good of 'society' or democracy...

# What does it mean to be a teacher today?

- Problem: The deprofessionalisation of teachers
  - What/who is a good teacher?
- How give (back) to teachers a pedagogic/educational language?
- Giving voice to teachers...
  - Authority
  - Legitimacy
- Who am when teaching other peoples' children?
  - A politician? To implement liberal democratic values
  - A parent? To foster/reinstate the values of the home

# V. The Lived Values Approach

”Lived Values: a pedagogical-philosophical groundworking of the values basis of Swedish schools”

- Swedish National Research Council 2015-2019
- **Participants:**  
Dr. Lovisa Bergdahl  
Dr. Elisabet Langmann  
Prof. Carl Anders Säfström
- **Purpose:**  
to develop a pedagogical language for 're-enlivening' the content dimension of the fostering task of schools for educational research and practice
- What has happened to fostering (*Ger. erziehung*) in the knowledge society?



# Fostering // Upbringing // Erziehung // Education?

- '[u]pbringing [*Erziehung*] is first and foremost a matter of passing on [and renewing] a valued heritage, of conveying to children what is important to us' as adults and as a culture'

Mollenhauer 2014, p. xx)

- Education as a conversation between generations
- How can teachers carry on the fostering task [i.e. passing on and renewing a valued heritage] after Auschwitz?
- How re-build what is in ruins?



Woman and child in the ruins, Essen, 1947 © Ben Shneiderman Collection

# Background I: predicaments in educational practice

- **The Swedish Schools Inspectorate (2012)**
  - Teachers are uneasy about going into ethical conversations in the classroom...
  - Teachers are uncertain about the content of democracy and liberal values...
- **Knowledge has become separated from upbringing/fostering**
  - Isolated days (ex. human rights days)
  - Placed on contract (external actors)
  - Reduced to classroom rules, discipline, obedience (judicial, privatized and/or psychological language)



# Background II: predicaments of our time

- **"The Legitimation crisis":**  
On what basis/grounds can we (as teachers) foster other peoples' children?
- **"The crisis of the subject":**  
An increasing difficulty in regards to the ability of the subject to make moral judgements.
- **"The Crisis of Liberalism":**  
The 'power of the people' is taking on non-liberal values.



# Rethinking fostering: An affirmative task

Rethinking fostering returns us to *certain basic pedagogical questions* (which are different from juridical and psychological questions):

- **How** do we (as teachers) pass on a cultural heritage from one generation to the next?
- **What/which** cultural heritage? Which “pearls” do we (teachers, the present generation) want to pass on (to the next generation, the pupils)? Why? (traditions, values, histories, norms)
- **Where** are we (as teachers) in terms of place? What kind of place is the school? With what voice and authority do I as teacher foster other peoples’ children? (private, public, ethical, political)
- **“When”** are we in terms of the ‘time and space’ of the school? What characterizes the time we live in? (where am I, as a teacher, in time?)
- **Why** schools? Why should children go to school? (drives, interests)

# Rethinking fostering: An affirmative task

*“It is part of the basic paradoxes of education, that you must in fact change and create anew to preserve something that is alive”*

(Bengt Kristensson Uggla 2012, p. 46)

Rethinking fostering returns us to *certain **basic pedagogical tensions***:

- **Preservation & Change:** *What kind of change* is desirable, necessary, possible, allowed and what needs to be preserved? *What* do we want to pass on and *why*? *When* is x open to change and when not? (content, method, reason, timing)
- **Presentation & Representation:** How are we (as teachers) to present and represent the world to the students in and through teaching?
- **Will & Interest:** How are students/pupils made made wanting to belong to society? How are they made interested in equality, justice, freedom?

# Lived Values Topography

Putting values on the table as objects of study,  
reuniting thinking/theory and living/practice, reuniting knowledge and formation

freedom

integrity

justice

dignity

generosity

responsibility

equality

tolerance

solidarity

# Three educational strategies

- **Educating the Gaze (seeing differently)**  
Short lecture + exercise: “Images”: see what you think or think what you see?
- **Metaphoric Language (explaining differently)**  
Short lecture + exercise “the-five-liner”
- **Forms of Dialogue (talking/conversing differently)**  
Short lecture + exercise: “Escher’s metamorphosis”

# 1. Educating the Gaze (seeing differently)



To know and to think:

*“To think always meant to think about the limits of a situation. But it also meant to see.” (Gilles Deleuze)*

# An experiment in thought



055034 [RM] © www.visualphotos.com





# Everyday challenges in the classroom

- **Lack of knowledge:** the pupils know too little (for example about democratic values, the norms of society, “Swedish values”, rules, laws and regulations, rights and duties, their own and others norms and values).
- **Lack of Perspective:** the pupils are too “one-sided” or shortsighted (for example: have limited perspectives on things, have difficulties imagining other peoples’ points of view and perspectives, they are biased and prejudiced).

# Response from research and educ practice

- **Knowledge and information (adding missing pieces)**

... for instance about different cultures, religions and minorities, human rights, rules and laws, democracy and civil laws, “this is how we do things here” ...



- **Additional perspectives (adding other lenses)**

... for instance values games, forum play, normcritical exercises, visits to museums etc., trips/travels ...



# Limitations and risks

- **Too idealistic** – creates a gap between knowing and acting, and more information does not automatically lead to deeper understanding
- **Too naïve** – how can one “enter someone else's shoes” or perspectives? We can only “go visiting”, as ourselves (Hannah Arendt).
- **Relativistic/Fundamentalist** – tends to reduce beliefs and values to the normative idea that “there are only different perspectives”, nothing is better or worse. Argumentation loses its relevance.

# The Educated Gaze

Inspiration: Jan Masschelein & Maarten Simons “Educating the Gaze”

**Direct your attention towards the world as a (common) object of study**

**Discern between what you see and your interpretation of what you see**



# What do you see?



Reuters

What do you see?



# The Educated Gaze

## Educational strategies:

- **Creating distance by pausing the interpretation** – to temporarily suspend interpretations/values/value judgments in order to make other perspectives possible
- **Focus on joint exploration and explanation** – to formulate new knowledge and new perspectives from the bottom-up together with others.  
= *making* values/traditions/things in the world *common*

## 2. Metaphoric Language (explaining differently)

- the art of presenting and studying

YOU

ARE MY

SUNSHINE

# Everyday challenges in the classroom

**Insecurity:** Many teachers are insecure about which values to foster, what they mean in a multicultural and pluralistic society (content), how they are to be passed on (form, and a question of legitimation and authority) (e.g. Jürgen Habermas).

**Being lost:** Teachers are neither getting any help nor any guidance. Only more rules and regulations...

# Response from research and educ practice

- **Equality work:** for example methods to help work against bullying, anti-discrimination strategies, methods that can cure and/or reduce harassment, racism, infringement, xenophobia etc.
- **Ethical codes/professional ethics:** for example developing an ethical codex for teachers, mission statements for schools, classroom rules...



# Limitations and risks

- **Juridification of value-based work** (pedagogic language is replaced by a legal one; a negative work that lacks positive content)
- **Privatization of value-based work** (eg "my ethical/vocational code", "our school's value base", "the norms and values in our classroom", "our classroom rules")?
- **The content is forgotten** (e.g. "it is my backbone", outsourced values work, focusing on rules but not what, how and why)

# Expanding thinking: poetic language

Inspiration: Teaching as triadic; Masschelein & Simons “In Defence of the School”

**“Putting something on the table for common study” (cultural heritage)**



# Poetic Language

## Educational strategies:

- **Enveloping values** (common study of their meanings, histories, traditions, contexts...)
- **Using a metaphorical and poetic language as a resource** (from definitions to similarities and metaphors, "is" vs. "like")

**"it is only that which has no history which can be defined."**

(Friedrich Nietzsche)

Tolerance is like ... (bearing a burden; drawing a line; welcoming someone)

Freedom is like ... (choosing; submitting to a higher call; setting free)

# Exercise: The-Five-Liner

## *Instructions:*

- ☐ Line 1: one word, a noun, what the poem is about (in our case a value)
- ☐ Line 2: two words, adjectives, what something is like...
- ☐ Line 3: three words, verbs, what this value does...
- ☐ Line 4: Four words, one sentence that expresses a feeling (i.e. your relation to your interpretation of the term)
- ☐ Line 5: one word, the same word as in line 1, in our case a metaphor for the value

Exhibition and discussion

# 3. Forms of Dialogue (conversing differently)

- the art of meeting and “speaking with”



# Everyday challenges in the classroom

- **Misunderstandings:** The students/the newly arrived misunderstand one another
- **Non-rational:** The The students/the newly arrived are not rational enough but driven by emotions, beliefs, religious/anti-religious/political beliefs ...
- **Conflicts:** Must be reduced and prevented before REAL dialogue can begin. Consensus characterizes the good society/the good social climate.



# Common responses:

**More dialogue:** (misunderstandings are caused by there being too little dialogue, “it we talk more with one another”, “if we talk more about x”...)

**Too optimistic view of dialogue and knowledge:** (dialogue will automatically do the job, more knowledge about x and y will lead to understanding).

"I understand you"? = I sympathize with you? = I think you did the right thing?

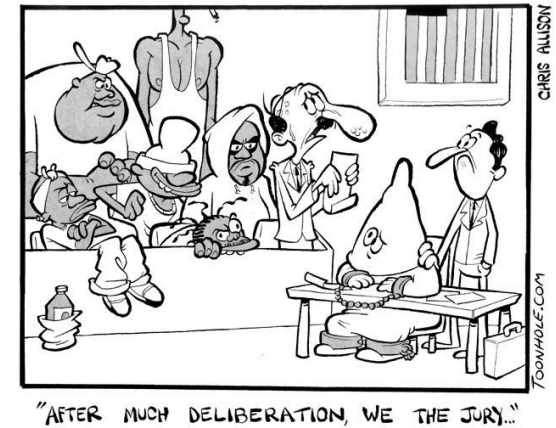
"You do not understand me"? = "You do not like me" = "You do not understand what's in my heart"

"Two birds in one stone"? - What significance does this saying have in the given context?

**Understanding is context bound!**

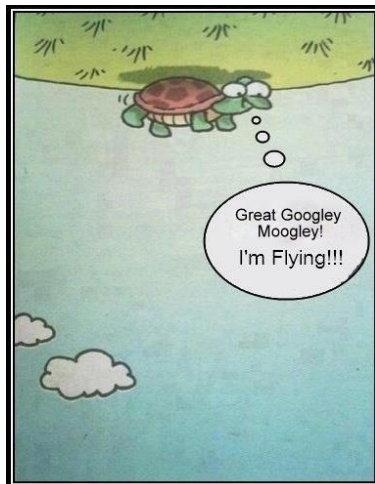
# Response from research and educ practice

1. **Deliberative dialogue:** to anchor, prepare, formulate, argue, think
2. **Philosophical conversation:** enquire, try new thoughts, think, listen, understand
3. **Socratic conversation:** schooling virtues, deepening thinking, formation/foster



# Limitations and risks

- **Too specific and direct** ... in a certain kind of reason, in the 'force of the better argument, in the need for consensus, in verbal language as resource ...
- **Too optimistic**... in the possibilities of dialogue?
- **Too presupposing**... result oriented?
- **Too one-sided**... in its focus on form. Content affects form. How can teachers try out different kinds of conversation more often? Adjusting form to content.



# Transformative conversation

## Supplements above models with:

- Seeing limitations as possibilities
- Listening as key – how do I listen?
- Seeing conflict as the engine of dialogue
- Dialogue as de-educative strategy?
- Acknowledges other "languages" than verbal language
- Focuses on content, things in the world
- Creates community, commonality and community (instead of presupposing)



# Exercise: Metamorphosis

<http://www.mcescher.com/gallery/switzerland-belgium/metamorphosis-i/>

*Instructions:*

Look at M.C. Escher's Metamorphosis. Interpret and talk about the image *as metaphor for dialogue*. We look at the picture *as if* it were a dialogue.

- If the picture was a dialogue, how would you describe that dialogue?
- Pay attention to elements such as colours, shapes and directions