



Trade Union |
Educational Work | **Executive Board**

Results of the Qualizmove project



**Trade union education for solidarity
in Europe!**

**Aims and objectives, strategies and methods
in transnational political education**





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IG Metall Executive Board, Department for Trade Union Educational Work



Quali2move

Imprint

Editorial Desk

IG Metall Vorstand, FB Gewerkschaftliche Bildungsarbeit
Wilhelm-Leuschner-Straße 79, 60329 Frankfurt am Main
Bertin Eichler, Ulrike Obermayr, Tom Kehrbaum

Project title

Qualizmove – Development and dissemination of a labour-policy understanding of education in Europe

Editors

Claudia Kaczmarek, Tom Kehrbaum, Martin Roggenkamp

Authors

Tom Kehrbaum, Clemens Körte, Oskar Negt, Adam Ostolski, Martin Roggenkamp, Fernando Benavente Tendillo, Christine Zeuner

in cooperation with:

Liviu Apostoiu, Hasan Arslan, Mehmet Beseli, Mihaela Darle, Christopher Dreßen, Bettina Ellermann-Cacace, Geles Garcia, Cecilia Gostin, Ron Kelly, Marie Madden, Mary O'Brien, Isabelle Ourny, Pilar Mena, Concetta Sabine Mugavero, Bernd Overwien, Dorota Obidniak, Veronika Ostrogonac, Ferdije Rrecaj, Arne Schneider, Marija Varasimaviciene, Lina Varasimaviciene (geb. Strolaite), Luminita Vintila

Fotos

Christopher Dreßen

Setting and design

visualisierung & konzepte, Braunschweig



The Project “Qualizmove” is funded by the European Commission Directorate for Employment, Social Affairs and Inclusion within the framework of Industrial Relations and Social Dialogue (heading 04.03.03.01).

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Frankfurt/Main, December 2012

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Table of Contents

Foreword	5
Introduction	8
Chapter 1	
Declaration of Intent for a transnational trade union education in Europe.....	10
Chapter 2	
Europe in the grip of crisis? (<i>Oskar Negt</i>)	13
Chapter 3	
The crisis of European integration and social struggles (<i>Adam Ostolski</i>).....	20
Kapitel 4	
Educate Europe out of the crisis! (<i>Tom Kehrbaum</i>)	28
Chapter 5	
Citizenship and Citizenship Education (<i>Christine Zeuner</i>)	43
Chapter 6	
Promotion of a European social consciousness through trade union education (<i>Martin Roggenkamp</i>).....	55
Chapter 7	
Methods in intercultural political education (<i>Clemens Körte/Fernando Benavente Tendillo</i>)	64
Chapter 8	
A comparison of trade union education strategies in Europe (<i>Martin Roggenkamp/Tom Kehrbaum</i>)	75
Chapter 9	
Glossary	86
Conclusion	
A look forward.....	88
Appendix	
Methods of Intercultural Education	91
Authors	107
Description of the Organizations	108
Literature.....	109





Foreword

Crises always also underscore the need for societal learning. That is why the lofty status of education is unassailable when the task at hand is to lead Europe out of the crisis in a sustainable manner. Even if it is still unclear what conclusions we are to draw from the crisis and what type of education can help Europe emerge from it, we are convinced that a critical European public needs to accompany and support these strategies to surmount the crisis. Developing education along these lines and initiating a change in course in Europe in the spirit of solidarity was the task tackled by the Quali2move project.

Political strategies for surmounting the crisis

In the midst of the most profound economic crisis ever experienced by modern Europe, with various social disruptions and turmoil in the member states, the European Council in 2010 adopted the new Europe 2020 Strategy, which seeks to point Europe in the right direction in the future”. This has replaced the 2010 Lisbon Strategy, which aimed at making Europe “the most competitive and dynamic knowledge-based area in the world.¹ The member states of the European Union were accordingly to achieve “permanent economic growth with more and better jobs and greater social cohesion” by 2010 (ibid).

This objective proved to be an optimistic declaration of intent, reducing all future development of the European common welfare to a narrow economic perspective, thus rendering Europe into a sort of “business model”. The current crisis shows that with this hegemony of economic principles there is too little left over for the social sphere, while democratic political forces are unable to develop to their full potential.

Looking at our Europe of today, we see rampant youth unemployment, growing social disparities including within the member states, barriers to access to education, people living

on the streets because they can no longer pay for a dwelling and financial managers who, after a brief phase of restraint, are popping the corks on champagne bottles again.

Democracy needs the will of the peoples

Economics must be a means to the aim of social development of the common good. The political condition of societies is accordingly to be assessed along the criteria of how just and social the economy is designed within the framework of comprehensive democratic processes. The Dutch historian Geert Mak cautions us in this regard:

“The most important thing is for politics and democracy to be assigned priority within Europe once again.” (Mak 2012, p. 142)

To emerge from the state of shock in which Europe stands petrified, according to Mak (ibid), “we, Europe’s citizens, must want something ourselves – and that is at the same time part of the problem – namely that we have forgotten what that means”.

In this respect Mak has aptly described the point of departure and the topic of the “Quali2move” project. It involves the question as to how a European social consciousness can be fostered through education – a consciousness that not only encourages us as Europeans and makes it possible to assess the causes of the crisis while drawing the right conclusions from it, but above and beyond this to find new paths into the future for Europe in a spirit of solidarity.

The world of work and living: foundations for democratic learning in Europe

These paths do not have to be created anew – they have been there all along: trade union education in Europe has tied into direct everyday experience in the world of work and living of

¹ http://www.europarl.europa.eu/summits/lis1_de.htm



Europeans since the beginning of industrialisation and has been helping shape real social relations of human beings for over a hundred years.

This experience is usually overlooked or ignored in European debates over democratic learning. Together with content, methods, concepts and instruments, this offers an immeasurable wealth of teaching and pedagogical knowledge and methods that are of fundamental importance in surmounting the crisis. This is where we view the key to European integration to be found, as it can always only be an integration of economic, social and political spheres. It is only a policy which comprehensively includes people in the design of this task of integration that can make possible a change of course in Europe towards a comprehensive, sustainable and social economy based on solidarity like the new Europe 2020 Strategy seeks to attain.

The Europe 2020 Strategy places »growth« at centre stage – a growth that is to be “intelligent, sustainable and integrative”.² A programme promoting the mobility of youth is being initiated (Youth on the Move³) and politicians have recognised, to quote: “at the European level ... that general and vocational education are essential to the development of today’s knowledge-based society and economy”⁴. For this reason, the “EU strategy ... places an emphasis on cooperation between countries and mutual learning” (ibid).

Bringing about self-determination, co-determination and solidarity in Europe

In the “Quali2move” project, participating partners from seven European countries have set the focus on general, social and political aspects of learning in a spirit of solidarity. The aim was to bring together knowledge and experience in a transnational

space in order to develop a common European model for democratic education based on solidarity. By the same token, aspects relating to work, education and the social common welfare have been examined and analysed from an action-based perspective on a European dimension.

The results of the “Quali2move” project presented in this Manual therefore dovetail with the aims and objectives spelled out in the Europe 2020 Strategy. If these goals are to be attained at the European and national levels, the results of this project need to be taken into account. The results are also capable of contributing to the development of a comprehensive democratic face for the Europe 2020 Strategy. Political education needs to be developed as the backbone for participative development of the democratic common good in Europe much more at the transnational level in the future. Only in this manner can sustainable societal paths out of the European crisis be found and Europe’s deficits in democracy overcome with a European identity and a public having solid roots in actual practice.

² http://ec.europa.eu/education/focus/focus479_de.htm

³ <http://ec.europa.eu/social/main.jsp?langId=de&catId=950>

⁴ http://ec.europa.eu/education/lifelong-learning-policy/framework_de.htm



We would like to thank everyone involved in the project for their solidarity and their highly motivated, profession work towards our common European future.



A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "B. Eichler".

Bertin Eichler

Treasurer of IG Metall



A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Ulrike Obermayr".

Ulrike Obermayr

Head of Trade Union Educational
Work on the Executive Board
of IG Metall



A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Tom Kehrbaum".

Tom Kehrbaum

Project Leader for Quali2move
and in charge of International
Education on the Executive
Board of IG Metall



Introduction

The promotion of critical political judgment skills and a social-economic awareness are traditional core objectives in trade union educational work. At the same time, trade union education builds directly on the everyday experience of learners. The trade union movement is by the same token historically rooted in a transnational identity. Thus, trade union education can make an important and necessary contribution to the establishment of a European public and hence a European identity.

To this end, however, it is necessary to develop a European dimension of trade union education. One key challenge facing the “Europeanization” of trade union education is, as it were, that programs and trade union educational institutions are primarily established at national, regional, sectoral and local levels. Although the European trade Union Institute ETUI-REH above all offers European programs for trade union officers focusing on Europeanization of trade union education for trade union members, the programs offered by trade union education institutions in individual EU member states, which in quantitative terms are much more important, continue to differ fundamentally with regard to their respective understanding of education as well as in terms of their content and pedagogical methods as a result of different historical traditions, different interest representation structures and different educational goals and objectives, which means that there is a fundamental need to take action with regard to the “Europeanization” of trade union educational work (Bridgford/Stirling 2007).

Ten trade unions and trade union educational institutions from seven EU countries, the European level and Turkey addressed this challenge in the IG Metall project *Quali2move – Development and Dissemination of a Labour-Policy Understanding of Education in Europe*, which received funding from the EU within the framework of the program Labour Relations and Social Dialogue. At five workshops and working phases between these workshops, representatives of the educational institutions and trade unions had an intensive exchange on

their respective understanding of education. Based on this they developed a common European approach to education setting out suitable educational objectives, content and methods for promoting a European identity on the part of learners and critical political judgment skills and hence make a contribution to a democratic public based on a social awareness.

The different educational traditions, objectives and methods from seven EU countries, Turkey and the European level all contributed to the results produced by the project. These results thus offer a good foundation for the further development of a European trade union understanding and strategy for political education.

This manual presents the results of the project and describes how they came about. It not only serves the purpose of allowing educational institutions and learners to take part in an intensive exchange on the variety of traditions and cultures of trade union political education in Europe. It is in addition also meant to be an incentive and offer orientation for educational institutions in additional European countries to help attain a common understanding of European political education while actively taking part in the (further) development of this understanding of education by contributing their respective educational objectives, traditions, cultures and methods. This is because, just like Europe thrives on the cultural diversity of its countries, political education in Europe must take into account the diversity of everyday and educational experience of learners in Europe. Finally, this manual is also meant to serve as a working aid in the execution of educational events, as it summarises educational strategies and methods which are suited for political education in the European context.

This manual is broken down into three parts: the first section provides the most important result produced by the project: a Common Declaration issued by the project partners summing up their common understanding of educational goals, chal-



allenges, content and methods (chapter 1). This is followed in the second section with theoretical ideas on the challenges and requirements facing political education in Europe: *Oskar Negt* analyses the current crisis in Europe in a broader context, deriving from this the actions required for education and trade unions (chapter 2). *Adam Ostolski* interprets the European crisis from the Polish perspective, tracing out possible options for action (chapter 3). Both of these chapters are based on lectures that these scholars gave at the final event of the project in Berlin. *Tom Kehrbaum* then examines the connection between education and efforts to surmount crises from a historical humanities perspective, using this to then extrapolate the foundations for learning processes in transnational political education (chapter 4). *Christine Zeuner* presents various concepts and strategies of political education based on different notions of citizenship, and relates the most important dimensions and aspects of relevance to a conceptualisation of political education. This matrix served as the foundation for the development of the European educational approach in the project (chapter 5).

The third section presents the most important results of the project. *Martin Roggenkamp* first introduces the project strategy and describes the cooperative work (chapter 6). One important result produced by the project was a comparative presentation of the various educational approaches of the project partners based on the exchange between the educational institutions within the framework of the project. This comparison of trade union educational activities of trade unions in Europe is also provided by *Martin Roggenkamp* (chapter 8). European political education seeks wherever possible to develop in a transnational, intercultural context. This leads to special requirements applying to educational methods. That is why specific educational methods which are suited for political intercultural education were developed and trialed within the framework of the project. These are presented in

chapter 7 by *Fernando Benavente* and *Clemens Körte*. It was determined in the course of the project that, especially in the field of education, there are very few common terms in the various languages. In the exchange between the educational institutions, it was for this reason found necessary to specify common key educational terms and their meanings. This produced a small education glossary, which is presented in chapter 9. Finally, a host of general intercultural educational methods were tested in the project and then compiled in order to make these available to other educational institutions for the execution of intercultural education events.

Literature

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Chapter 1

Declaration of Intent for a transnational trade union education in Europe

Trade unions and their educational facilities from eight countries have joined together in the EU project QualizMove over the period 2011 – 2012, with trade union education taking on a European dimension. The partners have been supported by the Education department of the European Trade Union Institute (ETUI) that plays an essential role in strengthening knowledge, competences and identity of the European Trade Union movement.

Based on the Declaration on Vocational Education and Training of the Newton Project¹, the project partners in QualizMove² have elaborated common foundations and aims for trade union political education. The undersigned call upon European trade unions and institutions funding trade union education to support and implement this educational strategy in their educational work within the framework of their possibilities and while taking into account their cultural, historical and socio-political context.

Democratisation of Europe through the promotion of participation and involvement

Trade union education is an important pillar of youth and adult education. In almost all European countries it has a strong tradition of self-organised and interest-oriented supplementation of the general educational system. Trade union education has the objective of fostering participation by employees by encouraging their involvement in their companies and societies. It is to this end that trade unions and their educational partners develop educational programmes going above and beyond those offered by the formal educational system. It aims at encouraging people's powers of critical scrutiny as well as learners' courage and self-confidence so that they can help shape company and social developments in a manner marked by solidarity.

General education is an indispensable prerequisite for

¹ www.newton-project.eu

² www.qualizmove.eu

social and political involvement as well as participation in companies, the labour market, society, politics and educational systems. That is why trade union educational work builds on this, fostering involvement in these areas. With their educational programmes and efforts to develop skills, trade union education seeks to fight social injustice and ensure participation and co-determination. It thus opens up opportunities for transnational democratisation processes in Europe.

Solidarity: a key principle in education

The development of educational systems in Europe is suffering from cutbacks in financial resources and constraints on access to educational programmes. Privatisation and political regulation in the field of education are at the same time producing growing inequalities in education. Competition between learners is on the rise, preventing the learning of cooperative behaviour based on the principle of solidarity as the foundation of a democracy.

At the same time, competition which excludes people in the occupational and social context also poses a threat to democracy and impedes solidarity. These processes have to be stopped and radically changed if we are to bring about a democratic society. Education and civil commitment is about more than just making people employable. We view economics and social affairs to be intertwined, with participation and involvement first of all promoting the political community, and secondly fostering people's personal-cultural development on the basis of a social consciousness. Trade union education has been practicing cooperation instead of competition in education for years, thus encouraging democratic action in social areas which are expanding at the transnational level at present. This is why the current crisis in Europe underscores the important role of trade union education as an element of non-school education and lifelong learning in Europe.



Trade union educational work is based on the principle of cooperation and promotes solidarity as a fundamental value reflected in the theory and practice of learning processes. Awareness of common economic and social interests is promoted in a practical process of common learning. This forms the foundations for action based on solidarity. In conceptual and methodological terms, trade union educational work follows a subject-orientated approach that differs from practice in the area of pure conveyance of knowledge and conceives participants to be active, socially learning subjects. Methods enable independent learning processes through common discussion and discovery processes.

Critical educational approach

Political-institutional Europe as well as multinational corporations make decisions that have a major impact on the working and living conditions of Europeans in their various countries. In order to preclude dramatic negative consequences for people such as are being experienced at present in Greece, Spain, Portugal, Ireland and Italy, for example, we need a critical public which is not limited to political struggles at the national level, but rather also opens up a transnational discussion. Hence the multifaceted crisis gripping Europe is revealing a need for employee-orientated education. A common critical awareness for political and economic development both at the national and the European levels needs to be promoted through education.

Trade union educational work is therefore based on a critical approach. Mechanisms of rule are examined from a critical perspective while enabling participants to analyse social developments and prevailing patterns of interpretation from a critical angle and then put their conclusions into practice. Respect for different ways of thinking by the same token provides the basis for human interaction. The

critical approach to education thrives on ideas and values as expressed in the notions of solidarity, democracy, equality, social justice and fairness. Contents and methods employed in educational processes are based on these values.

Political and social development in Europe by fostering a European identity

Trade unions in Europe have to shape transnational processes of democratisation in order to develop the political and social union in addition to its fiscal and economic base. With their respective educational activities they are bringing about a change in course in the direction of a Europe based on the notion of solidarity. Quali2move is taking a major step in this direction with its call for a common understanding of trade union educational work and the initial development of common contents, strategies and methods.

Upon the foundations of this common understanding of education, the undersigned herewith assume the obligation of developing a European social consciousness on the part of employees and their interest representatives as well as corresponding action-related skills within the framework of their capabilities. The objective in this social process of education is to bring about a practice effective European identity among employees with respect to working and living realities – an identity which is based on an understanding and recognition of common economic, social, occupational and personal cultural interests.



The undersigned trade unions shall initiate projects fostering exchange, discussion and the further dissemination of these principles underlying trade union educational work to bring about a change in policy and a Europe based on solidarity, fairness and social justice.

Berlin, 29th November 2012

The undersigned:

Berufsbildungswerk (bfbw), Germany

Birleşik Metal İş, Turkey

Cartel ALFA, Romania

Industriall (European Trade Union), EU

European Trade Union Institute (ETUI), EU

IG Metall, Germany

Institute for the Development of Employees
Advancement Services (IDEAS), Ireland

Instituto de Formación y Estudios Sociales (IFES), Spain

Österreichischer Gewerkschaftsbund (ÖGB), Austria

Unification of Lithuanian Metalworkers' Trade Unions
(Litmetal), Lithuania

Związek Nauczycielstwa Polskiego (ZNP), Poland



Chapter 2

Europe in the grip of crisis?

Manuscript of a lecture delivered upon the occasion of the final event of the project in Berlin on 29 November 2012

Oskar Negt

I am somewhat embarrassed speaking to you here, as I was not actively involved in the project, not even passively. So I was surprised when I received the honourable task of speaking to you about a project which I am not even familiar with in detail. That is why I would like to use this opportunity to look at Europe from a broader perspective.

What crisis situation are we facing right now? My discussions with many managers and people from small and medium-scale enterprises time and again lead back to the same point: you are always talking about a crisis, but we don't see any crisis, particularly not in Germany. We have a EUR 100 billion trade surplus, traffic in goods and services is functioning as it should on the whole. Economically speaking, we are living in a permanent economic boom, at least in central Europe.

So what does crisis mean in this context then? I have this picture in my mind of a social situation which focuses heavily on disruptions and destroyed ties. By destroyed ties I mean that the period of neo-liberalism lasting 20 years – things like that are years in the making – has led to people helping destroy the common good cementing society together in wave after wave of individualisation. The notion of a common good and the need to care for it has not been destroyed in people's minds, but it has been damaged. The question as to what my responsibility actually is towards this common good is in my opinion moving ever more to the forefront in educational work as well. We can of course say that many things which have to do with this common good are performed on the side, for example through voluntary work. Half of the staff working at German universities is voluntary, unpaid. Not to mention the fact that nursing care of old people and care for the environment as well are in many cases not an official area of work in this society, which is to say they have been outsourced to the voluntary sphere.

I would like to briefly define what crisis means to me. I believe we are facing a crisis situation in which old values, standards



and requirements no longer apply without question, which is to say, these values are difficult to convey to the new generation, and new values, new standards are not yet in place, and are rather still being sought. We are in a permanent cultural search for new paths, new ways of designing cities, looking for new responsibilities – including by people towards other people and the common good. I refer to this as a crisis of cultural erosion. Old loyalties to political parties are no longer guaranteed. No political party in Europe can count on its traditional clientele. One could witness how the Pirates in Germany were all of a sudden out there with more than 10% of the vote but then they took a nosedive, more of a swirling structure in which loyalties are placed.

But what does this mean for Europe when old ties, old values are no longer taken for granted, but new ones are not yet in place and a good deal of the population is searching for them? This can also be witness whenever the Pope shows up somewhere. Then people suddenly think that he is bastion of truth. And the nonsense that some Popes have spread does not matter when people are searching for truth and security. Although ties have been destroyed, the need for ties has not. And needs for ties are now among many people unfortunately not focused on nurturing democratic ideals in society, and instead are often feeding into radical right-wing movements,



where truth and security are promised, simple truth, comradeship, ties, etc. where alternatives are offered which are not democratic.

That is why I have said that democracy is the only form of state and society which has to be learned. All other forms of rule initially come for free. Such systems of rule seek to avoid expansion of learning processes wherever possible. All authoritarian, totalitarian systems break with the educational offensive, which is to say, they are more interested in people not developing any political judgment skills. But democratic societies have an existential need for such educational processes. And when I now look back over the history of the last 20 or 30 years, I can say: never has so much been changed objectively speaking in times of peace. An entire empire collapsed. A society like East Germany practically imploded. What we are seeing is a sort of historical cycle. And this raises the question: are people actually aware of what has happened to them in this period? I do not believe that this is the case. The flood of objective change has not penetrated into the minds of the subjects yet. This raises the requirements applying to educational processes in the European context, no longer only in individual national cultures. We are witnessing a situation in flux, a society undergoing profound change in which the economic cycle can have a reinforcing or cushioning effect, but it is not the sole determining factor.

In such a situation of profound societal change the strangest things appear – like what has happened with the financial system. Under normal conditions it would be inconceivable for societal value creation to become autonomous of society. This thrives on never-ending crises in which nobody has a clear roadmap with clear and precise instructions in front of them. Out of the three billion transactions which take place on international exchanges every day, only five per cent relate to the production and exchange of goods. This means we are dealing with what Marx once referred to as the real abstrac-

tion of money. To a certain extent a part or even a significant part of economic value creation of society is gone. The fact that this is accepted and attempts to confront the crisis are basically restricted to safeguarding the banking system now would have been inconceivable 20 or 30 years ago. I mention this because I believe that this also has something to do with our task as trade unions to perceive and understand this crisis – as manifestation of a special form of crisis.

If I am correct in my analysis, then it would appear that these situations, times of crisis, are not times of realisation and understanding. Generally speaking, for critical people such as myself, a crisis situation is also a situation of understanding and perceiving through one's own personal efforts. This is unfortunately not the case objectively; instead, people are haunted by fear, while the social Darwinist struggle to survive is rampant in such situations and consumes considerable energy. Maybe people need most of the energy they have to put up with conditions which they also consider to be unendurable. This means that in such a societal situation mechanisms are at work which cause people to duck, which means basically not protesting publically. And when they protest in public, then they express rage. But this rage does not lead to the development of citizens. They remain protestors, rather, and the protests dwindle, just like in the case of Stuttgart 21. There are some protests which remain constant, for example the Gorleben protests.

In our educational work, we must hence ask the question: What are the objective mechanisms which are at work in individual nation states? And if they are not understood and dealt with, European unification will also be difficult to achieve through solidarity, if not even impossible. The hypothesis which I have attempted to formulate in the book "Gesellschaftsentwurf Europa" is that we cannot unify Europe if we do not at the same time address this crisis situation, which is to say find a way out of it.



What is it that characterises this crisis then? The problem of the polarisation of society, for example. We are witnessing a growing gap between rich and poor almost unparalleled in history. Clever minds have estimated that the accumulation in a certain small strata of society, the accumulation of wealth, is roughly as great as at the time of the great French Revolution. Back then it was mainly in the hands of the church and large landowners. Polarisation is taking place at the level of poor and rich in such a manner that in one of the richest societies in the world, Germany, one in every five children is growing up under the poverty level. You don't have to go to Bangladesh or Sao Paulo in order to see this. Impoverishment is taking place in the core of society. Polarisation is the wrong strategy for solving crises.

Polarisation in the educational system is the second level. What is happening here is that the funding of public schools and educational systems is being reduced, while the focus is at the same time being shifted to elite universities and universities of excellence. This is one of the ironies of history: German elite universities cannot be compared with American ones because in the United States there are all kinds of grants and subsidies available for poorer students. This culture does not exist in Germany – an Ackermann does not endow a foundation to this end. This means that these elite universities are only elite universities in symbolic terms and cannot be compared to universities like Princeton, Harvard and Columbia. Princeton's foundation endowment, I have been told, is 18 billion dollars. And it is the smallest of the Ivy League universities. One of the biggest donors, Andrew Carnegie, once said: "Whoever dies rich has made his life a disgrace". It is important to donate something, to give society something back. This is rather uncommon in Europe. That is why the whole notion of universities of excellence does not offer any way to break out of this polarisation.

The second basic mechanism which I would like to address is flexibilisation, the ideology of flexibilisation. And of course the ideology of mobility as well. I believe that we have spoke about the fact that mobility is basically something liberating and cosmopolitan. But one also needs to look at the other side of the coin when it comes to mobility, not only for immigrants who decamp to the centre of Europe borne of dire need. Something is also taking place which one can refer to as the uprooting of people, uprooting from their land, from their traditional environment, neighbourhoods. Flexibilisation is also an element in the destruction of identity, which is linked to a sense of belonging. The radical right is incidentally profiting from this uprooting, playing the "fatherland" card once again, and this in all European societies. Dreams of homeland are being wielded against European integration, which views these measures as an act of liberation.

Richard Sennett wrote a small book whose English title has been translated into German as "The Flexible Human". And if I asked you whether you are flexible, probably nobody would answer in the negative because being flexible is an act of narrow-mindedness and limitation. The original English title of this work by Sennet, which explores conditions in America, is "The Corrosion of Character". And this title does not have any positive connotation at all. It simply means the destruction of identity. Flexibilisation is linked to the fragmentation of workplaces, and to a certain extent denotes the entire fragmentation of humanity: people can no longer live from a job and wage. Instead, they have to combine jobs, and this is what plays a major role in the development of anxiety, existential anxiety. I put it like this: the raw material for anxiety in society is on the rise. And when the raw material for anxiety is on the rise, it poses a significant threat to a democratic order.

Allow me to delve a bit further into history. I am of the opinion that we are currently seeing a need for a new learning cycle



in society, European society. And I see three stages in this learning, this collective learning.

The first stage is the elimination of a plundering, pathological cycle of warfare and roving bands of murderous pillaging mercenaries in the Thirty Years' War. One needs to recall that this Europe was a war-like Europe. Which is why the Nobel Peace Process basically only cites the fact that there has not been any world war for 60 years, which is something novel in Europe. But at the same time it is a call for us to make Europe capable of peace, to change conditions so that warlike action no longer occurs at various levels. I have studied the Peace of Westphalia treaties very closely because they address this cataclysmic dimension of the Thirty Years' War, where everyone was fighting everyone, where all loyalties, traditions and ties were cast away and lost. The Swedish army was funded by Richelieu, which is to say a Catholic country. It was totally chaotic. And by the same token certain events took place in the development of law, which can only be viewed as a collective learning process. Tolerance – that was when the notion of tolerance came about. The separation between legality and morality led to prosecution by the Inquisition gradually being replaced by prosecution based on accusation. A major learning process.

The second learning process took place in various programmes after 1945, for example in the Italian Constitution of 1947; this document already lays down the right to work and sets out co-determination arrangements. All these things have a similar thrust: we must never again leave those holding the reigns of economic power free of democratic controls and constraints. Co-determination, the German Works Council Act (in contrast to the Works Council Act of 1922, which had a completely different significance) – and dignity as a supreme norm upon which the state is founded. Many developments after 1945 were learning processes – and this across political party lines. The great Europeans Coudenhove-Kalergi, Monnet and others

were aware that what had happened in the Third Reich and elsewhere had something to do with abuse of power, abuse of economic power. A learning process took place here which incidentally is now supposed to be rolled back. I see some major threats here. When the social state and the achievements of the social state are to be liquidated, entire learning processes will be liquidated along with it. I believe that the three pillars upon which an emancipative Europe is based – namely a state governed by rule of all, social state and democracy – will be damaged on the whole if one of these pillars is pushed into the background or damaged. That is why I refer to a learning process which has a third dimension: in addition to polarisation and flexibilisation, society is being rent asunder under the rubric of decoupling.

I was indeed aghast when Alain Touraine said that we can no longer speak in terms of a “two-thirds” society, but rather a European society torn into three parts. One-third of Europe's citizens feel fine, are not aware of any crisis and take part in democratic processes in a participative manner, they are integrated, have jobs and no awareness of any crisis of working society. One-third.

The second third is the growing number of fragmented situations with people living in a state of precariousness (not a bad term at all for this strata) – with short-term employment contracts, which is tantamount to not being able to plan one's economic future. This of course has repercussions regarding whether to have children or not when one does not have job security. Specific anxieties are at work here. At present these anxieties are localised in a strata which is to a certain extent still trying to find out what societal formation it is part of. But this cannot be any permanent state. This precarious situation involves fluctuations of people and searching. And this can create entire different ties as well.



The third category is the growing army of the permanently “unnneeded”. If relations of production remain as they are, rationalisation is the mechanism within the production of goods which proceeds to develop unabated. In automotive production we will indeed be witnessing factories devoid of any human beings. This was still a negative utopia in the middle of the 1980s. This has changed significantly with all these factors and developments as a result of robotics and other digital media. But the question remains: what is to become of living human beings? What are they to do? We are talking about a “decoupling” of one-third of society. At present these people can still be supported through social security – limited social security, but they nevertheless have certain benefits. What this means is the following: with regard to the labour market policy of the trade unions, we must address the notion that there is a genuine common good of labour which is not founded upon the market, but which is rather a product of society – that is, it also has to be financed by society. Not in the belief that the people who for example work as caretakers for cemeteries will one day have a full-time job. The entire labour-market policy is focussed on at some point integrating people into the first labour market. But this is less and less successful, not least as a result of tremendous surges in productivity and changes in the potential for rationalisation in different areas of industry.

I am dismayed about the first idea of a decoupling of Greece – basically the decoupling problem is based on the belief that one does not need certain people – is now being adopted in the area of economics. The idea that we no longer need certain countries and that we will cast them adrift. And rating agencies say that they are no longer creditworthy. This is a fatal split within Europe. And as much as I am in favour of being brought into the European fold at some point – if Greece is cast off, then it is more than a symbolic act. We have received all our notions of logic, tragedies and aesthetics from the Greek,



Italian and Romance cultures. If these countries, the Romance countries, are cast adrift, that is a direct thrust at the heart and soul of Europe and more than just the introduction of the old Alexandrian currency within one country. A process of destruction and the decoupling of entire economies and countries is taking place in Europe – and from what would have to be paid here to bail out Greece, Italy and Portugal. And the Eastern European countries will be raising their voices as well. They won’t remain silent. I have read that the living standard of manual labourers in Poland is about half the level of manual labourers in Greece. I don’t know if that is true, but if it is, the Poles will be speaking up at some point and saying, we are part of Europe, why isn’t anyone helping us? The only possibility here is a Marshal Plan. If you want to help Europe, then the productive potential of the various countries has to be expanded, just like after 1945, and this means harnessing European potential along the lines of economics based on solidarity. Old-school capitalism will no longer do.

This of course means for the trade unions that they also have to bank on the notion of solidarity – collective bargaining policy has already been mentioned in this context. This will be a difficult process, but it would constitute something like



making up for the transgressions of the past in a spirit of solidarity. And this is what has to take place if the productive potential of these countries is not to be destroyed. What is happening at present is the following: there is a desire for loans to be repaid but at the same time industrial plant and the middle class are being razed to the ground. How are they even supposed to pay the interest on these loans? This is a destructive process which is to a certain extent endurable for individual business enterprises in a capitalistic environment, but for Europe as a whole it is actually unendurable and is tending to destroy Europe. The current concentration on supporting destitute banks is trampling the idea of Europe more than it is saving anything. The only way that anything can be saved is by creating a guarantee package for culture and learning in Europe. Why not commit EUR 500 billion? That would be sustainable. You have also mentioned the term “sustainability” in this context.

Let me characterise the conclusions with regard to the notion of humanity which is coming about. If a human being in the age of Pericles asked what the ideal notion of a human being was, what it was all about, what education was supposed to mean, he would have spontaneously replied that the task was to attend to the good of the polis, the city. And that private citizens would have been “destructive to cities” in this period. It is no accident that the term “idiotes” in ancient Greek – which we associate with folly and foolishness, basically means nothing more than a “private person” who basically only attends to his own affairs. And if we asked a man of the Renaissance what the ideal of humanity was, he would have been able to point to someone like Leonardo: eager to understand what factors are at work in the world, to describe and project it. It is curious all the things that Leonardo invented – even the bicycle. Many things that did not function back then, including scuttling ships. These did not work, but it was these ideas that are expressed here in a notion of humanity. And Humboldt’s

notion of a human being is someone who acts through science and is capable of sound judgment.

What we are witnessing at present is not least a shrinking of the notion of the human being into an organism that is essentially an economic actor. In German language use, but also in English, we are hearing ever more often the idea of an entrepreneurial person as the ideal in our present age. This is an idea that stems from Joseph Schumpeter, who said that entrepreneurs are not people who have capital, but rather who do something, who act. But the autonomy associated with this is of course illusory and is also apparent. The second ideal is that of the human being who is available at any and all times. The human being in the production of goods is a human being available at any and all times, who in political terms is a high-performing “fellow traveller”, but who poses a threat to a democratic system. But this is a change in the notion of human beings which was also projected in the Bologna Process as well: learning that is weak on learning, accumulation of knowledge – this means not transferring problems and other things from one’s own life, but rather quickly adopting the unreflective ideal of academic education – because education in the actual sense of the word, at least that is what I learned from the “Frankfurt School”, actually consists of an accumulation of knowledge. One aggrandises knowledge. One does not need all this at present, all this aggrandised knowledge. What we need, rather, is perspectives, categories, terms like you have apparently also developed in an arsenal of categories – which is to say terms, values which are important. That is real education.

I believe that it is very important for our trade union educational work to overcome the narrow, limited approach of training officers, but without neglecting trade union officers’ knowledge. I think that this is very important. Placing political judgment skills at the heart of trade union work is a key requirement for a European structure to develop in which the



people living there are also able to live from their work. A change in the quality of trade union educational work is also important, however. The task is not only to acquire functional knowledge, although this is no doubt part of the equation. At the same time, however, for a democratic society and for democratic learning in Europe we need to place skills of political judgment closer to the heart of education. And these skills of political judgment have a decisive standard for any leftist policy, for any policy which elevates the emancipation of people, namely dignity. The establishment of dignity and the conditions required for a dignified life are in my opinion a guiding standard in trade union educational work. And I think that the opportunities in Europe are very great to set this process in motion in the current disjuncture. According to Kant, one cannot attach a price to dignity, which means it is not replaceable. Kant said that it is necessary for people to transform their personal logic and reason into public use of logic and reason. And using it as a norm is very important because it is a weighty element of democracy.

I thank you for your attention.

Chapter 3

The crisis of European integration and social struggles

Manuscript of a lecture delivered upon the occasion of the final event of the project in Berlin on 29 November 2012

Adam Ostolski

Thank you for the invitation. It is a great pleasure and also an honour to speak to you here, to meet with you and be able to speak about what is at present the biggest challenge facing people in Europe, that is, us. Lately I have been devoting a lot of attention to the crisis in the European Union. As an author and journalist I write commentaries and articles on this subject, as a sociologist and university lecturer, on the other hand, I teach a seminar entitled “the European Union – crisis or new opportunities?”. After the seminar this past Tuesday I received an e-mail from a student in which he said among other things: “I would only like to add that today’s seminar was extremely depressing.” I hope that I do not end today’s presentation on a depressing note, even though a little depression is not a bad thing. It helps reveal valuable new perspectives.

I would like to pick up on the inspiring lecture by Oskar Negt. In a certain sense I will be speaking about the same things, but from a slightly different perspective. Professor Negt concentrated on values, that is on those things which should tie us together. I would like to focus more on the conflicts, i.e. what should separate us and how. I do not regard this as the opposite of the first perspective, but rather as the other side of the same coin. I would also like to extend a word of thanks here for what you have jointly contributed to trade union education: the various models for political education in trade unions. I will try to link this idea of trade union education, which is new to me, into my discussion of the crisis of the European Union and the opportunities out there to overcome it.

What am I referring to? First of all, and this appears to me to be most important in the present-day crisis, there are five possible ways out of the crisis. When I say “possible”, then it is obvious that the possibility of describing these ways differs in each case. Some are more likely, others less like-



ly. We will be looking at these more closely. Finally, I would like to address the role of trade unions and the opportunity which trade unions offer for Europe.

What is this crisis based on? The first thing we should note is the new nature of nationalist movements or nationalist sympathies in Europe. This is not old-school nationalism. This is not a nationalism which “was already always there” before Europe began unifying. This new wave of nationalist sentiment is not simply a reaction to European integration. It is, rather, the result of this integration. At the present point in time, in the midst of crisis and a political situation characterised by belt-tightening measures (which is one response to this crisis), it can be said that new nationalist tendencies are the main fruit which a united Europe is reaping for us at present. Consider the stereotypes surrounding inhabitants of Southern Europe gaining currency in the Northern countries of the continent, for example in Germany or Finland. Consider the anti-German sentiment gathering



force in Southern Europe, particularly in Greece. Consider in particular that feeling that links the North and South in great unity – growing contempt and fear of immigrants. Here countries such as the Netherlands and Greece seem to be leading the pack at present. It is crucial for us to recognise that this nationalism is by no means a remnant or relic or ghost from the past. It is the fruit of European integration in the form in which it exists at present. It is furthermore a consequence of the policy adopted to deal with this crisis which is what Europe's leaders or technocrats have to offer at present.

Secondly, we are of course also facing an economic crisis at present. And here it is important to note that two things overlap here. First of all the global economic crisis, and secondly the crisis of the Euro zone. The global economic crisis has revealed a certain design defect in the Euro zone and caused it to surface – a defect which is deepening the impact of the global crisis. Thus we are facing at least two crises at present, and they overlap. I will come back to this, as it is an essential point if we want to find out how we can emerge from this crisis we are facing.

And thirdly we are facing an ecological or climate crisis. This is easily forgotten in a situation in which the economic crisis seems so pressing and unexpected. But we should not forget this crisis. Not only because climate change places our future in jeopardy, but also because there are new tasks to be performed by Europe as well in coming up with a response to the climate crisis.

What paths can Europe take in order to emerge from this crisis? I believe that there are five possible routes. The first route is to deal with the economic crisis as if the flaws in the design of the Euro zone had not been exposed. There are three proposals here. The first proposal, which is cur-

rently being implemented, is linking bail-outs to belt-tightening measures. I read a commentary on the policy of the European Central Bank in "The Economist" a few weeks ago. Actually the whole article can be summed up in four words: "This seems like madness". While reading it, it occurred to me that the caption for my lecture could be: "Though this be madness, yet there is class war in it" – to paraphrase Shakespeare. If we look at the policy of Mario Draghi in light of his promise to do everything necessary to rescue the Euro zone, his actions seem pointless. But we should recall that the President of the European Central Bank already made a much more serious promise previous to this, which did not really sound like a promise, even though it actually was. He said namely in an interview for the "Wall Street Journal" in February that the "European social model has served its purpose and is at an end". I think that this is precisely the promise which he is now trying to keep. A second proposal to overcome the economic crisis is stimulation packages in connection with a long-term improvement in profitability. This proposal is also supported by "The Economist" and has been implemented to a certain degree in France since the victory of François Hollande. The third proposal is for a green economic stimulus package, which means investing in an ecological economy which is not only aimed at helping us out of the current crisis, but also laying the foundations for a new, more sustainable and somewhat altered social model. Certain elements in such a policy are being implemented in France at present. One weak point in all three of these proposals, however, is that they relate to the economic crisis, but leave the problem surrounding the flaws in the design of the Euro zone untouched.

Another possible way of moving out of the crisis would be to return to national currencies or establish a multi-currency system. A simple return to national currencies is a dangerous



proposal at present. Especially because it would be easiest for the rich countries to implement such a scenario. If, for example, Finland wanted to return to the mark, it would not face any major problem in doing so. It would not even have to keep such plans secret. Incidentally, such plans already exist and they are not being kept secret. Finland is thus prepared for such a scenario. We could find ourselves once again in a situation in which the richer, more secure countries leave the Euro zone, leaving the remaining countries to their own fate. This may set a certain scenario of disintegration and a race to the abyss in motion. Another scenario is the reconstruction of the Euro zone. An article by Thomas Mayer, an expert at the Deutsche Bank, appeared in the Wall Street Journal several weeks ago, in which he predicted that a three-shift currency system would rise in Europe in the future. Countries like the Netherlands, Germany and Finland would use two currencies: the Euro is an exchange currency as well as a separate joint currency as a means for value-creation. Countries like France, Spain or Italy would only use the Euro. In contrast to these, countries like Greece, Cyprus or Portugal would use the Euro to pay off their debts and their own national currencies for the exchange of goods in their own territory. I am afraid that such a system would be more stable than the Euro zone, but at the same time would cement their worst defects, especially the growing discrepancies between the economic systems of Southern and Northern Europe.

The third path would be pure political federalism. The proposal to make a “leap to a federal Europe”, forwarded for example by Guy Verhofstadt and Daniel Cohn-Bendit in their recently published book “For Europe”, is based on noble motives. But it does not constitute a real solution, as it does not deal with the fundamental source of the problem. What is impeding the European system is not selfish parochial national thinking. This may not appear to be obvious today,

but the problem with viewing the tension between national sovereignty and additional integration is a very simplified and outmoded way of thinking. The problem today is not the mythical selfishness of nation states, but rather the fact that neither nation states nor EU institutions protect European societies and the world of work from the hegemony of capital. This hegemony has essentially extended both over nation states as well as the institutions of the European Union. That is why social movements such as Indignados or Occupy have appeared in Europe recently, directing their protest against the policies of national governments as well as the European Union. From the perspective of literally 99 per cent of the population, this or that distribution of power between Europe and nation states does not make that much difference. The problem lies in a completely different place.

A fourth path would be to replace the currency union with a clearing union. A clearing union would solve at least two problems besetting the Euro zone. It would restore the possibility to adjust monetary and fiscal policy relative to each other. If states returned to their currencies, both policies would be at the same level. Above all, however, a clearing union would protect against imbalances in the trade balance. A clearing union would look as follows: each member state would have its own currency and in addition there would also be a special international currency, which could be called the Euro or Bancor, as Keynes proposed. This second currency would serve the purpose of trade exchange between states. There would be mechanisms in the clearing union which prevent surging surpluses and deficits from coming about in trade relations. Countries which have a deficit would have to devalue their currencies and countries which have a surplus would have a special tax imposed on them. This is one solution, and it has its negative points, but it would allow the biggest economic problems created by the Euro zone at present to be solved.



A similar proposal was announced in September by experts at the Paris Veblen Institute, Bruno Théret and Wojtek Kalinowski. In their “Appeal for a European Currency Federalism”¹, they propose that the Euro serve as “common money” in Europe, but not as a “uniform currency”. In the system they call for, there would be a large number of currencies – local, regional and national, which would play the role of “subordinated” currencies vis-à-vis the Euro. The Euro would then be a federal money which would weld together national currencies (Eurofrancs, Euromarks, Eurodrachmas, Euroliras, etc.), but would not replace them. Théret and Kalinowski admit that such a system would not solve all the problems of the Euro zone (in particular the question of imbalances in the balance of payments between countries), but would in their opinion allow a major step forward.

The last, and fifth path, is something which I refer to as authentic or de facto federation. The point of departure should not be transfer of power to the European level, but rather the definition of social citizenship at the European level. The task is to determine which benefits, what level of social security, what public benefits we have a right to as inhabitants of Europe. Precisely this should be the first step – not transferring power, but specifying what it means to be a citizen. European integration in the economic sense is based on a certain compromise or even a social pact between capital and the world of work – on that “European social model” which Mario Draghi has pledged to put an end to. But Europe has not reinvested in this compromise. When the institutions which were established in the respective countries in the wake of World War II began to stumble, the foundations of the model also began to weaken. That is why another distribution of power between the European Union

and its nation states cannot offer a way out. Rather, we need to think about how to revive or invest in those things which served as the economic foundations of integration.

In addition, the currency union must be supported by a commensurately large budget if a common currency is to be maintained in the European Union. There is no scientific method which would make it possible to determine in any precise manner how big such a budget should be, but we can take the budget of the United States in relation to its Gross Domestic Product as a certain orientation. The budget of the United States of America is approximately 20 per cent of its Gross Domestic Product. In the case of the European Union, this would mean that the federal budget would have to be twenty times larger than it is at present. I believe that, if we are not prepared to enlarge the budget of the European Union in this way, then we should not have any illusions about being successful in maintaining a common currency.

Of course the question remains as to how this money should be spent. First of all, I believe that it should be used to guarantee everything which I have referred to as social citizenship at the European level. Secondly, it should be used for the ecological modernisation of European economic systems.

In addition to the broad definition of social citizenship and the commensurately large budget, an authentic federation also needs a certain unifying vision, a common task. It would appear that the idea of preventing another war no longer serves any purpose. It especially does not have any effect on political elites of the European countries any longer, but perhaps it does not have much influence on common citizens, either. This means that we need ideas that serve a similar function, and I believe that the danger of climate change could serve this purpose.

¹ http://www.veblen-institute.org/IMG/pdf/a_plea_for_a_european_monetary_federalism.pdf



At this point I can no longer restrain myself and have to sharply denounce the statement made by the Polish Foreign Minister, Radosław Sikorski. One year ago in Berlin, Radosław Sikorski tried to convince people that the key to the future of Europe is in Germany's hands, and he moreover stated that our (which is to say European) unity would not suffer if we had different standards regarding morals, family life, different tax rates or different working times. I think that our unity suffers greatly because we allow certain countries like Poland to believe that they can treat human rights in a selective manner and carry on social dumping by competing with other countries to have the longest working hours and lowest taxes. But above all I was incensed that his address did not make any mention of environmental protection. Poland has the dubious honour of being a country in Europe that has vetoed the acceptance of an EU climate policy at least three times (I can no longer keep count of them). This poses a real threat to our future.

What conclusions can be drawn from this? As I have already stated, the word "possible" means different things. Some of these paths are possible and are even being implemented, but are not leading us out of the crisis. Others could lead us out of the crisis, but it is very unlikely that we will be successful in implementing them. What can one do in a situation like this? This brings us to the role of social movements, among them the trade unions.

It is important to me that we do not view the European Union, its nation states, etc., as fixed entities or as a source of standards, norms or values, but rather as a certain level of social struggle for things which are important to us. These struggles can move between these levels. Terms such as "downloading" and "uploading" are used in studies on neo-liberalisation. These are strategies for the transfer of various competencies and decision-making to a level where people

have a lower influence and control. Sometimes certain competencies are transferred to a higher level, to the European level, in order to tell people that we no longer have any influence – that is what Europe is all about. Sometimes decisions are transferred downwards with the same objective. In Poland, for example, nursery schools were transferred to local self-government, but they were not given sufficient resources in order to run them. That is a good way to make sure that a large portion of nursery schools will be closed down. Moreover, it appears at first glance to be much more democratic, as decisions are purportedly being devolved closer to the people. This is a tactic similar to what is referred to as "policy laundering", which is to say the "laundering" of uncomfortable political decisions (similar to the "laundering" of dirty money). This means that decisions are made at a level where one can claim that somebody else has to make the decision. What should the response to this be? If the European Union (similar to how the nation state, the company and with certain issues the family) is the level of the struggle to shape the world, this means that our task is based on doing the same with certain issues and always moving the struggle to the level at which we have the biggest opportunity to achieve our aims and objectives. If we are able to achieve a better social citizenship or shorter working hours at the European level, for example, then we should transfer the struggle to the European Union. If we have a greater chance of achieving these things at the level of the nation state, then let's move the struggle to the level of the nation state. Thus we are just as mobile and just as cunning as the opponent.

How do I see the role of trade unions in this context? The trade unions are not the only actors which carry on social struggles, but they are one of the most important institutions doing so. When I read your definitions of trade union

political education in more than a dozen countries, I thought about what unified them and how one can link them together into something which would constitute a certain unity at a higher level. In these documents the word “tradition” caught my eye. It was said that the trade unions have different traditions in different countries. That word is suspicious. It states something, it reveals something, but it also conceals something. When we say “tradition”, we are ultimately not talking about this or that age-old cultural difference between countries, but rather something which is a certain effect, a certain inventory of social struggles layering on top of each other in history. When we refer to the tradition of trade union education or the tradition of trade union work in various countries, then we are actually saying that social struggles, in particular class struggles, have taken different courses and produced different results.

How can one achieve the same at the European level? I don’t think by attempting to find a common denominator, and not by trying to find a common rubric, and not by linking up and negotiating over these various meanings. The only manner in which the meaning of the term “trade union education” can be established at the European level is to carry on social struggle, class struggle at the European level. A certain new tradition of political education will then crystallise out of this struggle. And that is the first point which appears to me to be of fundamental importance: not to look back too much, but rather to attempt to move forward by taking advantage of this valuable experience.

It appears particularly important in my opinion to approach other social movements and jointly tap new knowledge. The trade unions in Poland have had very interesting experience in working together with various social movements. Until I came here I was not aware that this can be called trade union education. When I began to think about this in the train bet-



ween Warsaw and Berlin, I thought that one can especially call what we do in Poland trade union education. Two years ago the OPZZ (Amalgamated Polish Trade Union Federation) organised an international, pan-European conference with gay and lesbian organisations to address the topic of how gays and lesbians are treated at the work site. This was a very important conference, as organisations representing the LGBT movement in Poland noticed that the trade unions are interested in such a topic in the first place. A conviction has spread in society that trade unions really do take care of all employees. We live in a world (or at least in Poland



this is the case) in which it is easier to understand work than to explain that someone can be discriminated against as a trade unionist. This is a good point of departure in expanding the horizons of members of trade unions, officers of other social movements and a broad public opinion.

But a conference which took place in Silesia in the spring of this year dubbed the “Black-Green Round-Table” strikes me a really inspiring. I believe that “Black” in Germany has a very specific political meaning. In this case it meant coal. This was a conference organised by the mining trade unions and environmental organisations on climate policy and economic transformation related to it. As I said earlier, the Polish government, the employers association and a large share of trade unions are very distrustful when it comes to EU climate policy. It was surprising that the miners turned out to be the most open ones in the dialogues with the ecologists. There were certain differences of opinion, but the discussion revealed that miners and environmentalists get along with each other better than any of these groups get along with the Polish government. This was also important (and that is why I am talking about this in the context of trade union education) because environmentalists often have a tendency to only emphasise the positive side of low-carbon economies. They associate it with democracy, clean air and health. They do not think about the dangers that could be associated with it. The trade unions are much more aware of these dangers. Trade unions have an enormous wealth of skills, experience and the imagination to understand how such an ecological economic transformation implemented by the business world could have the effect of putting us in a much worse position than we are right now. This meeting in the spring was very instructive, not only for both parties, but also in the context of generating a new form of knowledge which can connect with the public. I believe

that there are a few other areas of cooperation with social movements in which this type of education could be worthwhile at the European level. For example, the challenges and dangers, but also the opportunities available through the further development of the Internet, which is an issue being addressed by one of the most recent social movements, the Pirate movement.

I have saved the most important for last. I believe that the trade unions have a major opportunity and a great responsibility to rebuild the utopian notions of politics, certain values – real values. Values, which are important in the lives of each and every human being.

Let’s look at two lists of values. On the one hand four Atlantic freedoms, which is to say, freedoms which the Allies promised in the fight against Hitler. They promised to build a world after the war in which all people can enjoy freedom of speech, freedom of consciousness, freedom from fear and freedom from poverty. And now we should recall how the Common Market set out the structure for the European Union. It has also been based on four freedoms: free traffic in capital, free traffic in goods, freedom of services and freedom of personal movement or the free mobility of labour. It appears clear to me that in a world which concentrates exclusively on these four freedoms that support a Common Market and ignore basic freedoms which are important in the lives of 99 per cent of human beings, there is no room for things which are very valuable to us.

When we emerge from the crisis and possibly want to rescue Europe and want to live in a world which would be better than the one we live in now, then it will be important to return to the utopian dimension of politics. This utopia can of course also be manifested in specific institutions, specific arrangements or solutions. So it is not separate from our



lives. It is a certain beacon or reference point which is able to change everyday lives in many societies. It is necessary to bring back this utopian dimension of politics in order to restore the “principle of hope”. I believe that this is the most important task for trade union education today. Thank you for listening.

Chapter 4

Educate Europe out of the crisis!

Foundations and prospects for the needed further development of “European learning”

Tom Kehrbaum

Whoever speaks with each other, does not shoot at each other.
Whoever asks each other questions, recognises common interests.
Whoever laughs together, cares about each other.

Of wars and crises – a brief history of “European learning”

Wars and crises have often played a decisive role in the formation of common European learning processes. This chapter looks at the origins of “European learning” and key aspects and categories of a kind of education that can help overcome the crisis in Europe.

The cataclysmic Thirty Years’ War from 1618 to 1648 caused thinkers – at those times these were above all clerics – to search for alternative ways to solve conflicts. The Czech reformer Johann Amos Comenius (1592-1670) developed the first comprehensive theory of European pedagogics at this time, which he effectively put into practice in his efforts to bring about peace, thereby laying the foundations for modern Europe (c.f. Sparr 2008, p. 22). I would like to present important aspects of our topic by first looking at this man.

Comenius did not take half-measures, he went the whole hog! He grasped the big picture when the task at hand was to bring about peace, and he was the first pedagogue who called for young boys and girls, men and women to take part in knowledge formation and teaching as a whole. The point of departure and reference in his pedagogical theory is the “*General Consultation on the Improvement of Human Affairs*”, to quote the subtitle of his main work, the main title being *Pampaedia*.

“The state of human affairs” in large parts of Europe in the 17th century was marked by traumatic experience and the crude violence of war in which it was everyone against everyone. In his educational novel “*Labyrinth of the World and Paradise of the Heart*” (Comenius 1992), Comenius considers the development of humanity – the human species in general – to be inseparably linked to the development of the ability

to live in peace. With regard to war, he wrote: “It is not wild animals of prey, but rather human beings who are assigned the task of mediation” (ibid, p. 103). Thus Comenius assigns the human species the task of developing ways and means of solving conflicts instead of fighting each other (c.f. Gamm 2008, p. 112 ff). Comenius mentions arrangements, agreements and contracts between persons as an alternative to war. This made another form of human being discernible in the distance: the non-aligned, self-determining human being reflecting upon his interests (c.f. ibid).

Comenius’ pedagogics were intended to convey all useful knowledge with wide-ranging methods to all age groups and people in all stages of life – thus men as well as women (Omnes, Omnia, Omnino). The purpose of this learning process spanning an entire lifetime was to empower people to solve conflicts by peaceful means. In the view of Comenius, human beings need comprehensive education to do this.

His work *Pampaedia* stems from the desire for a better world. Comenius’ approach to making “human affairs” and the aim of a better world into a topic of general discussion was a historically speaking new way of looking at things. He linked pedagogics with aspects of politics and the telos (ancient Greek meaning objective) of achieving a peaceful world society. This made him the first classic in Enlightenment pedagogics.

Three hundred years after Comenius, his hopeful utopia of peace, which was meant to embrace the entire world, may sound surprising. We attribute this to his piousness and his bonds to God. We nevertheless recognise that with his pedagogics he laid the foundations for political, general education, which continues to reverberate on a European scale today. Theory and practice in such a general education is not limited to winning “Who Wants to be a Millionaire”. It is instead realised through efforts to achieve a better world. The notion of general education takes on a political dimension as a result.



Present-day free democratic societies require wide-ranging participation and public discussion of current “human affairs” and their improvement as a result of the way they tend to be constituted. This is because democracy, in addition to being a “constitutional type” and its identification with a certain “form of government” (c.f. Agamben 2012, p. 12) is also a way of life in which democratic behaviour is also reflected in people’s everyday lives. Democratic practices that make possible effective, purposeful and participative politics in the spirit of solidarity have to be learned anew by each generation - and explicitly not only by the respective generation of politicians (c.f. Negt 2010).

The pedagogical approach to “peace education” - i.e. preventing wars through education - has been successful. In general, in historical comparison wars have become fewer and more far between; Europe was awarded the Noble Peace Prize in 2012. This prize is a commendation for a policy since 1945 at whose heart was the avoidance of war. The prize has also been awarded among other things to five hundred million citizens of the European Union who demonstrate their commitment to peace in everyday life in Europe. Thus tribute has been paid to those educationalists and pedagogues who attempted in the wake of World War II to make “peace-making skills” a fundamental topic in education (for example, Gamm 1968). By the same token, the focus was placed on the causes of wars. The connection between war and economics, social and political relations was placed at the nexus of enquiry.

In the year in which the Nobel Peace Prize was conferred to it, Europe was already in the fourth year of a multi-faceted crisis. The prize makes us recall that at the end of World War II it was the idea of peace which stood at the beginning of modern Europe. This Europe is now limping as a result of monetary and economic problems. Can we also learn from the successful history of civilisation of warlike peoples through education in today’s crisis? Have the battlefields of the past

turned into “battlefields of the market”, which are also just as much in need of taming today? This comparison broaches questions which I will address in this article.

That is why I would like to build on this success story of European education - which traces back to Comenius - and identify key aspects and categories with the aid of additional theories. These are intended to highlight the potential for crisis-managing, transnational education for Europe while at the same time underscoring the modernity of Comenius’ pedagogics.

- *Understanding instead of warfare* – To avoid wars and crises we need understanding. Because Comenius had all of humanity - especially in its diversity - in mind as a result of his Christian background, this understanding principally relates to human beings. That is why the common good does not stop at borders. Comenius recommended learning the language of neighbouring peoples, for example. But language is only one aspect of understanding. Even more important are the reasons and purposes as well as forms of understanding. Political liberalism is rooted in the demand for religious tolerance (Todorov 2003, p. 26), which is also expressed in Comenius’ works. Not to impose one’s own belief, one’s own convictions by violent means, was and remains an important learning tenet in present-day democratic.
- *Learning appropriate forms of understanding* – Human forms of understanding should be found to avoid wars and overcome crises which arise in societies that are becoming ever more complex. Comenius resolutely implemented this perspective in his didactics/methodology, already displaying reflected psychological knowledge way back then: in the phase of adolescence he recommended, for example, dialogue, disputations, stage presentations, writing letters, learning the art of conversation and keeping



a diary because he was aware that drives can be focused by language-based reflection (c.f. Gamm 2008). Comenius thus drew attention very early on to the connection between drives and war and overcoming them or avoiding them through language expression.

- *Emergence of a political culture* – At the same time Comenius developed the notion of political culture by means of learning ways of understanding which relate equally to the individual and the collectivity.
- *Work as a human category* – Similar to Marx, work for Comenius is a human category. This means that the anthropogenesis is a dialectical process between work and human beings. From this perspective as well, a separation between intellectual and physical work makes no sense, as these always condition each other. Work was turned into “mere production” in vulgar materialism (c.f. Gamm 2001, p. 76 ff). Work is at the heart of individual and collective identity in politics, education and, finally, ethics. What Europe urgently needs today is a joint discussion on what work should mean to us nowadays. This could lead into a European discussion on decent work as well.
- *Work and education help people “become” while improving social relations (human affairs)* – Work first of all reveals the individual as a subject, while however being conferred and at the same time developing the category of human beings. This definition of humanist education was also based on these preconditions, which developed in Germany at the beginning of the 19th century. Herder, for example, recognised the force which can unfold when people enter into dialogue. He characterised human beings as the first “creatures freed under Creation” (as a result of their independence from instincts). He recognised the freedom of human development possibilities lying therein - but at the same time the danger of degenerating into war

and fighting. Meaning only comes about when people perceive themselves as a task and grasp the category as the “human” project (c.f. Gamm 2008, p. 85). Meaning comes about and is thus specifically, individually and collectively perceivable in interpersonal processes of mutual expression of work and education. Humanity as a category by the same token constitutes an obligation for every individual. Work must as a consequence – as Comenius called for early on – be performed by both genders. The definition of work as a result expands into a notion of “work by the collectivity” (c.f. Negt 2012). This expanded definition of work can serve to lay down new assessment criteria for good and decent work and the human evaluation of products and goods. Youth unemployment in Europe (it was over 55 per cent in Spain and about 60 per cent in Greece in December 2012¹ must therefore not only be understood as individual fate, however. People are robbed of the chance here to help develop the humane human being (Marten 1988).

- *Clinging to definitions of the “whole” and the “general”* – As a Christian, Comenius set his focus on all his contemporaries, whose task it was to shape and design the world as a whole in a spirit of responsibility for subsequent generations. This presupposed unwavering notions of the “whole” and the “general”. It must be possible to specify the “whole”, particularly with reference to Europe. Europe is more than just the aim of “making the Union the most competitive and dynamic knowledge-based economic area in the world” (c.f. Lisbon Strategy). The “whole” and the “general” have lost their meaning today - as a result of post-modern debates. This makes it difficult, for example, to focus on, analyse and criticise global capitalism as a “whole” (c.f. Euler 2011).

¹ <http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/tgm/table.do?tab=table&init=1&language=de&pcode=teilmo21&plugin=1>



- *Comprehensive understanding of democracy* – Recalling the understanding of the “whole” and the “general” described above, the connection between work, education and becoming a human being along with equality between men and women, Comenius finally draws our attention to a modern and wide-ranging understanding of democracy. This is because a modern understanding of democracy correlates with the ability to recognise history as part of society as a whole which individuals help design and hold responsibility for (c.f. Gamm 1979 and Dewey 1916). Let us now look for the place where we shape ourselves and the world in the past, present and future, placing the focus in particular on economic activity and its two sub-aspects of work and education.

The new Europe – identity and public

The aspects cited in the first part play a major role within the framework of a transnational European education in my opinion. Before I examine this new type of European education in more detail, I would like to first build a stable bridge from history to the current crisis with a digression on “European identity” and “European public”.

European history has shown and still does show why education of the kind Comenius had in mind is important along with the “triad” of peace, education and politics. This “recollection of the historical beginnings of European pedagogics” (Gamm 2008) opens our view to essential aspects of a political education which is urgently needed for the future social and political shaping of European unification.

Europe experienced many wars before its capability to bring about a lasting peace became a topic of general – and public – discussion. Another war between 1914 and 1945 - one is tempted to say another “Thirty Years’ War” (c.f. *ibid*, p. 124) - had to end in a barbaric rupture of civilisation, the Holocaust,

before Europeans were able to stand up before the dead and the ruins of their cities and cry out together: no more war!

The European Union was born of a deep, common conviction of these people who experienced the bloodiest wars and crises of the 20th century: battlefields, bombing, economic crises, hunger and concentration camps. Perhaps it was just this that allowed them to develop the courage to grow out of and beyond themselves and their national limitations (c.f. Mak 2012, p. 22), as aside from the wars in Yugoslavia at the end of the last century we have not experienced any more wars in Europe for over sixty years. Practically every European generation up until 1945 had experienced a bloody war that left its scars on almost every single European family (c.f. *ibid*).

The common desire for peace formed the foundations for the construction of a new Europe. The fact that to this end nationalism and militarism had to be effectively combated was clear from the wars which took had taken at the end of the 19th century and in the first half of the 20th century. This also went for the realisation that the European system of nation states - which had been crystallising since the 17th century - did not work because again and again it led to military disputes and other power struggles between countries (c.f. *ibid*). This political realisation led to the beginning of European unification and the willingness to give up elements of national sovereignty for the good of the whole.

The 1957 Treaties of Rome, which were signed by six countries (Belgium, Germany, France, Italy, Luxembourg and the Netherlands), prepared the ground for the European Economic Community (EEC), which was then succeeded by the European Community in the Treaty of Maastricht and finally the European Union (EU) in the Treaty of Lisbon. This opened the borders between today’s 27 member states. The endless queues of lorries at European borders, impenetrable exchange rates, bureaucratic customs requirements that turned the shipment



of packages into a nightmare of red tape, problems when one wanted to study or work abroad, fear of one's neighbours - all this vanished (c.f. *ibid*). And in addition to the jingle-jangle of goods being transported throughout the single market, people from different cultures with wide-ranging thoughts and perspectives encountered each other, and something developed that we would miss if Europe were to "fail". We could lose much of what has become taken for granted and dear to us if the new, modern Europe were to fail. We can no longer carry on without it - nor do we desire to.

This thus raises the question: can this experience from European history, which has left direct and indirect traces on our present everyday lives and has so to say become part of our intrinsic make-up - also help forge identity?

Only a process that seeks to understand from within what historical heritage we want to embrace (c.f. Habermas 2004, p. 49) and what we want to reject based on reflective responsibility can form both collective as well as individual identities relating in a positive way to Europe as a whole while drawing from it. As paradoxical as this might sound, a large part of my own German and European identity consists of non-identification with large parts of European history. That which we want to preserve from old Europe, and that which we no longer want to do without in new Europe offer a vast wealth of identity-forming material that we can and should use in a circumspect manner in a common educational process.

Forming an identity is a collective as well as individual educational process. Educational processes are always focused on the future. The formation of a European identity thus always relates back to the shaping of the common European future. It is along these lines that we should appropriate history – in the actual sense of the word. Where, how and when are there common educational processes in the form of processes of self-understanding at the European level, and who takes part in these?

Already in anticipation of the question as to whether such common European (identity-forming) educational processes can be systematically designed in the form of transnational political education, I would like to provide an example of a corresponding process of self-understanding. It was one term which ignited a public discussion on European identity – perhaps the first and, down to the present, only discussion of this kind.

"Old Europe" – that is the term Donald Rumsfeld, Secretary of Defence in the USA at the beginning of the Iraq War in 2003, coined in a polemical attack against those Europe countries, among them France and Germany, that did not want to take part in the war and did not join the "Coalition of the Willing". For the first time since 1945, Europe was no longer prepared to fall in behind the policy of the United States. The supporters of the war were dubbed "Atlanticists" and the opponents "anti-Americans". Because Rumsfeld drew a distinction between the "old" and the "new" Europe in this context, the proponents and opponents of the war were unavoidably catapulted into a reflexion on the constitutive elements of their own European identity. The conflict thus became a public question of European identity (c.f. also Todorov 2003, p. 12).

What was new about all this was this: the discussion was not only between "professional" Europeans or experts – it became the subject of a general discussion. The citizens of individual countries (for example, in Great Britain, Italy and Spain) adopted a position against their own governments in this question. The identity of Europe was defined in public debates, and the question was posed as to what Europe of the 21st century should look like (c.f. *ibid*). Habermas saw this as the first debate in which a European public discussed a common understanding of Europe (Habermas 2004). Together with Jacques Derrida and other reputed intellectuals (Adolf Muschg, Fernando Salvater, Umberto Eco, Gianni Vattimo and Richard Rorty), he published a sort of European Manifesto in Europe's



biggest daily newspapers shortly after the pan-European anti-war demonstrations on 15 February 2003.

Together with his colleagues, Habermas was overwhelmed by the masses of demonstrators in London, Rome, Madrid, Barcelona, Berlin and Paris, who reacted directly when European governments supported the Iraq War, pledging their loyalty to Bush under the leadership of Spanish Prime Minister Aznar. They viewed these demonstrations, rather, as the historical signal for the birth of a European public, and they broached the issue of European identity. General public discussions of crucial human affairs (war is moreover an existential affair) became commonplace on a European scale. Comenius himself must have viewed his vision of what he wanted to achieve through education something like a “pipedream”.

No comparable situation or comparable discussion has taken place in the last ten years since this great crisis to my knowledge. The failure of the European Constitutional Treaty in the referendums in France and the Netherlands in 2005 probably also additionally contributed to a greater concentration on the domestic policy of Europe’s nation states once again.

In 2012 Europe appears to be at the end of the rope. The crisis has become more multi-layered; it is often interpreted very differently from wide-ranging perspectives and has developed into a European “crisis of confidence”. More than a few are questioning the overall “European project”.

What links us today, what unites us in our effort to find a European identity and European public which also bonds people together in the current crisis in a desire to discuss common possible solutions for a common Europe? What now offers a viable foundation for a social Europe and human coexistence in security and peace?

Prospects for transnational education

In part three I draw conclusions from the foregoing for processes of education. What content and forms must processes of political education have today in order to help surmount the current European crisis?

How can a European public and a European identity be fostered? In the current crisis, what can help develop a “commonality” of Europeans based on a spirit of solidarity? In addition to the notion of peace which was defended in the 2003 Iraq War, there must somehow be more than what we are perceiving at present; something which is common to us in our everyday work and lives which is perhaps so general and normal that we no longer perceive it. Thus, as Ludwig Wittgenstein wrote in his “Philosophical Investigations”: “The most important aspect of things are hidden by their simplicity and everyday pervasiveness. One does not notice them because they are always right there in front of you.” (ibid, p. 129; c.f. also Tully 2009, p. 230 f.)

That which in our everyday lives becomes a topic of general discussion involves those major human affairs that we discuss in our work and our private networks. Human affairs – very generally speaking – revolve around a successful life and the pursuit of happiness (c.f. the ethics of Aristotle). These general goals (regardless of whether we perceive them in our everyday lives or not) are part of the individual and everyday lives of everyone.

The human affairs which need to be a subject of discussion and which bear relevance to a good life are reflected in the working and living conditions of people. When we look at these more closely, the connection with our “search for happiness” become evident. Work is key to a successful life and source of identity and humane living. This is why economic action is a key element of our action as human beings. It creates interpersonal meaning and must therefore always be viewed



and assessed in ethical terms. This thus causes us to recall important aspects discussed in the context of Comenius.

In connection with the current crisis, we thus find that crises – just like wars before them – can be solved through general public discussion and understanding. Everyone is affected by the crisis. So everyone should be involved in the discussions and consultations. Everyone should be encouraged with the aid of appropriately organised structures and through individual knowledge and ability be able to take part in this process if they want. This requires a new perspective on “European learning”: transnational political education. To this end I would first like to address two areas which this touches upon: “transnationality” and “political education”.

Transnationality and political education

The term “transnationalisation” points towards social, cultural, political and economic relationships and interactions between people and institutions. This perspective departs from the level of transnational relations, in which governments are usually the actors. Geography begins to lose its contours in the formation of identity and collectivity, with new transnational possibilities of belonging being created (c.f. Pries 2008, pp. 44 f. and Kehrbaum 2010). Transnational ties are expressed in transnational feelings of belonging together, cultural commonalities, communications networks, work-related contexts and life in general (ibid). And in the organisations this relates to such as, for example, trade unions, societal orders and types of regulation reflected transnationally in social structures and social areas (c.f. ibid). Transnationalisation, according to Pries, must be viewed as an expanding, deepening process in which new social practices, systems of symbols and artefacts come about through growing international movement of goods, people and information. These economic, social, cultural or political dimensions are at the same time inter-related, ultimately forming human “webs of relationships”

(Elias 1986, based on Pries 2008, p. 45). Such transnational processes have already been a reality in Europe (and beyond) for some time, and can be perceived when examined more closely. Which brings us to the question of whether the political dimension of this transnationalisation can also play a role or are even be systematically taken into account in the political education being practiced in Europe in manifold ways. What consequences are there for pedagogical practice?

The debate over “political education” in Europe differs greatly nationally and historically. In post-war Germany, political education had a new beginning in the guise of so-called re-education. In present-day Eastern Europe, the post-Communist era or current relations with Russia has an effect in the alignment of processes of political education. Political education is explicitly not viewed at the level of European educational policy. “Active citizenship” is the objective in “civic education” which continues to be practiced at the national level (in Germany the term is usually translated into “politische Bildung”). Civic education in the European discussion thus relates to citizens of a state, and not to citizens of the Union.² What is the term “active citizen” understood to mean? Here as well, the EU is pointing in the direction to take.³ Active citizenship is manifested in an “entrepreneurial spirit”. Active citizenship accordingly means entrepreneurship. Economic activity has thus been moved to centre stage at the European level as well in the context of political education. In principle,

² Under Article 20 of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union, citizens are entitled to certain rights: freedom of movement, freedom to vote and the right to petition.

³ In its concept of “Education for Democratic Citizenship”, the European Council has given political education another orientation. This plays a secondary role in the public debate over political education in the member states, however, and has not been implemented much in national programmes. This contrasts with the concepts of active citizenship in Germany, for example. c.f. on this: http://www.jugendpolitikineuropa.de/downloads/4-20-2029/Demokratiebildung_Empfehlung%2012-2002.pdf, and: <https://wcd.coe.int/ViewDoc.jsp?Ref=CM/Rec%282010%297&Language=lanEnglish&Ver=original&Site>, and: http://www.unternehmergeist-macht-schule.de/sid_106FCDF5602DE32A5E0ACF75418E94C8/DE/Startseite/home_node.html.



this is good! Provided that we included aspects which have been addressed and developed in the first and second part of this article. All too often the view is forwarded that ingenious individual entrepreneurs can come up with innovations in moments of inspiration which would solve the problems of the world.

This individualised view of economics goes back to Schumpeter and has been preserved down to the present day. Aside from the fact that in his opinion this view constitutes a sort of secularised belief in salvation, it prevents perception of how strong Europe's economy and the world economy are networked and are operating within the framework of socially cooperative processes at present (c.f. Kehrbaum 2009).

Reports on the *Bill Gates*, *Steve Jobs* and *Marc Zuckerbergs* are keeping this individualised, radically abridged perspective on economic activity alive, however. By the same token, it is overlooked that especially the desire for global human networking or cooperation is both a precondition as well as consequence of these three examples of entrepreneurs with their ingenious ideas. In a nutshell, today's crises and problems – consider only climate change, the phase-out of nuclear power, the use of natural resources – can only be solved through global cooperation, and hence not only by Europeans.

An economy which is purely focused on economic competition is detrimental to innovation in this context. If the basic task is to produce innovation – i.e. radical innovation – in business and society, change should and can logically only be anticipated conceptually and designed in a practical manner through a joint effort. Technological cooperation in this case means that all kinds of different people work together cooperatively towards a common objective.

As an integrative factor, economic activity must become an

important part of cooperative, human and sustainable life.⁴ That is why people in Europe must and want to think and act in new directions⁵ (Kehrbaum 2012). With regard to the European debates on “active citizenship” described in the foregoing, in addition to the entrepreneur and his individual “spirit”, social entrepreneurship and, beyond this, cooperative entrepreneurship⁶ are becoming tangible and are necessary. How can socially valuable characteristics be fostered through social and collective learning? What role does transnational political education play here, and what shapes can it take on?

Content of transnational political education

Everyone should hence first of all be aware of or at least be interested in dependencies in their work and life context present today at the transnational level (c.f. Nussbaum 2012, pp. 97 ff.). Not infrequently an understanding of transnational interrelationships leads to a direct transnational commitment in the area of environmental protection (e.g. campaigns against the sinking of the Shell oil tank “Brent Spar” in the North Sea), against child abuse or protection of the animal world. Many so-called non-governmental organisations bear witness to this. Transnational processes of education in essence constitute awareness-raising work, as these explore everyday experience and things taken for granted in terms of the underlying transnational causes and interrelationships.

Many persons would throw up their hands at this point and complain that awareness-raising and political education are first urgently required in the national context before the global

⁴ In his new book, “Zusammenarbeit – Was unsere Gesellschaft zusammenhält”, Richard Sennett (2012) forwards the hypothesis that cooperation improves the quality of social life. A cooperative division of labour is all-pervasive, its positive social nature is not perceivable as such, however, inter alia because economic-competitive aspects predominate in the rhetoric of many public debates (including in social and educational policy) and have thus penetrated deep into the realm of interpersonal communication (c.f. Adorno 2001).

⁵ c.f. Ipsos, 2012. In view of the crisis of the Euro, the Germans are developing a new attitude towards prosperity. For German citizens, the quality of relations and social cohesion are increasingly becoming more important than material wealth.

⁶ Martin Roggenkamp brought my attention to this term in this context.



level can be addressed as an educational area. This must be countered by pointing out that one cannot properly understand the history of one's own country without including world history to a certain extent as well (ibid).

When the fog surrounding a national frame of focus is penetrated, it becomes evident that we have long since become members of heterogeneous nations. If we so desire, we can identify and analyse transnational interrelationships in our everyday lives. In Europe we have many possibilities to ask: what are working conditions like at present in Greece, Vietnam, Macedonia or Sri Lanka? Before we capitulate before the seemingly impossible task of educating world citizens, we should already here and now perceive our everyday world that we live in as a transnational learning area and learn to deal with heterogeneity. The best way would be through interpersonal contacts. Transnational political education develops responsibility for the living contexts of those who depend on our living contexts. That is why transnational education does not stop at the borders of Europe, but rather enquires about the living and working conditions of people in the world.

The current crisis in Europe has created a new public and summoned forth enormous fears and existential uncertainties. It is understandable as a human reaction to cling to that which is familiar and well-known in these times of uncertainty. Is there thus any chance at all of using this new European public in a positive manner? This time it is not about a war in a far-off country and the defence of the ability to make peace for which we have even received the Nobel Peace Prize and about which we should rejoice because we all safeguard the peace in Europe through our individual capability of making peace an everyday reality - in our everyday work and lives, creating the foundations for our peace – in the truest sense of the word. The task at hand is to secure, preserve and expand these foundations as well as the peace upon which they are based while giving it all a human face. That is why at stake in this crisis is the specific defence of working and living condi-

tions of people in Europe, which are coming under enormous pressure. What we are defending here at the same time is the economic foundations of peace, which are nowadays based on transnational cooperation between people – without our noticing this in everyday life – and which mean a lot more than merely generating “profit”.

We are thus once again very close to the definitions of work and education expanded in the foregoing and Comenius' global perspective on peaceful human coexistence because it is clear that we cannot limit human cooperation to nations, nor can we limit it to work. A globally networked economy here means that the division of labour is being organised on a global scene. Cooperation does not automatically mean solidarity, however. First deliberate reflection and adoption of global cooperation also means an opportunity for global solidarity from a trade union perspective. Transnational political education is thus in essence knowledge about how business functions today.

Economic activity is today common activity spanning the globe. The formula is: profit = revenue – costs. The language of business is English. Profit has the same meaning everywhere in the world. The canon of education today almost everywhere in the world is focused solely on this – I refer to it as the impoverished perspective on economic activity – and no longer addresses the wealth of human experience produced in economic history – with all its advantages, but also all its dependencies and suffering.

The educational canon of transnational education looks at the essential, common core of human culture in everyday life and economic activity by addressing history, geography, politics, social systems, cultural diversity, law, religion, etc., from a transnational perspective (c.f. Nussbaum 2012). This would be a type of general political education which would put people in a position to assess politics and, if they so desire, to become politically active in their common interests.



Transnational political education: the example of “Qualizmove”

In this last section I would like to provide an example for such a form of transnational political education. The EU “Qualizmove” project was based on this concept. European projects are becoming visible as transnational political areas of experience and learning.

Expanded definition of labour policy

In the preceding text I have attempted to highlight deeper levels of meaning with respect to labour, education and politics relating to these. In the European project “Qualizmove”, subtitled *“Development and Dissemination of a Labour-Policy Understanding of Education in Europe”*, the terms “work”, “education” and “politics” all referenced these foundations, examining current European labour and educational policy. Our definition of “labour policy” in this context related not only to “industrial relations” of social partners, to labour market policy or European employment policy, but rather went beyond the past meaning of “labour policy” – just consider the aspects discussed in the first and third part of this article. Our definition of “labour policy” raises the fundamental question of defining labour at the beginning of political and hence theoretical deliberations on education, seeking agreement on what importance we should attach to work as a basic human need. This fundamental transnational agreement on “work” allows common political judgment on “labour policies” which differ greatly at the national level and intentions, content and forms of respective educational measures.

Specific topics that we have discussed are marked by current political discussions. Thus, one issue is the “skills” which are capable of jointly designing a European labour market (in the expanded sense of the word), the “mobility” of employees and, finally, the “labour-policy understanding of education in Europe”, which should be examined from a trade union perspective.

Project partners from eight countries realised immediately that the respective terms such as “skills”, “mobility”, “education” and “European dimension” display a variety of meanings, as different cultural, historical and political situations have an impact on the evolution of terms within the framework of communicative processes in the national context. The current European discourse is in addition contributing to the meaning denoted by key terms, or even transforming these. To take one example already discussed in the foregoing: the debate over “civic education” and “active citizenship”. Clarifying these definitions thus stands at the beginning of productive European projects. “Mobility” was a key term in the project application. I would like to sketch the discussion in the project briefly taking this example.

Already in the national context, perspectives and meanings of this term differ, which thus raises the question as to what is meant by “mobility” if this feature is demanded by Europeans and is to be attained with the aid of education. Is it the desired scenario of a free European labour market if the dream job of a Swedish engineer leads him to Portugal and a Greek nurse for elderly people to France, which is to say well-trained and multi-lingual employees change their domicile and thus the fulcrum of their lives simply because they want to or out of curiosity? The real life and work situation is far off from such phantasies in EU policy strategies. “Mobility” at present in these times of European crisis demonstrate this. Pure desperation led sixteen thousand Greeks, eleven thousand Spaniards and six thousand Portuguese (on average 70 per cent more than in the previous year) to come to Germany in the first half of 2012.⁷ This real “mobility” is brought about by the socio-economic situation in their respective countries of origin.

Thus one key realisation regarding transnational projects which became evident to the project partners in the exchange

⁷ Figures from the German Federal Statistics Office, cited according to Jürgen Trabant, SZ from 17-18 November 2012, p. 13.



over the current situation in their countries was: the repertoire of definitions bearing relevance to us (in our case English) can only bring about successful communication when there is a discussion of the real working and living conditions to which these relate.

Development of *interactional cultural sensitivity*

In transnational projects there is a possibility to experience a systematic exchange on terms and different cultural, historical and political aspects and situations which these terms relate to. By the same token, however, this explicitly involves not only getting to know cultural differences, as not much will be gained for “European learning” – in the form of transnational political education – if these perceived differences remain unreflected. Intercultural skills do not end with the acquisition of a broad knowledge of cultural differences which exist, for example, in the different meaning of gestures. What has to be developed above and beyond this I refer to as *interactional cultural sensitivity*, as culture exists in the close ties between social practices and the ideas which these practices map in the minds of the group members (Todorov 2010, p. 43). Anyone who wants to interact effectively and meaningfully with other people/ethnic groups in the transnational context should above all have a sensitivity for the connection between social practices and collective ideas relating to this. Transnational processes of political learning thus go far beyond the exchange and learning about differences in which comparable experiences and their interpretation are always discussed verbally and are to be jointly explored and reflected.

Notions relating to social practices are culturally conditioned – or, to be more precise, they are “culture”, as the community in which we are born and in which we grow up has already made certain decisions and has thus limited the spectrum of cognitive and action-related options. These “natural cultural restrictions”, so to say, which only make cultural comparisons possible in the first place, paradoxically enough produce a

certain security in action, forming the foundation for “freedom” in the thinking and actions of people – they are thus usually part of the sub-conscious. “Culture” thus offers an infinite wealth of “pedagogical potential”, as the individual and collective development process takes place, for example, in the deliberate acceptance and rejection of certain culturally conditioned social practices and the notions and ideas which belong to them (be it in the deliberate rejection of brass bands or in the dramatic struggle against female genital circumcision and criticism of the way of thinking it denotes). In the debate and the conscious struggle between self-determination versus being determined by exogenous forces or adaptation versus setting one’s own course, processes of self-understanding take place within the framework of certain cultures. Individual as well as collective identities come about as a result.

Cultural sensitivity in interaction can be systematically achieved in pedagogical processes if by comparison culturally conditioned social practices also always get to know notions and ideas, analysing these and placing them in relation to one’s own ideas on comparable social practice. What is special about the pedagogical process within the framework of transnational education, then, is the process of understanding oneself through understanding others. In other words: a deeper knowledge and understanding of others leads to a more profound understanding of oneself.

One key aspect of transnational and intercultural learning is hence a special process of finding common terms.⁸ This process was approached systematically in three steps in the “Quali2move” project. In the first step the respective practice

⁸ The project partners deliberately decided to carry out four workshops (in Germany, Ireland, Turkey and Poland) in English. There were only interpreters at the final event. Communication and understanding of course took longer. After the participants had agreed on key terms, communication became more direct because the gestures and facial expressions were perceived in connection with the meaning assigned to terms, with the listeners comparing this to their own maps. This led on the one hand to questions to make sure that the participants had understood things correctly, but on the other hand to enhanced sensitivity to differences in the meaning of gestures and facial expressions.



in trade union education was presented and categorised (general condition of trade union education, self-understanding, objectives, values, fields of topics, content, methods and transnational skills). By the same token, in part the same, but also differing terms were used. The terms which apparently played a key role in the field of trade union education were then collected in the second step and then evaluated in terms of common relevance. An exchange thirdly took place at the next respective meeting, which allowed the ways of thinking in respective trade union educational practice to be analysed. The contexts underlying practice were then examined again and described in more precise detail using the terms and explicitly addressing the way of thinking about social practices as a topic. This exchange on terms and the respective specific contexts and situations relating to everyday work and life produced common general terms. This insight into actual practice then lent terms an actual meaning which everyone agreed on, although at first their definitions were relatively vague – because of different cultural contexts.⁹

The terms “work”, “education” and “politics” were redefined by expanding them. These new definitions now form the new foundation for future joint action based in a spirit of solidarity, for example, with joint educational programmes or cooperation within the framework of multinational enterprises. Economic action, everyday work and life of Europeans is the door to cultural diversity in Europe, and interest in each other is the key. The concept of transnational political education



developed cultural sensitivity in interaction, which once again probably leads to a realignment of concepts of intercultural skills, which merely serves as the basis for cognitive conveyance of knowledge.

The concepts and methods have now been presented as the result produced by the “Quali2move” project. These have tremendous importance to the further development and Europeanisation of trade union education and beyond. In the context of the current European crisis these project results offer an important foundation for the needed further development of “European learning” at schools and in non-school adolescent and adult education towards a type of “transnational political education” which has an impact on the field of practice in Europe.

⁹ In methodological terms this procedure is based on key aspects of philosophical pragmatism. First of all, the pragmatic maxims of Charles Sanders Peirce, who placed the importance of a term in relation to the effect it produces in use in actual practice. According to Helmut Pape, the pragmatic maxim is conceived as a methodological rule serving the purpose of enhancing the clarity of our thoughts. This is: “Think about the impact which could conceivably have practical importance which we attribute to the subject of the term in our minds. Then our grasp of this impact constitutes the entirety of our definition of the object.” (Peirce cited based on H. Pape 2007). The pragmatic maxim has had a major influence inter alia on John Dewey (Kehrbaum 2009, pp. 75 ff.), according to whom a situation constitutes a contextual entirety relating objects and events to one another, turning these into objects of experience and judgment (c.f. Pape 2009). At the same time, objects and events and their relationship are specified or re-specified.



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Chapter 5

Citizenship and Citizenship Education

Paper, presented at the workshop of the project „Qualizmove“ May 17th 2012 in Istanbul

Christine Zeuner

The idea of citizenship goes back to the time when nation-states were established all over Europe. It implies the concept of “belonging” and – at the same time – of exclusion. Excluded are those who are not considered to belong to a nation, because of their ancestors, their different political, social, ethnical, cultural and linguistic background.

Citizenship has been discussed controversially; the definition of who belongs to a state and who doesn’t varies considerably among nations. The question has become crucial with the emergence of globalization and worldwide migration-processes since the 1980s. It also means that employers and workforces have to adjust to and to come to terms with these developments.

Trade unions also experience changes in workforces and the need to deal with them. Workforces consisting of workers or employees with different backgrounds concerning experiences, expectations, education, work-ethics and so on are expected to function regardless of problems concerning mutual understanding, communication, co-operation. Some of these problems may arise because of different backgrounds and citizenship.

Questions like the recognition of differences and the development of mutual understanding are not often connected with the concept of citizenship. But if concepts of citizenship are connected with the question of identity – personal as well as concerning national and cultural identities – it evidently also becomes an educational problem.

Therefore, citizenship education is not a one-way street – i.e. immigrants/migrants are expected to adjust to the host-country – but it concerns everybody involved in certain environments such as workplaces, educational institutions, organisations like trade unions.

In the following paper I will first introduce different concepts of citizenship, drawing from US-American and Canadian as well as European discussions. In part two I will present some aspects of citizenship education as a basis for the development of qualification concepts in different fields of education.

The question is, whether and how concepts of citizenship education could help to reach better understanding among heterogeneous workforces, how it could lead to solidarity and mutual co-operation and therefore become an additional approach of trade union education.

Citizenship: idea and concepts

In a first approach, citizenship can be defined as the membership of a nation-state. – Through being the member of a country we become Turkish, Polish, Irish, Latvian, German citizens or citizens of another country.

In a broad sense, citizenship is “*that set of practices (juridical, political, economical and cultural) which define a person as a competent member of a society and, as a consequence, shape the flow of resources to persons and social groups*” (Turner 1993, p. 2 in Brodie 2002, p. 46).

Therefore, under certain conditions, people are entitled to become members of a nation-state. This depends on the self-conception of the state, its political, social, cultural, and economical traditions and values as well as its visions for the future.

For example, the USA, Canada or Australia have always seen themselves as immigrant countries and have therefore made provisions to include and integrate newcomers. Whereas Germany – even though in fact it has been an immigrant country for a long time – has always denied the notion and has acted accordingly. However, whether a nation apprehends itself as an immigrant country or not, the question of inclusion or exclusion and therefore the question of citizenship applies



not only to immigrants but to all people. Formally, as soon as people are considered citizens (by birth, by descent, by marriage, by naturalization) they are entitled to all granted rights and are therefore privileged over non-members.

According to Marshall in 1977, these rights include

- political rights and obligations (including voting)
- rights of civil liberty (which are protected by the courts)
- rights of social participation and
- social justice (which were the focus of the welfare state)

(Source: Turner/Ridden 2001, p. 31)

In order to understand different concepts of citizenship it is necessary to reflect three questions:

1. Who is considered to be a citizen?

The definition of a “citizen” is two folded:

In the traditional sense a citizen is an inhabitant of a city or town who is entitled to the rights and privileges of a free-man. This definition presupposes exclusion: people were not included according to gender, age, religious beliefs, race or social status.

In a modern sense citizen refers to a person as a member of a nation-state. This person is owing allegiance to a state and is entitled to the protection of a sovereign state. People become citizens of a state by birth within a certain territory, decent from a parent who is a citizen, by marriage or by naturalization. Depending on the state the last two procedures are usually defined by laws, which can differ considerably from state to state.

Citizenship therefore defines the relationship between the individual and the state. This relationship between citizens and the state includes obligations and rights on both sides. Citizens are expected to pay taxes, attend military services and to support the state as a whole. Their rights include a right to vote and to actively participating in shaping their society.

2. “In what kind of society it is possible to speak of citizens?”

As we have seen, to be a citizen entitles a person to certain obligations and rights. Neither a traditional monarchy nor a dictatorship lives up to these prerequisites. There, the social (nobility, clergy) or political elite set rights, which the inhabitants or subjects have to obey. Therefore, citizens are usually members of democratically organized nation-states who grant citizenship.

Deriving from the French and American revolutions at the end of the 18th century, the people declared the “rights of men and citizens” in 1793. It defines the aim of the society as common welfare, in which

- “1. *The aim of society is the common welfare. The government is instituted in order to guarantee to man the enjoyment of his natural and imprescriptible rights.*
2. *These rights are equality, liberty, security, and property.*
3. *All men are equal by nature and before the law.*
4. *Law is the free and solemn expression of the general will; it is the same for all, whether it protects or punishes; it can command only what is just and useful to society; it can forbid only what is injurious to it.*
5. *All citizens are equally eligible to public employments. Free peoples know no other grounds for preference in their elections than virtue and talent.*
6. *Liberty is the power that belongs to man to do whatever is not injurious to the rights of others; it has nature for its*



principle, justice for its rule, law for its defence; its moral limit is in this maxim: Do not do to another that which you do not wish should be done to you.”¹¹

The declaration further includes the right to vote, freedom of speech, freedom of assembly, freedom of trade, the right to own property, the right to education, the right to social welfare. Most of these rights have been included in the “Declaration of human rights” of the United Nations in 1948 and democracies all around the world in one way or the other an most of them have incorporated them into their constitutions.

Therefore, citizenship in a democracy defines to whom we give our loyalty, how we relate to other citizens, and our vision of the ideal society. The concerns are not so much with the legal definition of citizenship as with some normative sense of “good citizenship”. The idea of what constitutes a good citizen varies across time, cultures, genders, and political philosophies. Therefore we find a range of models on good citizenship. These models offer different views of four components:

- national identity
- social, cultural and supranational belonging
- an effective system of rights and
- political and civic participation.

However, the formal acknowledgement of the human rights does not mean that all democracies are alike. Depending on how the question of checks and balances between the political elite and the people are organized, we speak of republican or liberal democracies. In a republican democracy the rights of

the government are stressed, in a liberal democracy ideally the rights of the people are more important. This leads to different roles of the citizens: in the first case, citizens are rather passive and obedient. In the second they are supposed to be more active, participating in shaping society according to their needs and visions.

3. Who are the citizens we are talking about?

An important component within the discourse of citizenship is that of identity. The concepts of citizenship, either republican or liberal as presented in the American definition, ask about the identity of the people. “The people” as citizens are a rather abstract and idealized group who might share the same point of view concerning democracy, the same attitude towards responsibilities and so on. But underlying this common sense their exists the uniqueness of each single human being. And this becomes important if one thinks about communication, co-operation, working together.

Talking about being a citizen of a country also means to think about the person who is a citizen and who is granted citizenship.

→ How do we develop a sense of identity?

→ What do we mean with “identity”?

→ How would I describe *my* identity?

→ Is it always the same or does it vary?

In the attempt to find answers, it becomes clear, how multifaceted and crucial the dimension of identity is for each individual. The development of our identity may be seen as a lifelong dialogue, between ourselves and the surrounding environment.

It is shaped by other human beings as well as by general societal, political, economical and social structures. At the same time, the individual influences all these. Therefore, we

¹ Frank Maloy Anderson (eds.) (1904): The Constitutions and Other Select Documents Illustrative of the History of France 1789-1901. Minneapolis: H. W. Wilson, p. 170-74. re-edited in: Jack R. Censer and Lynn Hunt (eds.) (2001): Liberty, Equality, Fraternity: Exploring the French Revolution. American Social History Productions. <http://www.columbia.edu/~iw6/docs/dec1793.html> (access: 16.12.2012)



are asked to find a harmonious balance for ourselves in this continuing negotiation process between internal and external factors.

Individual identity is shaped by our experiences, how we reflect these and how we integrate them into our everyday life, our behaviour, our attitudes and beliefs. Dimensions such as socialisation, up-bringing, family and next of kin, education, social background, historical and political developments influence our identity and we are challenged in an on-going and lifelong process to integrate, to add on but also to refuse or resist influences.

However, looking at the current social situation, it shows that people are challenged to a high degree by this task and that many of them are sometimes overstrained to continuously develop a new balance in their identity.

.....> If defining one's own identity, which components are important?

.....> What threatens our identity?

Conceptions of Democracy

Role of	Elitist (republican) Conception	Activist (liberal) Conception
Sovereignty	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Resides in parliament 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Resides in the people
Government	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Made up of elected individuals with appropriate background and training. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Made up of free and equal citizens (equality emphasized in three areas – before the law, in the opportunity and ability to participate, and in relative access to material resources) who exercise power in more direct ways than voting.
Citizens	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Are loyal to the national state and its institutions. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Are committed to participating in free and equal discourse where all voices are heard and power is relatively equally divided.
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Have a common body of knowledge about the history and political structures of their country. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Are knowledgeable about the ways institutions and structures privilege some people and groups while discriminating against others and are skilled in challenging them.
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Participate in a common national culture and set of traditions. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Are open to multiple understanding of national citizenship (e.g. it is possible to consider oneself as Italian or French citizens as well as a European).
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Obey the law. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Challenge the law.
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Inform themselves about the politics of the various political parties. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Are committed to wide citizen participation in the „public“ sphere of politics and the „private“ sphere of community, home and family.
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Vote 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Participate individually and collectively; try to shape society according to their own needs, values and ideas.

Source: Alan Sears. "Something different to everyone: Conceptions of Citizenship and Citizenship Education." Canadian and International Education 25(1996/2), 6



Identity is threatened by the loss of jobs; by lacking social recognition of one's own lifestyle; by being discriminated against because of gender, ethnic or religious background and so on; by the state's withdrawal from public responsibility, which simultaneously increases individual risks.

The current social reality and its consequences for categories central to the development of identity, such as work, gender, nationality, age, ethnicity make it necessary for each person to permanently try to rebalance her or his identity. They need to learn how to handle internal and external threats in order to constantly recreate their own identity (Zeuner 2006). This process can consist of elements of adaptation and resistance alike. To be able to handle these threats, a person needs to develop self confidence as well trust in one's own possibilities. This ability can be called *identity competence*. It includes knowledge not only how to develop a sense of identity but also how to handle threatened and broken identity (Negt 1998, p. 34).

The development and balance of one's identity is a permanent challenge. At the same time we speak of other kinds of identities like "peer identity", "cultural identity", "organisational identity" or "*national identity*". The latter also being an important component of citizenship.

As said before, nations are formed by certain structures their inhabitants agreed on like political/judicial, social, economical, and cultural dimensions.

- **Political and juridical dimension:** defines rights and responsibilities of citizens within the existing political systems and therefore opens ways and opportunities of participation.
- **Societal/social dimension:** aims, values, and tasks democracy is defined and shaped. It also defines powerrelations between elected representatives of the governments and the people.

- **Economical dimension:** defines the relationship between the individual within the social context and his or her rights of political participation. This includes questions like the right to work, a certain standard of living, social security and mutual responsibility as well as questions of sustainable development.
- **Cultural Dimension:** defines the way of life in pluralistic or multicultural societies including an understanding of different traditions, cultures, historic experiences in order to live in peaceful society. Prerequisites are a democratic political system and the acceptance of human rights.

The cultural dimension also shapes the identity of the individual as well as a society through language, religion, philosophy, common knowledge, a common history, an idea of welfare and so on. Even if these dimensions are challenged today by global political and economical developments they still play an important role in order to reach common understanding and agreements within a society.

Some theorists such as the British sociologists Tuner and Ridden see the cultural dimension as the most important in order to develop a sense of citizenship:

"Cultural citizenship can thus be described as cultural empowerment, that is, the capacity to participate effectively, creatively, and successfully within a national culture, and also the capacity to participate in one's own culture. This form of citizenship involves access to educational resources, the possession of an appropriate 'living' language, the effective ownership of cultural identity through membership, and the capacity to hand on and transfer to future generations the richness of their cultural heritage. Community membership, personal identity and values are cultural attributes of modern citizenship, they are key elements in the expansion of what we might call cultural citizenship ..." (Turner/Ridden 2001, p. 34).



However, this concept of cultural citizenship is based on assumptions, which are not easily solved:

First nation-states have to accept the underlying idea of cultural pluralism or multiculturalism. Consequently this means a paradigmatic change from universal values to cultural diversity.

Second the educational system has to react to these changes without reproducing existing patterns of social stratifications and without reinforcing the exclusion of cultural groups who are not wholly assimilated to the national culture.

Third, if a nation accepts the notion of cultural diversity as part of its collective identity, is assimilation a plausible aim of citizenship education? Or do we have to differentiate between political assimilation on the one hand and economical, social and cultural integration on the other hand?

Citizenship Education

This leads to the question of citizenship education. How do nations educate their people as well as newcomers – immigrant, migrant workers, refugees, displaced persons and so on? What concept do they favour? Integration, assimilation, multiculturalism, cultural pluralism, or accommodation and adaptation?

Each approach has different aims concerning the adaptability of the newcomers into the existing society. But while concepts of citizenship education are usually discussed with newco-



mers in mind, they influence – usually without being called education for citizenship – the educational point of view of a nation. The differentiation between citizens and “citizens to be” is therefore some kind of a euphemism. In reality people always have to adapt and to adjust, each generation for example has to learn democratic principles, values, ideas and underlying concepts of rights and responsibilities.

Living in a constantly changing world does not just mean adaptation and assimilation to change. Thanks to democratic principles active citizenship also means that the people can and not only should influence politics and polity through elections, but should also actively shape and change society when they see fit.

Citizenship education, its aims and content has been discussed widely in the last 20 years. Due to the European unification process, the commission as well as the Council of Europe have supported initiatives like the “European Year of Citizenship through Education” in 2005. The idea was to help young people and adults alike to participate actively in democratic life by accepting and exercising their rights and responsibilities in society.

Citizenship Education, education for citizenship, education for democratic citizenship, citizenship through education, education for democracy, democratic education – all these terms mean more or less the same: to educate people in order to enable them to become a members of a certain society.

The Canadian scholars Yvonne Hebert and Alan Sears define citizenship education as “the preparation of individuals to participate as active and responsible citizens in democracy” (2004, p. 1).

The existing models of citizenship education do not yet take into account the question of cultural diversity as opposed to a model of universal values as discussed above.

They first ask what the suitable contents and aims of citizenship education are and secondly, what kind of a role of the citizen education for citizenship should promote. Concerning the first question, it is more or less universally agreed that citizenship education should encourage:

1. *Social and moral responsibility*

These are prerequisites for the following elements:

2. *Community involvement*

3. *Political Literacy.*

These aims and contents are derived from Marshall and were later integrated in the British concept of education for citizenship as defined by the Crick-Report in 1970 (Arthur et al. 2001, p. 14).

Social and moral responsibility means that people learn to develop self-confidence and socially and morally responsible behavior. It includes acting within society and among individuals.

Through *community involvement* people should actively develop responsible behavior through helping and supporting others.

Political literacy should on the one hand convey “technical” knowledge about political rights and procedures, which aims at political participation and active political involvement. On the other hand it should explain the interdependence between political, economical and social developments, so people come to a better understanding of society, political and social change, its conditions, and the roles of individuals and social groups in this process. This kind of knowledge, which concerns procedures as well as competence is vital for active citizenship on a local, regional, national and global level.

This idea of citizenship education sees people as active participants of a democratic society. However, it is clear that



the extent or participation and involvement of people differ. Therefore, it is an ongoing discussion about the extent of taking over responsibility, the extent of participation, and the idea of change. Will people rather adapt and integrate themselves and therefore more or less support the existing society or do they criticize and challenge the political system in order to improve democratic procedures and democracy as a whole?

The following table defines different kinds of citizens, their aims and assumptions.



Kinds of citizens

	Personally responsible citizens	Participatory citizens	Justice oriented citizens
Core assumptions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To solve social problems and improve society, citizens must have good character; they must be honest, responsible and law-abiding members of the community. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To solve social problems and improve society, citizens must actively participate and take leadership positions within established systems and community structures. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To solve social problems and improve society, citizens must question, debate, and change established systems and structures that reproduce patterns of injustice over time.
Aims	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Act responsibly in their communities. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Active member of community organizations/political parties. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Critically assesses social, political, and economical structures which lead to social injustice.
Attitudes	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Loyal citizen to the government/nation state 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Critical support of the government/nation state 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Critical distance to the government/nation state
Knowledge	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Know the political system. Vote 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Know how government agencies work. Know strategies for accomplishing collective tasks. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Know how government agencies work. Know about democratic social movements and how to effect systemic change.
Activities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Work and pay taxes Obey the law Recycle Give Blood 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Organizing and engaging in civic projects. Organizing community efforts to care for those in need. Promoting economic development or cleaning up the environment. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Seeks out and addresses areas of injustice.
Sample actions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Contributes to a food drive 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Helps to organize a food drive. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Explores why people are hungry and acts to solve root causes.
Form of citizenship	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Individual citizenship 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Active citizenship 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Critical citizenship
Future Aims	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Existing society seems to fulfill also future needs. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Efforts to improve conditions in existing society. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Develop visions for a better world.
Critique	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Structural changes are not sought after. No collective responsibility 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Roots of social/ political injustice such as the social, political, and economical structures are not assessed and questioned. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Theoretical analysis is more important than social/political activity.

Source: Joel Westheimer, Joseph Kahne. "What kind of Citizen? The politics of Educating for Democracy." American Educational Research Journal 41 (2004/2), p. 240.



Deriving from these kinds of citizens, the following table shows the role of education within the scope of education for citizenship. For each kind of citizens, different models of citizenship education were developed, differentiated through underlying theoretical approaches, methods, aims, values, and expected outcomes.

These models show clearly, that there cannot exist one concept of citizenship education but several. According to aims and theoretical background they can be either rather conservative in a sense that the existing society will be supported or progressive or radical in the sense that the educational concept aims at political, social, economical and structural change through transformation.

Summary Citizenship Education:

1. No matter what model of citizenship education one chooses, the aim is to support the democratic nation-state. This can be affirmative, critically supportive or critically opposed. Therefore, the models should be discussed reflecting desirable aims and outcomes. There is no “better or worse model” but there are situations/contexts/settings which suit one model better than another.
2. The aim of “citizenship education” is inclusion. However, the extent of inclusion differs considerably depending on the political, social, economical and cultural framework of a country, society or organization.
3. “Citizenship education” can take place in formal, informal and non-formal educational settings, depending on its aims. Citizenship education for naturalization procedures is almost always formalized while participatory and transformative learning is mostly taking place in informal settings such as community development or social movement.



Models of citizenship education

	Personally responsible citizen	Participatory citizen	Justice oriented citizen
Educational theory	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Positivism 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Humanism/Pragmatism (John Dewey) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Critical Pedagogy/Critical Theory (Paulo Freire)
Didactical approaches	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Adaptation: Students are taught a particular set of national values and norms (e.g., that current political structures are the best ones possible). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Integration: Students are taught how to participate and become active citizens. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Critical thinking: Students are encouraged to ask questions, to critically analyse the established system and its power structure.
Methodological approaches	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “learning by doing” (individually) • Support of individual social action 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “learning by doing” (collectively) • Internships, engaging in civic projects 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “learning through ex-amples” (change-oriented) • Political/social action outside mainstream organisations/structures
Learning aims	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Instrumental 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Participative 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Transformative
Values concerning citizenship	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Citizenship is based on a universal national identity. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Aim of citizenship is national identity but the existence of diverse cultural identities. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The notion of citizenship as being diverse is an accepted and sought after principal.
Result of courses	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Awareness of individual responsibility • Relatively low level of knowledge concerning participatory rights 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Awareness of individual responsibility within the social context • Relatively high level of knowledge concerning participatory rights (micropolitics) • Relatively low level of knowledge concerning political, social and economical interdependencies (macropolitics) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Awareness of collective/global responsibility • High level of collective political and social responsibility • Relative low level of knowledge concerning participatory rights and possibilities of interference

Source: Joel Westheimer, Joseph Kahne. “What kind of Citizen? The politics of Educating for Democracy.” American Educational Research Journal 41 (2004/2), p. 240.
Ergänzungen: C.Z.



Contents and dimensions of citizenship education

Political/juridical dimension	Societal/social dimension	Cultural dimension	Socio-economic dimension	Dimensions of Identity
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Political structures and processes and ways of influencing them • Political interests • History • Civil society and participation • Democratic values • Human rights and humanity • Ethnical questions/problems • Political activities, community involvement • Education as prerequisite of democratic participation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Knowledge and understanding of mechanisms of social exclusion • Recognition of diversity and the strength of marginalized social • minorities and groups • Equity of gender and ethnic minorities • Antiracism • Understanding of migration processes and their political, social and economical consequences for individuals, societies and nation-states 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Intercultural awareness and experience • Cultural and historical heritage • Language • Respecting and recognizing cultural and political diversity • Education as prerequisite of cultural participation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Knowledge and understanding of economic developments on the local, regional, national and global level • Understanding of the concepts of sustainable development and its interdependence with economical and political developments and interests • Education as prerequisite of economical participation • Analysis of the role of poorer states and of minorities within the economical process • Participation in economical processes • Analysis of economical developments and interests • Critical reflection of “TINA” (“There is no alternative”) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Development of empathy of the individual → this leads to the Development of tolerance, understanding and dialogue • Development of an understanding of a harmonious and balanced self in order to understand „the other“ → this leads to a respectful, sensible, and affable contact with other people regardless of background, gender, race and so on.

Original Source: Ruud Veldhuis, Anja Ostermann: Final Report on Germany, Austria, Liechtenstein. The Contribution of Community Action Programmes in the Fields of Education, Training and Youth to the Development of Citizenship with a European Dimension, Amsterdam 1997, p. 13–14. (additions, changes: C. Zeuner)



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Chapter 6

Promotion of a European social consciousness through trade union education

Strategy, process and results produced by the Quali2move project

Martin Roggenkamp

“Economics based on solidarity, which makes possible compensation mechanisms between the weak and the strong without having to resort to old-school methods of setting borderlines based on prejudice and bias, does not come about without the formation of a social consciousness.”

Oskar Negt 2012: 7

This statement by Oskar Negt reflects the core of the problem in overcoming the current economic crisis in Europe and underscores a key deficit in European integration. The effects of a global financial crisis are primarily being saddled on the backs of employees, the unemployed and pensioners in Ireland and the Southern European countries while pointing the finger at the mistaken actions of governments in individual countries. Social accommodation to compensate for these burdens is at best being discussed as a possible economic stimulus measure in these countries. No critical exchange is taking place between the citizens of the various European countries regarding the decisions upon which this type of crisis management is based. The debate over the transnational management of the crisis, rather, is being carried on exclusively in the national context. The domain of European decision-making has been removed from a critical public of European citizens. Fiscal and economic integration is lacking a critical transnational public and a European social consciousness, whose development – according to Oskar Negt – requires collective learning processes which include the everyday experience of human beings (Negt 2012, p. 7).

European challenges facing trade union educational work

Educational work which is focused on fostering skills of political judgment and the identification of common economic interests is traditionally a core area of trade union work. Based on traditional promotion of interest representation at the work place and the desire to raise the level of education



of employees to encourage their participation in society and politics, trade union educational work which seeks to expand the personal, company and social judgment and the ability of employees to act effectively has established itself as an important pillar of civil society in which hundreds of thousands of employees and trade union members take part each year.

Trade union educational work can at the same time be broken down into three categories (c.f.: ILO [ed.] 2007, p. 1):

- Qualification and training of trade union staff to improve their skills and allow them to act effectively in representing interests at the company and association level as well as their technical education in fields of political action;
- Education of employees with regard to an improvement in the general level of education to foster social and political participation and strengthen their ability to act effectively at the workplace;
- “Labour studies”, which focus on the importance and development of work in society.

Trade union educational work is a dynamic sector which has become more differentiated over the past decades. There are no current comparative summarising studies on the development of trade union educational work programmes, however



(c.f. ILO [ed.] 2007, p. 12; Bridgford/Stirling 2007). There is agreement both among the trade unions as well as research that trade union educational work in particular in Europe faces new challenges within the framework of a changing world of work and society.

At the forefront are in particular globalisation and the Europeanisation of the economy and labour relations. With the growing influence of the European economic area on the design of work and prospects for a career of gainful employment as well as the mounting importance of transnational labour relations to interest representation and the design of workplaces – in particular as a result of the growth of multinational enterprises and the importance of the EU as a supranational actor – geographic and political frames of reference as well as the content and methods of trade union educational work are expanding, as is indeed necessary (c.f. inter alia Bridgford/Stirling 2007; Cairola 2007; Spencer 2007).

On top of all this, technological change, dynamic processes of global restructuring and the growing importance of dealing with knowledge at the workplace require lifelong education possibilities. After all, the restructuring or establishment of new types of educational work in the member states also faces trade union with challenges (Bridgford/Stirling 2007).

In total sum, these processes spell out different types of challenges for trade union educational work in Europe:

- ***The Europeanisation of labour relations demands expanded technical and other skills on the part of trade union staff:***

The Europeanisation of the economic area and transnationalisation of labour relations is expanding the field of action of trade union staff, and requiring new and expanded action-based skills. Challenges in the design of labour relations are increasingly calling for transnational

cooperation between trade union officers in the face of the unabated Europeanisation of the economic area – not only at the European level, but also at the transnational, macroregional, interregional level or the level of multinational enterprises. Successful and results-oriented transnational cooperation requires employee representatives to possess wide-ranging knowledge of underlying labour law and social insurance law conditions as well as labour relations in the various European countries along with a deeper understanding of the values and norms these are based on and their cultural, political and historical backgrounds.

- ***European cooperation requires the development of a European identity of trade union staff:***

Participation in decisions on the design of labour relations moreover requires skills relating to dynamic transnational interrelationships in labour and company policy. Secondly, participation in decision-making having a transnational European domain of impact requires the development of a European identity and transnational solidarity (Bridgford/Stirling 2007; Cairola 2007).

- ***Growing European integration requires the promotion of social and political participation by employees in the European context:***

Given the accelerating shift in political and economic decision-making to the European level, political and social participation by employees requires the promotion of political judgment skills as well as a critical social consciousness in the European context. The basis for this is collective learning processes which take into account everyday experience of employees from various European countries.

- ***Encouraging transnational mobility among employees requires a European educational perspective:***



Growing transnational mobility among European employees forms the foundation for an improvement in their employment opportunities (Council of the European Union 2009, p. 3), economic growth and competitiveness in Europe (European Commission 2008, p. 11; European Commission 2010: 25). It is negatively affected, however, by barriers posed by differing social and labour law conditions in the various European states. The transnational mobility of employees presupposes skills relating to the specific underlying conditions as well as the philosophical arrangements upon which industrial relations are based in order to ensure conscious, proactive integration in various national labour contexts. Empowering employees to do this is what trade union educational work is all about.

- *Development of a transnational lifelong educational perspective:*

Given transnational mobility of employees and requirements applying to lifelong learning prospects, transnational prospects on lifelong learning must also be guaranteed. The prerequisite for this is that educational programmes offered by providers from different countries dovetail into one another in a coherent manner at the methodological and content-related level as well as in terms of quality.

Against the backdrop of these challenges, the development of a fundamental European dimension in trade union work is required. One key challenge to the Europeanisation of trade union education, however, is that programmes and institutions offering trade union education primarily be established at the national, regional, sectoral and local levels. Although the European trade union institute ETUI-REHS increasingly offers European programmes for trade union officers focused on Europeanisation of trade union education of trade union staff, more important programmes of European institutions offering trade union education in individual EU member states, which



differ in quantitative terms, also differ with respect to their respective understandings of education as well as in terms of contents and pedagogical methods as a result of different historical traditions, different interest-representation structures and different educational objectives, which translates into a fundamental need to act with respect to the Europeanisation of trade union educational work (Bridgford/Stirling 2007).

The development of a common European dimension of trade union education must take the following aspects into account in view of the challenges faced:

- *A common understanding of education among trade unions:*

Trade unions and trade union educational facilities generally speaking recognise the establishment of an increasingly imbalanced definition of education, which is narrowed to economically exploitable employability of workers and ignores skills which are needed for a socially balanced, economically, ecologically and socially sustainable world of work. By the same token, the financial crisis and environmental challenges create a need to reflect more on labour, socio-political responsibility and employee participation once again and to also examine these in the content of interpersonal ethics. This is why from a trade union perspective the analysis of the aims, functions and societal



role of trade union educational work at the European level also needs to be part and parcel of transnational trade union policy as well.

- *Common fundamental elements of education:*

To develop lifelong transnational educational prospects, it is necessary for European trade unions to agree on fundamental common elements of education that convey transnational skills to trade union staff and develop educational modules along these lines.

- *Agreement on fundamental common pedagogical-methodological strategies:*

The development of a pedagogical-methodological strategy for the conveyance of skills and contents which is suited for common or transnational use within the framework of trade union educational work can link into a common tradition which is focused in a group-oriented manner on the experiences and needs of learners (ILO [ed.] 2007). In addition to this, however, different trade union educational institutions use wide-ranging, different methods corresponding to the respective self-understanding, different historical developments and different cultural contexts. To develop transnational methods of pedagogical conveyance of skills and contents capable of transnational use, it is necessary to integrate these in a common repertoire of methods. This requires a transnational understanding with respect to pedagogical strategies, appropriate categories and didactic-methodological implementation. These aspects relate directly and indirectly to the tension between personal development (identity) and labour market requirements (European labour market) that have to be taken into account in a pedagogical conception. From this, transnational skills geared to the field of practice can

be developed which bring general, occupational, political and intercultural education into a systematic context.

Quali2move – objectives and mode of procedure in the project

Against this background, ten trade unions and trade union educational institutions from seven EU countries, Turkey and the European level carried out the project “Quali2move – Development and Dissemination of a Labour-Policy Understanding of Education in Europe” in 2012 with the aim of developing a common understanding of education on the basis of a systematic exchange on different educational strategies, cultures and methods.

The composition of the partnership ensured that a broad spectrum of different European educational and interest-representation culture flowed into the educational strategy. IDEAS (ie) contributed the perspective from the Anglo-Saxon economic area, IG Metall and bfw (de) as well as the ÖGB (at) represented the continental European corporatist model of social partnership, IFES (es) was a Southern European educational institution, the Eastern European perspective was taken into account through the participation of Cartel ALFA (ro), ZNP (pl) and Litmetal (lt), while in the guise of BMI (tr) a trade union from a candidate country was involved and ETUI (eu) was able to contribute strategies of trade union education on a European dimension.

The development of a common educational model was based on a systematic and target-oriented exchange between partners on educational strategies and methods which was supported by social scientific input. In four workshops, respectively prepared and debriefed by the different partners, the partners developed a common approach to education, specifying challenges and educational objectives, defining key terms and identifying model training methods.



The development of the educational strategy was based on four processes:

- systematic, comparative exchange on the educational strategies and activities of the partners;
- determining key terms to serve as the foundation for technical exchange;
- the development of a common educational model with which to specify the challenges and objectives of trade union education in Europe;
- a compilation of model methods for transnational political education.

Exchange in the educational strategies and activities of the partners

The key foundation for the development of a common educational model is a mutual understanding of different trade union educational institutions for the different training strategies and programmes of the respective partners and the identification of commonalities and differences. That is why the development of a common model was based on a systematic exchange on the educational activities of trade union educational institutions in the first step. This exchange was performed in three stages. The partners first presented their respective educational programmes within the framework of the initial meeting of the partners in Frankfurt am Main on 13-14 February.

After this, provisional categories for systematic comparison of educational strategies that had proven to be relevant in the discussion were devised on the basis of the presentations:

- Underlying conditions for trade union educational work
- Aims and objectives of trade union educational work
- Understanding and meaning of trade union educational work
- Areas of trade union education



Partners in the Quali2move project:



Berufsbildungswerk (bfw) – Germany



Birleşik Metal İş (BMI) – Turkey



Cartel ALFA – Romania



European Trade Union Institute (ETUI) – EU



IG Metall – Germany



Institute for the Development of Employees Advancement Services (IDEAS) – Ireland



Instituto de Formación y Estudios Sociales (IFES) – Spain



Österreichischer Gewerkschaftsbund (ÖGB) – Austria



Unification of Lithuanian Metalworkers' Trade Unions (Litmetal) – Lithuania



Związek Nauczycielstwa Polskiego (ZNP) – Poland



- Contents of trade union education
- Political education
- Values conveyed within the framework of trade union educational work
- Educational methods
- Transnational skills conveyed within the framework of trade union educational work

A provisional comparative summary of the educational strategies of the project partners was devised on the foundation of the contents presented within the framework of the kick-off meeting. This served to help systematically deepen the exchange at the second workshop which took place in Dublin on 29-30 March.



Not only were information, knowledge and experience exchanged by the educational institutions from the various countries within the framework of the exchange. Commonalities and differences were also identified so that a common approach to education could be developed on this basis. Another result produced by the exchange process was furthermore a systematic comparative overview of educational strategies and methods of trade union educational institutions in Europe (c.f. chpt. 8).

Determination of key definitions of education to serve as foundations for expert exchange

One special challenge facing European exchange on educational strategies and their development is the differing importance of key technical terms in the various languages. One necessary prerequisite is hence a common definition of these technical terms. It was to this end that key terms were identified in the workshop discussions – such as participation, subject orientation, political education, solidarity, etc., which were then flushed out with content by the individual project partners in the subsequent phase. These definitions were then presented and discussed, with the project partners agreeing on common definitions. This thus created the definitional foundations for the expert exchange, while the determination of definitions itself was associated with an intense expert exchange. Secondly, these definitions of terms were summarised in a glossary that is also available to other educational institutions (c.f. chpt. 9).

Development of a common educational model on the basis of an identification of the challenges and objectives of trade union education

The foundations for the development of a common educational model were first of all the identification of differences and commonalities in the educational strategies of the partners as well as a discussion and determination of technical terms, and secondly the identification of special challenges facing European integration for trade union educational work within the framework of the workshops held in Dublin and Istanbul on 17-18 May 2012. At the same time, the participants in particular emphasised the need to nurture and encourage a critical public in Europe in a common discussion area, the need to foster transnational solidarity and the development of transnational social consciousness and the need to emphasise a European identity based on everyday experience in the work and lives of its citizens.



Content and dimensions of trade union education in Europe

Political/legal dimension	Social/societal dimension	Cultural dimension	Socioeconomic dimension	Dimensions of identity formation
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Political structures and processes as well as possibilities of exercising influence on these • Civil society and participation • Democratic values • Education as a prerequisite for democratic participation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Knowledge and understanding with respect to mechanisms of social exclusion • Understanding of migration processes and their political, social and economic consequences for the individual, society and nation states • Recognition of diversity and the importance of marginalised social minorities • Gender equality and ethnic minorities 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Intercultural sensitisation and experience • Language • Respect and recognition of cultural and political diversity 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Knowledge and understanding with respect to economic developments at the local, regional, national and global level • Participation in economic processes • Critical reflection on TINA arguments (There Is No Alternative) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Promotion of class consciousness or a consciousness of common economic interests • Fostering tolerance, understanding and dialogue • Encouraging respectful, sensitive and empathetic contact with human beings regardless of their origin, gender, ethnic background, etc.

Original source: Ruud Veldhuis, Anja Ostermann. "Final Report on Germany, Austria, Liechtenstein. The Contribution of Community Action Programmes in the Fields of Education, Training and Youth to the Development of Citizenship with a European Dimension." Amsterdam 1997. p. 13 – 14.

To be able to develop an educational approach on these foundations, the project partners made use of the scholarly expertise of *Christine Zeuner (Helmut-Schmidt-Universität Hamburg)*, who presented requirements, dimensions and aspects of political education as research input at the workshop in Istanbul (c.f. chpt. 5). Christine Zeuner presented a matrix along these lines which the project partners filled in with educational content, allowing a respective educational strategy to be developed.

The project partners coordinated a joint declaration of intent on transnational trade union education in Europe at a final workshop held in Warsaw on 1-2 October 2012 on the basis of these results (c.f. chpt. 1).



A compilation of model methods of transnational political education

To bolster the common European strategy of education at the same time with methods of intercultural education, the project partners trialled and documented different methodological approaches in the course of the project: first of all methods for promoting intercultural skills in general. Secondly, several of the partners developed methods to encourage political education which are explicitly focused on the transnational learning context. These methods were used on a trial basis at the workshop in Warsaw. The methods are presented in chapters 7 and in the appendix.

The project results were presented at a final conference for the project held in Berlin on 29 November 2012. The presentation was led off by the analysis of the European crisis by Oskar Negt and Adam Ostolski (c.f. chpt. 2 and 3).

Conclusion

Within the framework of the Quali2move project, the project partners made an important contribution to the Europeanisation of trade union education within a brief period of time. The formulation, documentation and dissemination of a common approach to political education, which incorporated educational aims, cultures and methods from ten trade



union educational institutions from eight European countries and the EU level, can first of all serve as an orientation for the execution of educational programmes of other institutions and secondly as foundations for an expansion of these by taking into account additional trade union education strategies in Europe. At any rate, an important process of exchange has been initiated between trade unions in Europe, as European trade union education makes a needed contribution to the development of a critical European public. In the development of the educational strategy it became apparent that the various underlying conditions as well as differences in the historical development of countries and trade unions have at the same time led to a tremendous diversity of educational models, which means that European exchange on trade union education holds out tremendous potential for the development of a European dimension of trade union education.

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Chapter 7

Methods in intercultural political education

Clemens Körte/Fernando Benavente Tendillo

In the Qualizmove project, a common strategy of transnational political education was developed on the basis of an intensive exchange on trade union educational strategies. One important and demanding part of this strategy is to develop methods for intercultural political education. In the national context, political education is primarily focused on creating membership in a society by first promoting self-confidence and responsible behaviour in the respective societal context. Secondly, it is intended to foster commitment to the common good and convey knowledge on political processes and interrelationships in order to boost people's political judgment skills (c.f. Zeuner in this manual). At the transnational level, this is to be linked up to the promotion of interactive cultural activity, which is not limited to getting to know cultural differences, but also provides a deeper understanding of the relationship between everyday social practice and collective notions and ideas relating to this in various cultures (c.f. Kehrbaum in this manual). Transnational political education at the European level must by the same token cope with a type of "multilevel demands"; based on different political cultures and memberships on the one hand it must convey an understanding of different everyday political practices while at the same time helping identify and foster a common European understanding of social practices on the other.

It was against this background that the project partners set about developing appropriate methods linking aspects of the aforementioned political education with an understanding of different social practices and conveying the promotion of a common understanding at the transnational level.

To this end, two of the partners each presented an appropriate method; this was then tried out jointly with the other partners. After this, the partners reflected on their experiences, the respective suitability for the transnational educational level, and developed variations on it.

One of the methods involved addressing everyday and political forms of expression above and beyond language and language exchange. Participants who have creative talents of observation, who often do not have a voice in other environments, are involved in this manner. This is based on pictures which communicate meanings (differently than language), allowing normative emphases and above all allowing people to participate who as a result of personal or language factors remain underrepresented in open discussions. It would appear important to apply integrative methods especially in the transnational strategy – this was unanimously emphasised by the partners in the Qualizmove project.

The other exemplary methods involve experiencing rule, leadership and obedience in alternating roles and then reflecting upon this. Relations of rule, authority and practice of obedience are – not only, but also – culturally conditioned and accordingly have an impact here. Reflecting upon this and experiencing different roles while comparing experience in a group is the aim of the second method – so-called "hand hypnosis".



Method “drawing – pictures”

Clemens Körte



Objectives

“Drawing – pictures” is intended to underscore understanding of terms above and beyond language communication and social practices of visual communication in everyday political life in different cultures. Visual communication increasingly dominates interpersonal relationships. Communication design is used in advertising, social encounters (occupational and private places of encounter, public areas, etc., medial communication spaces on TV, the Web), in the organisation of social relationships and in particular in political communication. Complex political programmes are communicated by means of visual symbols. Visual depictions such as, for example, graffiti underscore political contexts and subjective views of involvement in socio-political processes. The aim of the method is to decode visual communications in different cultures against this background in order to promote an understanding of respective political communication, the contents conveyed and perceived political interrelationships. At the same time, common aspects of everyday visual communication are identified.

Images represent attitudes towards terms. Pictures by the same token use symbols or signs describing content of meaning. Images thus make communications possible - communications which primarily takes place not verbally, but which must, rather, be understood as a form of “speaking“ using image representations.

The method presented in the following is therefore especially suited for intercultural learning. It makes possible communication between participants who have verbal possibilities of expression. Hence participants can practice conveying attitudes and ideas independently of their possibilities for language expression.



Mode of procedure

The project manager provides a maximum of five terms or contexts (chapter) that are to be depicted (he makes sure that the participants consent to this). The participants receive a digital camera and are told to photograph signs and symbols which are respectively related to the terms with respect to their meaning.

The participants are to be organised in groups which are as small as possible and culturally or politically as homogeneous as possible, e.g. in groups of two. They are given the task of taking two to three hours to take a number of pictures on their own (city) tour. After returning each group chooses three to five photographs fitting the assigned chapter and describing it as comprehensively as possible.

Possible titles to the chapters could be:

- Social relationships (alternatively consumption)
- Solidarity (alternatively equality/inequality)



- Work
- Gender (relations)
- Dominance and rule (relations)

The titles should be selected to align with the focus of the educational measure or aspects that could be of importance in the future work of an intercultural group.



Assessment

The photographs that are selected are described using three levels of description for each of the assigned chapters:

- a) Direct content: What do I see? (e.g. a destroyed house; a sign)
- b) Iconographic content of the picture: what is the topic? (e.g. war; organisation of road traffic)
- c) Iconological perspective: what does the picture tell us about local features? What does it tell us about our own patterns of perception?

The groups present the result of their pictorial research with a slideshow, explaining the content in terms of the three assigned levels of description. The explaining part can be recorded on facilitation walls.

Each group describes the photographs for itself. There is no right or wrong. In the following group discussion it is possible, however, to ask questions and make finer distinctions in the results presented.

In the ensuing reflection stage, various patterns of presentation and interpretation, which are displayed visually, are compared.

Based on this, a second round can possibly be carried out in which respectively interculturally mixed teams create a visual presentation of terms and contexts in order to develop a common visual language based on the understanding that is arrived at in the first round.



Size of groups

- 1 to 2 persons per group
- 3 to 4 groups



Possible uses

This method is used in a stage of word development which comes as early as possible, when the group is still getting to know each other and they have not had time to go into much detail in their joint deliberations. The tool is thus also used to help the members of the group get to know each other before they have become familiar with each other and are still trying to find common terms.



Time needed

½ day research, 2 hours evaluation, 2 to 3 hours discussion and exchange in the group (= 1 day). If more working time is available for this exercise, more time can be devoted to the respective work steps.



Preparation and material

1 digital camera per group, beamer and computer. Facilitation wall.



Example pictures



Mural, Belfast

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Mural, Belfast

© Clemens Körte



Mural, Belfast

© Clemens Körte



Mural, Belfast

© Clemens Körte



© Clemens Körte

Checkpoint Charlie (Allied border-crossing), Berlin (Friedrichstraße)



© Clemens Körte

Checkpoint Charlie (Allied border-crossing), Berlin (Friedrichstraße)



© Clemens Körte

The Wall , Berlin (Käthe-Niederkirchner Straße)



Orange Order Marching, Belfast

© Clemens Körte



Mural, Belfast

© Clemens Körte



Mural, Belfast

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Reflection on methods

The method conforms to a considerable degree to the requirements placed on intercultural education. By presentation and perception of visual communication, the respective collective understanding of everyday social practice in visual (political) communication is conveyed. This is linked to the presentation and interpretation of political terms and contexts. In the second round, the development of distributed transnational political patterns of interpretation can be encouraged above and beyond this - through intercultural groups.

Communicating about pictures is especially well suited to overcoming language barriers in intercultural learning contexts. The method is moreover easy to implement, it is action-oriented in a direct manner and builds on the intuitive understanding of the participants.

In selecting the pictures and possibly the terms and contexts as well, it should be ensured that no culturally taboo topics of individual participants are touched on or religious-cultural aspects are presented in a derogatory manner (c.f. Todorov 2010).



Possible variations

To develop joint patterns of interpretation, a second round with culturally mixed groups can build on the presentation and discussion of the results produced by the first round.

One interesting visual pattern of interpretation for trade union learning contexts is trade union symbols. The presentation and analysis of the respective symbolism can contribute a lot to mutual understanding of different trade union cultures.

One interesting political topic is furthermore to be found in the “signs of the crisis”.

A more advanced variation of visual communication may be to work with images in a deliberately manipulative manner. This can help sensitise people to the manipulative potential of visual political communication - and the reflecting criticism of it.



Method 2: “hand hypnosis”

Fernando Benavente Tendillo



Multi-layered power relationships dominate everyday working lives of employees in Europe. Ongoing globalisation is bringing about a denser web of relationships between people, who are once again involved in social relations in companies, their social environment and, however normatively structured, political community. Variably structured power structures, of rule, leadership and obedience derive from these relationships. Members of more liberal environments with a great appreciation of individualism and self-responsibility, perhaps also a feeling of citizenship, may arrive at a different assessment of power relations than persons from more traditional or hierarchical environments.

From the perspective of transnational education, these constellations present educational work with new challenges: Are power relations questioned and analysed in the first place? Is consent obtained on the existence of power relations and submitting to these? Are different definitions of rule, obedience, submissiveness, etc. perceived and, if so, how do these perceptions affect the individual personality? Are they generalisable? To what extent are values that are considered to be recognised in the western hemisphere (democracy, participation) really inculcated transnationally and do they always mean the same thing? If these aspects are explored: Is it not somehow charming to be led at times?! Or is leadership not marked to a certain extent by helping followers obtain freedom, self-determination and the ability to shape their own lives so that they can perform their tasks effectively?

The structure of power and hegemonic relations, hierarchies and participation as well as their respective perception, interpretation and legitimation vary tremendously from culture to culture and is fundamental to an intercultural political understanding.

The following method, hand hypnosis, was practiced and reflected upon in the project. It is a good way to sensitise the participants to the topic of power, leadership and followership and to compare notes on what they have experienced. The participants are put in changing relationships and called upon to assume a certain role (leader, led) and to lead or be led by means of hypnosis. An exchange then takes place on what they experienced.



Technique

To work on the issues around the different concepts of power and abuse of power, leadership and followership in different cultures.



Mode of procedure

1. Participants walk randomly around the room always walking towards an empty space.
2. Facilitator says 'stop' and participants pair off with the person nearest them.
3. Facilitator chooses one person to illustrate the exercise with; facilitator places the palm of his/her hand one foot in front of the participant's face. Facilitator explains that the participant is now 'hypnotized' to the facilitator's hand and the distance of one foot must always be maintained between facilitator's hand and participant's face. Facilitator then moves his/her hand back and forwards and participant should move too. Facilitator can walk forwards or backwards, move up or down, etc.
4. Pairs then decide who is A and B. A places his/her hand in front of B's face, with the tops of the fingers level with the hairline and one foot away from the face. A leads B around the room always ensuring that B's face is one foot from A's hand and avoiding other players.
5. When A and B have had sufficient time to practice, the roles are reversed so that B now leads and A follows.
6. Facilitator asks for three volunteers. A extends both of his/her arms so that palms are facing outwards. B and C are then placed one foot from both hands. As A moves hands B and C move accordingly. Participants can then be divided into groups of three and this part of the exercise can be practiced. Reverse roles so that all three in each group have a chance to lead.
7. To end ask for one person to volunteer to lead the whole group around the room. The group is hypnotized to different parts of the leader's body called out by the facilitator for example 'left eye', 'right knee', etc. Add sound so that when the leader moves up high the sound gets high and when the leader moves down low the sound gets low. This is a low focus exercise and it is about 'give and take' as the pairs must work with each other to maintain ongoing movement.



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Assessment

In the assessment, the participants reflect upon their common experience with the exercise: what are the different requirements regarding leadership and followership? How does the relationship change with the size of the groups being led? What are the respective advantages and disadvantages?

In a second step of the reflection, the participants extend these experiences to the hierarchical relations in their respective cultures - in particular to working life: The participants present their respective relations of leadership and responsibility, obedience and participation, etc., in their respective home countries, identifying commonalities and differences.



Size of groups

The size of the groups is variable. Working first in pairs, then in threes, and finally as a whole group. Principally it would be possible to start with a larger group – pairs, threes etc. starting, the remaining participants taking part as passive audience or taking part in other groups.



When can it be used

The situation in which this method would be used is taking place to make the group to lose its inhibitions.



Time required

More than 20 minutes.



Preparation and material

The method needs some preparations. The method has to be explained carefully. This includes the technical exercises, this would also include the material that is required.



Additional note

Make sure nobody uses the exercise in an inappropriate way.



Reflection on the method

The method is well suited for intercultural political education work in the manner described above. Based on and simulated by direct physical experience, the participants reflect upon and compare the collective interpretation of everyday power relations in their respective cultures. An intercultural understanding for the relationship between everyday social practices and patterns of collective interpretation is imparted to achieve interactive cultural sensitisation (c.f. Kehrbaum in this manual). This conveyance by the same token focuses on the key foundations of political



relationships: the exercise of power, the assumption of responsibility and the structuring of hierarchical relations. These aspects are then adopted in specific aspects of everyday life or specified in concrete terms in these areas in the assessment. Working and regular everyday life are promising areas to use.

The assessment of the exercise by the participants is of key importance and should therefore be well prepared in detail.

The method is well suited to obtaining an understanding and an analysis of organisational processes or, however, also to prepare for negotiations. At the same time, the participants also reflect upon the meta-level of the learning context: the relationship between trainers and learners, which also display aspects of power and rule, but also responsibility, trust and confidence. That is why this method is particularly well suited to reflecting upon the role of trainers to prepare for intercultural educational measures in which the trainers come from different cultural contexts.



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Variation

Start working in pairs, then threes and finally as a whole group.



Chapter 8

A comparison of trade union education strategies in Europe

Martin Roggenkamp and Tom Kehrbaum

The systematic comparison of different education strategies and programmes of project partners in the Quali2move project offered important foundations for the identification of commonalities and in the development of a common education strategy. The comparative overview of trade union education strategies from eight European countries is at the same time an important secondary result produced by the project, as there are at present no comparative summaries on the development of programmes relating to trade union education work (c.f. ILO (ed.) 2007, p. 12; Bridgford/Stirling 2007).

The comparison was performed within the framework of the project in three steps: first of all the various educational institutions presented their educational programmes and activities and compared these. It became clear in the exchange what the relevant terms and aspects are for identifying differences and commonalities. On this basis eight comparative categories were formed in the second step, allowing an exchange on a systematic basis. Finally, in the third step, the comparison went deeper, with the partners presenting their respective education strategies based on the comparative categories. This presentation was then documented (c.f. regarding the concept the article by Tom Kehrbaum in this manual).

Categories of the comparison

Challenges and conditions underlying trade union education

In the initial exchange – which was deliberately kept non-structured – it was evident that the respective framework conditions of trade union educational work in the various countries is an important factor explaining differences in education strategies in the educational institutions involved. In particular underlying conditions in Turkey differ significantly from those of other European countries. Industrial relations in Turkey are marked by antagonisms fraught with conflicts, a weak legal position on the part of trade unions, conflicts with religious movements and an authoritarian tradition on

the part of the trade union movement. Under these conditions, trade union educational work has fewer opportunities and a different function than in the western European countries of Germany, Ireland, Austria and Spain, where trade union educational work is an established and recognised branch of adult education with a stable, differentiated organisational structure. By the same token educational institutions in Ireland and Spain are under much greater financial pressure and need to take action than in Austria and Germany as a result of the economic crisis. Trade unions in Lithuania and Romania, on the other hand, face a special situation. As a result of their recent history, trade unions in the post-socialist countries are weak and political education programmes staged by trade unions meet with scepticism in the population. In contrast to Turkey, these trade unions face fewer conflicts, however. In Romania and Lithuania, the primary aim in contrast is to improve the societal image of trade unions and social partnerships in society. The situation in Poland once again differs from that of Romania and Lithuania in that trade unions have been less discredited by the socialist past and have been able to establish a solid financial and organisational basis.

Aims and objectives of trade union education

The respective aims and objectives of trade union education are a fundamental category of comparison because specific educational activities are derived from these. In the comparison a clear connection was seen between underlying conditions and objectives. Thus, for instance, trade union educational work in Turkey is focused on mobilisation and politicisation of employees and trade unionists in accordance with the highly antagonistic situation there. The path to mobilisation through politicisation is barred to the trade unions in Romania and Lithuania, in contrast, as a result of the reserved attitude of the population towards politicisation. The trade unions in these countries aim more at an improvement in the image of the trade unions, social partnership and the social



dialogue and seek to create direct personal benefits for employees by improving the employability of employees through trade union educational work. This situation and objective differs fundamentally from those of established, stable trade union educational institutions in these countries in Western Europe and the ZNP in Poland. Because direct organisational interests stand less at the forefront in trade union educational work in these countries with stable established trade union organisations, educational work emphasises a medium to long-term social development perspective through the promotion of participation by employees at the worksite, in the labour market and in society.

Fields of trade union education, content of education, political education and target groups

At the core of trade union educational work by all the partners is the training of trade union and company interest representatives. In addition, strategies differ in terms of the extent to which they also focus on employees and to what extent they also relate to further occupational training. The Western European educational institutions and the ZNP in Poland have wide-ranging educational programmes above and beyond training of interest representatives, which is focused on the promotion of social and political participation. Although CARTEL Alfa from Romania and Litmetal from Lithuania have training programmes for employees, these are limited to direct trade union topics and tend to focus on getting employees interested in trade union work or joining the trade unions. The ZNP, IG Metall, IDEAS, IFES and ÖGB, in contrast, have a broad range of educational programmes for employees comprising social, political and in part cultural topics. This goes hand in hand with the aim of fostering social participation. The trade unions and trade union educational institutions in this group differ once again with regard to the question as to whether they also offer continuing vocational training. This is an important element of the educational program at ZNP, IDEAS and IFES.

Trade unions in Germany and Austria are or have also been institutions active in the field of further vocational training. Further vocational training and political education are separated from each other, however. In Germany trade unions' further vocational training is supported by an institute of the trade unions – the *Berufsbildungswerk* – while IG Metall focuses on classic (company and societal) political education.¹ In Austria an institute along these lines has in the meantime even become independent of the trade union. ZNP, IDEAS and IFES, on the other hand, integrate political and vocational education and training in their programmes. Aspects of political education are always also a part of vocational training programmes there. In Lithuania and Romania, political education is offered exclusively for trade union representatives. General political education through the trade unions is not accepted there. For BMI in Turkey, political education is a means of mobilising people in focusing trade union educational work.

Pedagogical principles and methods

With regard to pedagogical principles and methods, all of the project partners involved have the same focus in harmony with the societal aims and objectives of the trade unions – which has had a positive impact on the common education strategy: a subject-oriented, participative method which places collective learning processes above individual conveyance of knowledge, is action-oriented and encourages critical awareness vis-à-vis the social status quo.

¹ With the exception of the educational centre at Inzell, which came to IG Metall with the former textile trade union and (as it used to do autonomously) also offers further vocational training (such as welding courses, computer courses, etc.) there.



Types of trade union educational work

A distinction can be made between three types of trade union educational work on the basis of the comparison:

1. Antagonistic trade union education work

This type is represented by BMI from Turkey. This trade union operates under conditions of conflictual industrial relations, a polarised society and weak trade union rights. Here trade union education is primarily a function of mobilisation through promotion of class consciousness, democratic attitudes and secular attitudes. Political education is thus at the locus of trade union educational work, but in contrast to the Western European trade unions the direct aim and focus is to strengthen trade union organisations as compared to fostering societal participation by employees.

2. Defensive trade union educational work

CARTEL Alfa from Romania and Litmal from Lithuania can be assigned to this type. In these countries as well, trade unions have a rather weak position, which is primarily based, however, on the low acceptance of trade unions and in particular their political work in the population for historical reasons. At Litmetal this is due to the fact that the industrial base is weak in the metal-working sector and that it is mostly foreign companies which establish plants here and shy away from cooperation with trade unions. The political educational activities of these trade unions are limited to trade union interest representatives. Broader political education activities are not feasible, nor would they meet with a positive response from employees. Trade union educational work is thus focused on promoting the image of trade unions, social partnership and the social dialogue while improving employment opportunities for workers.



3. Institutionalised trade union educational work

The trade unions involved and trade union educational institutions in the Western European Countries and the ZNP

in Poland carry on a type of trade union educational work which is established, institutionalised and organisationally differentiated as a branch of adult education. Upon these foundations, trade union educational work pursues an overall societal objective with differentiated educational programmes – promotion of participation by employees at the workplace, in the labour market and in society. Within this type, there are once again two groups to be distinguished with regard to further vocational training: while further vocational training and political education in the trade union educational work of IDEAS, IFES and ZNP is offered on an integrated basis, these are organisationally separated at IG Metall and ÖGB.





Models of political education

Trade union/ educational institution	Challenges and conditions underlying trade union educational work	Objectives of trade union education	Areas of trade union education	Content of education
 Romania	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Weak trade unions • Political restraint for historical reasons 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Promotion of employability • Fostering the effectiveness of trade unions • Improving the image of trade unions • Strengthening the social dialogue and improving relations between the social partners 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Training of trade union representatives • Further vocational education • Seminars on select topics 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Further vocational education • Collective bargaining and interest representation • Trade union organisation • Negotiating • Labour law • Communications • Project management • PME method • Sensitisation to harassment and discrimination • ILO conventions • Social dialogue • etc.
 Turkey	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Competes with religious attitudes • Authoritarian tradition within the trade union movement • Antagonist situation • Limited financial capacities • No leave arrangements for employees • Political and religious prejudice • Patriarchal society • Lower level of education in general • Low qualification level of trainers • Limited research possibilities • Too few educational centres 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Promotion of employability • Promotion of critical judgment skills • Promotion of democratic attitudes within the trade union • Promotion of class awareness • Strengthening of trade unions 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Political education • Training of trade union representatives • Further vocational education on a limited scale 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Political education • Class awareness (anti-capitalist, anti-racist, anti-fascist, anti-sexist) • Democracy in trade unions and society • Environmental awareness/sustainability



Target groups	Political education	Values	Pedagogical principles and methods
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Interest representatives • Employees • Trade union members 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • No political education 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Employability • Social dialogue • Equal opportunity • Fairness • Solidarity 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Interactive methods • Working groups • Role-plays • Simulations • Final course projects • Practical tests
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Trade union members • Trade union representatives • Members of executive boards of trade unions 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Political education has priority both as a resource and for the promotion of political development (class consciousness and democracy) as well as for the strengthening and democratisation of trade unions 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Democratic consciousness • Class consciousness • Secularisation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Participatory approach: group learning, mapping, workshops, conferences, audio-visual techniques; on-the-job educational activities





Trade union/ educational institution	Challenges and conditions underlying trade union educational work	Objectives of trade union education	Areas of trade union education	Content of education
 Ireland	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Solid organisational structures • Economic crisis • Problem of funding educational activities • Problems with placing employees on leave • Low number of qualified trainers 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Promotion of participation at the worksite, in the labour market and in society • Promotion of employability 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Further vocational education • Political education • Training of trade union representatives 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Non-formal, general skills (soft skills, social skills) such as, for example, teamwork • Problem-solving skills • Computer training • Leadership skills • Personal efficiency on the job • Training the trainers • Organising within the framework of trade unions • Communication skills
 Spain	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Solid organisational structures • Economic crisis • Own educational institute for the trade unions UGT and CCOO 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Promotion of a participative, just society in the spirit of solidarity and a balanced relationship between economic activities and sustainable development • Strengthening the importance of the social dialogue • Promotion of participation in employment (conveyance of vocational skills) and in society (education) • Defending culture and education as a means for establishing a participative, just society based on solidarity 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Further vocational education • Qualification of trade union representatives 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Trade union policy in the context of trade union guidelines and principles • Skills and abilities of trade union representatives: labour law and legal foundations of education; collective bargaining; negotiating; mediation; equal opportunity; conflict management; communicative skills, rhetorical skills; group dynamics, problem solutions, etc. • Vocational education for all industrial sectors



Target groups	Political education	Values	Pedagogical principles and methods
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Shop stewards • Committee members • Members of executive boards • Other trade union members • Non-trade union members • Retired trade union members • Unemployed trade union members • Occupational health and safety officers • Experts for certain occupational groups • Young trade union members • Female trade union members 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Political education is part of the educational programme and is taken into account in every type of educational programme. Political education is also integrated in further vocation programmes. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Solidarity • Equal rights • Democracy • Fairness • Social justice 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Trade union education is based on the core principles of solidarity, equal rights, equality, fairness, democracy and social justice. These values also form the basis for educational methods. • Trade union educational work should generally be participative and subject-oriented. • Face-to-face training should be conducted whenever possible. • Trade union education should promote discussions between learners as much as possible. • Action-oriented learning as well as joint problem-solving should always receive priority over pure conveyance of knowledge.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Trade union members and employee representatives • Employees and unemployed 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Political education is part of the educational programme and is taken into account in every type of educational programme. Political education is also integrated in further vocational education. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Participative, just society based on solidarity • Balanced relationship between economic activity and sustainable development 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Active and participative: promotion both of qualification as well as personal development • Learners are placed at the heart of it all: the special traits of the learners (adults and employees) are taken into account; the connection between learning content and the working world is established. • Group learning





Trade union/ educational institution	Challenges and conditions underlying trade union educational work	Objectives of trade union education	Areas of trade union education	Content of education
 <p>Germany</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Solid organisational structures • Educational programmes offered both by trade union institutions and the trade union itself • Voluntary trainers are integrated in the educational work 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Promotion of participation at the job site and in society • Wide-ranging conveyance of knowledge and skills required for this • Moreover, self-reflection on trade union action (as a learning process) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Political and technical education • Training of trade union and company interest representatives • Further vocational education through the trade union's own institute 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Political youth education, labour and social law, collective bargaining policy, company and trade union policy, company strategies, business administration, occupational health and safety, human resources development, social and methodological skills, negotiating and rhetorical skills, special seminars for groups of persons and professions, historical political learning, training of moderators, international education
 <p>Lithuania</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Weak trade unions • Political restraint for historical reasons 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Improving the economic situation and standard of living of employees • Strengthening the trade union movement • Promote political judgment skills • Promote mobility of employees • Organisation of employees 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Training of trade union representatives, trade union members and potential trade union members 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Collective bargaining • Legislation • Social dialogue • Psychology • Occupational health and safety • Values of the trade unions • Social policy



Target groups	Political education	Values	Pedagogical principles and methods
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Trade union and company interest representatives (works council members) • Youth and trainee representatives • Employees • Trade union members 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Political education is the core area of trade union educational work and addresses politics, economics, democracy and co-determination, conflicts of interest and develops action-oriented trade union solidarity 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Values and ideals of the trade union movement • In action oriented towards solidarity, social justice and a lively democracy • We respect other views and ways of thinking 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Subject and action-oriented • Critical-emancipative • Centred on participants and topics • Reflection and strengthening of self-confidence, commonalities and solidarity • Joint learning of common aims and objectives • Theory-practice dialogue
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Trade union representatives • Trade union members and potential trade union members 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Only for trade union interest representatives 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Solidarity • Equal rights • Equality • Democracy • Fairness • Social justice 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Pedagogical seminars and conferences, consulting, group work



Trade union/ educational institution	Challenges and conditions underlying trade union educational work	Objectives of trade union education	Areas of trade union education	Content of education
 OGB Austria	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Solid organisational structures 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Conveyance of political information • Conveyance of alternative political perspectives • Promotion of participation at the worksite and in the labour market • Promotion of collective values 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Political education • Topics from leisure time and society • Cultural topics • Current political topics, trade union topics • Training of interest representatives 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Politics • Law and economics • Social skills • Conflict management • Collective bargaining • Interest representation • Cultural topics • Current political and trade union topics • Conveyance of trade union values • Promotion of self-confidence
 Poland	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Solid organisational structures • Own educational institute • Educational programmes both through the trade union itself as well as through cooperating institutes 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Promotion of participation at the worksite and in society • Conveyance of political information • Conveyance of alternative perspectives • Promotion of collective values 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Training of interest representatives • Further vocational education 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Current political and trade union topics • Labour law • Methodological and social skills to promote ability to act in political processes • Training of interest representatives • Further vocational training



Target groups	Political education	Values	Pedagogical principles and methods
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Employee representatives • Trade union members • Employees • Trainers 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Core area of trade union educational work 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Trade union attitude • Solidarity • Self-confidence • Social and cultural aspects 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Critical-emancipative approach • Subject-oriented and participative
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Trade union interest representatives • Trade union members 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Integral element of trade union education 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Solidarity • Self-confidence • Same access to education • Cultural aspects 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Critical-emancipative education against stereotypes and routine as the basis for political development and interest representation • Subject-oriented • Participative • E-learning

Literature

International Labour Office (ILO) (ed.) (2007): The role of trade unions in workers’ education: The key to trade union capacity building, Geneva, http://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---ed_dialogue/---actrav/documents/meetingdocument/wcms_112434.pdf (15.08.2011)

Bridgford, Jeff; Stirling, John (2007): Trade union education in Europe – Some latest developments, in: International Labour Office (ILO) (ed.) (2007): Strengthening the trade unions: The key role of labour education, Labour Education 2007/1–2, No. 146–147, p. 65–70.

Chapter 9

Glossary

Experience-oriented

Experience is the binding element between theoretical knowledge and social practice. Learners must experience learning as useful to their everyday practice. For trade union education this means that education is based on the everyday experience of learners and has to be focused on specific action at companies or in society.

Trade union education (in comparison to education in general)

Trade union education focuses on interest representatives as well as all trade union members. Trade union education fosters a critical, self-confident attitude towards current trade union developments and dominant societal values. Trade union education encourages the values of solidarity, democracy, equality, social justice and fairness. In contrast to individualised and competitive learning, trade union education takes place through joint learning with common aims and objectives. Educational methods support the values which are to be imparted. Trade union education in part also includes vocational education.

Action orientation

The notion of action orientation in trade union education has two dimensions:

- (1) Learning should have specific benefits for learners. Education should help them at the same time to act effectively and successfully at their companies and in society within the framework of their everyday lives.
- (2) An orientation towards acting also has a methodological dimension in trade union educational work: people learn best through acting. Learning methods and processes should therefore include the action of learners.

Interests

Interests designate social and/or economic intentions or demands. Awareness of one's own interests presupposes an understanding of societal and power relations as well as one's own role or function that is attributed to an individual or what an individual can attain. A distinction must be made between individual and collective interests.

Competencies

Competencies are based on capacities, abilities and basic knowledge which make it possible for individuals to influence or change situations. Competencies presuppose the will to use capabilities, abilities and knowledge appropriately.

Critical-emancipative education

Critical-emancipative education focuses on developing a critical awareness of the societal status quo in order to make it possible to analyse societal development independently of hegemonic patterns of interpretation and to enquire into the normative power of facts. Critical-emancipative education is partisan education and seeks to develop an awareness of economic interests in capitalist societies and a critical attitude towards religion as well as racism and fascism. Critical-emancipative education promotes societal change and the solution of social problems. Another part of critical-emancipative education is the development of a self-critical attitude. Critical-emancipative education is based on the transfer of knowledge, but above and beyond this also teaches methods for using this knowledge in a critical manner.

Political education

Political education is focused on fostering a political attitude and political commitment through the development of a political awareness and an awareness of economic interests and the promotion of an understanding of connections between political decisions and everyday experience. Political education along the lines of civic education is oriented towards em-



powering learners to participate in political decision-making processes by imparting rules and institutions in this process.

Solidarity

Solidarity is the awareness of common interests and the divided responsibility for gaining acceptance of these interests. In the field of practice, solidarity is experienced in interpersonal relationships and can be developed by recognising common interests. Trade union solidarity is founded on the realisation that employees dependent upon wages in a working world organised along market economy lines – nationally and globally – are in a permanent situation of competition. If they want to overcome this, they have to recognise their common interests and gain acceptance for their demands vis-à-vis employers. To this end employees dependent on wages cultivate a feeling of togetherness based on shared moral values and a common culture. This understanding of solidarity focuses on “equality” as a functional category and is demarcated from a definition of solidarity which designates compassion and willingness to help weaker persons or those in need of help. Intercultural differences and language or definitional difference often prevent common interests from being perceived. This is possibly one difficulty in improving the ability of trade unions to act at the international level.

Subject orientation

Conceptually and methodologically, trade union educational work adopts a subject-oriented approach which differs from the practice of a pure conveyance of knowledge and which understands participants as active, socially learning subjects. Methods make possible independent learning through joint discussion and an understanding of processes. The educational interests and learning aims of learners must always be at the heart of trade union education.

Utopia

Political trade union work focuses on encouraging intellectual detachment in regarding the societal status quo. This makes possible not only a critical analysis of societal relations, but also in addition fosters the development of different models of the societal status quo.

Values

Values designate a set of ideas or core principles which are not questioned and are non-negotiable. These form the foundations for social relations as the basis for ethical behaviour and social institutions. They are endorsed and supported by regional societies and hence may differ from region to region. The following values are of relevance in working life: solidarity, equality, social justice and democracy.

Conclusion

A look forward

The intensive exchange between the partners within the framework of the project has shown that the trade unions involved and the trade union educational institutions believe that there is an urgent need to establish a critical European public. They are of the view that it is their common task to contribute to its creation through national and transnational political education. At the same time, it has become evident that the project partners from eight different European countries share a basic understanding of trade union educational work, upon which a European dimension of political education can be built. The results of the project are an important step in the development of cross-border trade union educational work in Europe. In their joint declaration the project partners laid down the challenges, objectives and strategies for trade union education for a European public. At the same time, they developed a set of methods and instruments supporting

providers of education in their effort to design and carry out educational programmes.

These project results are not only intended to offer educational institutions an orientation in the performance of European political education. They are also meant to serve as the point of departure for the further development of a model for trade union political education in Europe in which strategies and educational cultures from additional European countries are also integrated. In the Qualizmove project, the project partners have sent out a signal that Europe's trade unions are actively working to promote a critical European public.

Trade union education is an important pillar of youth and adult education in Europe and must therefore be taken into account in the educational activities of the Europe 2020 Strategy. The integration of trade union education in industrial relations, in the social dialogue of the member states and, finally, in the





everyday work and lives of Europeans, is what accounts for its impact and effectiveness.

The European crisis first of all demonstrates the need for transnational educational processes while secondly offering an opportunity to expand the trade union example of democratic learning in the spirit of solidarity based on actual practice to the entire area of Europe. The refocusing of content and structures in general and vocational education within the framework of the Europe 2020 Strategy requires democratic foundations based on solidarity on a European dimension. The Quali2move project has made numerous important contributions to this, which are once again summed up in the following.

This manual presents both the project results as well as the most important aspects of the discussion on trade union education in Europe. In the “Declaration of Intent for Transnational Trade Union Education in Europe”, the project partners present their joint educational strategy, listing their objectives

in the context of current European challenges. Chapters 2 to 5 constitute important theoretical points of access and foundations for trade union political education in Europe. *Oskar Negt* analyses current – not only European, but also societal – crises, underscoring the importance of political education in surmounting this crisis. *Adam Ostolski* draws attention in his analysis of the crisis to the importance of trade union education for the needed utopian dimension of politics. *Tom Kehrbaum* recalls with reference to Comenius that education has always been a key element in overcoming crises and spells out requirements for transnational trade union education contributing to the formation of a European identity and public. The three articles analyse the European or societal crisis from different perspectives and formulate appropriate requirements applying to trade union work. Finally, *Christine Zeuner* sets out an important theoretical framework for the work of the project partners through their input at the workshop in Istanbul by



offering this framework to serve as an orientation for various content-related models of political education and identifies aspects of political education models. The project partners can develop their own model on this basis.

The second part of the manual presents the most important project results. The description of the project by *Martin Roggenkamp* presents the project strategy in the context of challenges for trade union education, describing the course of the project and the individual results. One important “by-product” in the exchange between educational institutions is the comparative summary of the various educational strategies of trade unions in Europe. It underscores both the trade union commitment to education as well as commonalities and differences between the various trade unions. Specific tools and instruments for the implementation of European political education have been developed and tested in the project. The Glossary that was created in the course of the process of exchange, finally, constitutes a crucial basis for technical exchange in the European context – especially in the area of education.

On the whole, this manual provides comprehensive foundations for the development and implementation of political education in and for Europe, stating challenges, backgrounds, strategies and objectives as well as terms and methods. The results of the Quali2move project can be attributed to the impressive commitment of the project partners. This commitment underscores the great interest in a European design for political education and a critical public steeped in the spirit of solidarity.

Appendix

Methods of Intercultural Education



The methods have been developed with the support and advice of *InterCultur*

Presentation and introduction to the Intercultural Workshops



Objectives

The aim is to tease out the ideas and attitudes of the participants both individually as well as in the group in a relaxed manner while at the same time introducing them to the topic of the event at the personal level.



Mode of procedure

Using a beamer, first one question then other ones (or statements) are projected onto a screen; as an alternative, the questions can be written on a flip-chart. The participants are called upon to choose a partner and discuss the respective question with him or her. The participants must choose another partner for the next question.



The following statements (questions) are to be discussed with different partners:

- Education for me means ...
- One example of something useful, interesting or important ...
 - ... which the participants have learned from a friend
 - ... that the participants have learned in a training program or studies
 - ... that the participants have learned in the trade union

After this, the participants introduce themselves and their respective organisation one by one before the plenary group, presenting the most interesting or surprising story which they heard during the discussion of the questions with the other participant and found remarkable and hence worth relating to the rest of the group.



Size of group

10 to 20



Possible uses

At the beginning of an event/a workshop



Time needed

20 to 30 minutes



Material

Beamer or flipchart



Additional notes

The participants must be able to communicate with each other without interpreters.

Following the discussion, the different types of education can be discussed which are contained in the questions (informal, formal and informal learning as terms which are being used in the debate over “lifelong learning” in the EU). In this manner the group can get started with a topic relating to political education already during the warm-up round and identify the individual types of trade union education. This begins the introduction to an exchange and comparison of practice in the field of education in the different educational systems of the participants.

“Me” as title of a book



Objectives

Humorous presentation and description of themselves by the participants and their organisations



Mode of procedure

Each participant presents himself and the respective organisation in the plenary group in the form of a book title. For example: “If I had to describe my current work situation in the form of a book title, what would the title of the book be?” Or: “What actual book that has been published would it be?”



Size of group

10 to 20



Possible uses

At the beginning of an event / a workshop



Time needed

10 to 15 minutes



Material

–



Additional notes

In the intercultural context, this method combines several aspects. First of all the personal work situation which is to play a role in the project, whether this be for time-related, organisational or content-related reasons, is addressed and assessed. Secondly, personal favourites (literature) may be introduced or reference made to famous or nationally important works, which often also play a major cultural role.





Collective trade union rock-paper-scissors



Objectives

Relaxation, physical group experience



Mode of procedure

The participants are split up into two teams, which compete against each other. Before each round the teams have to decide whether they are to play politicians, employers or employees. They then proceed as follows:

- Politicians are presented by calling out “Blah blah blah ...“ and make gestures accordingly.
- Employers sing “money, money, money ...“ (melody from the Abba song) and make gestures accordingly with their thumbs and index fingers.
- Employees cry out “workers unite!” and raise their right fists into the air.

The game leader gives a starting signal at the beginning of every round and the teams present the respective action which they have decided upon to the each other. The following rules apply:

- Employers buy – i.e. beat – politicians
- Politicians deceive – i.e. – beat employees
- Employees’ power beats employers

The team with a two-point lead wins the game.



Size of group

6 to 12



Possible uses

Relaxation during the event



Time needed

20 to 30 minutes



Material

–



Additional notes

This game needs room and is really noisy! It also helps loosen the participants up for the topic of “negotiation” because typical features of negotiating are practiced, e.g.: guessing what the other side is going to do, agreeing upon a course of action and acting at the same time, forgetting about it when one loses and, in spite of this, agreeing together in the team!

Getting to know values and morals by means of proverbs



Objectives

Introduction to the cultural background of the participants



Mode of procedure

Each participant receives a sheet or a note with a proverb from one of the cultures of the participants on it. The participants choose a partner and discuss the respective proverb with him or her – what importance it has and whether the participants agree with it or not. After this, the participants switch partners and the sheets with the proverbs and discuss the other proverbs with other partners. The proverbs are then discussed together in the plenary group.



Choose a partner and discuss the following: What does the proverb mean? What value does it express? How important to you is this value? How foreign or unimportant is the value to you? Find a new partner and discuss the next proverb with him or her.



Size of group

10 to 20



Possible uses

Warm-up exercise at the beginning of a unit



Time needed

20 to 30 minutes



Material

Sheets or notes with proverbs from the respective cultures on it



Additional notes

The selection of proverbs requires a certain amount of research. The participants must be able to communicate with each other without interpreters.



Guiding proverbs

Source: : <http://www.angelfire.com/ma4/memajs/quotes/proverbs.html> (16.12.2012)

The afternoon knows what the morning never suspected.
(Swedish Proverb)

All sins cast long shadows. (Irish Proverb)

The anvil fears no blows. (Romanian Proverb)

Be thine enemy an ant, see in him an elephant. (Turkish Proverb)

Better a mouse in the pot than no meat at all. (Romanian Proverb)

Better be quarreling than lonesome. (Irish Proverb)

Do not push the river, it will flow by itself. (Polish Proverb)

Do not put your spoon into the pot, which does not boil for you. (Romanian Proverb)

Even a clock that does not work is right twice a day.
(Polish Proverb)

A good painter need not give a name to his picture, a bad must. (Polish Proverb)





Measure a thousand times and cut once. (Turkish Proverb)

No one is rich enough to do without a neighbor. (Danish Proverb)

To change and change for the better are two different things. (German Proverb)

Under a ragged coat lies wisdom. (Romanian Proverb)

When a blind man carries a lame man, both go forward. (Swedish proverb)

A new broom sweeps clean, but the old brush knows all the corners. (Irish Proverb)

Having two ears and one tongue, we should listen twice as much as we speak. (Turkish Proverb)

Those who wish to sing always find a song. (Swedish Proverb)

When the ax entered the forest, the trees said, "The handle is one of us!" (Turkish proverb)

Under capitalism man exploits man; under socialism the reverse. (Polish Proverb)



Auction of values



Objectives

Become aware of personal values and priorities



Procedure

1. The seminar leader presents the procedure.
2. Each of the participants receives a list with the conditions. Task: They should first decide which values are so important to them that they want to auction them and make a list of priorities of these. (time: approximately 15 min.)
3. Each of the participants receives the same amount of gaming money, which they can use for the auction. They can use the money as they see fit (placing it all on one value or splitting it up among as many different values as they desire).
4. The auction begins: The values are auctioned one by one to the participants (a gavel and a wooden board enhance the atmosphere of an auction). The game leader opens the auction of values by calling out the individual values and asking for the bids. If a participant wins a bid, he or she receives the sheet with the purchased value and the money is put in the treasury. The auction is over when all the values have been auctioned off.



Assessment

The assessment of this exercise is more effective when it is performed by 6 to 8 participants. The aim of the objective is for the participants to specify for themselves which values are important to them.

- How difficult or easy was it for you to select the values which were most important for you and worth bidding for?
- Did you receive the values which were especially important to you?
- How does it feel to no longer have enough money to bid for a value which is important to you?
- How satisfied are you with the outcome of the auction?



Target group/size of group

10 to 20 persons



Time

45 to 60 minutes



Preparation and material

- Markers
- Copies of the worksheet
- If necessary auction utensils (gavel, board)
- For the auction: cinema chair arrangement; for the assessment: chairs arranged in a circle



The values for the auction of values

You have 200 value units (that is, currency valid at the auction, red = 50 value units, blue-white = 10 value units), which you can invest however you want. Look at the individual values and their descriptions. Think about which values you want to bid for. Select values which are important and worth investing in for you. When the auction begins, you do not have to strictly stick to your plans, however.

1. Interacting sincerely

You work in an environment in which everyone interacts openly and honestly. The atmosphere allows you to enter into productive relationships. Contents and opinions are openly shared. You interact in a constructive manner.

2. Responsibility and influence

You have responsibility for staff members and hence influence over other persons and their work. You can decide what other persons are to work on and how. You yourself assign the people who you want to have on your team.

3. Independent work

You perform your job in a manner which depends on others. You can always do what you think is best for yourself. Nobody influences you or tells you what you have to do.

4. High-performer

You are recognised as the best in your profession. You always outperform the others and generally attain more than you thought, desired or endeavoured to.

5. A long, healthy life

Your working conditions allow you to take time for sports and relaxation. This allows you to be in good physical and psychological condition your entire life.

6. Learning and further education

In your work you generally have to deal with new topics and learn on an ongoing basis. You have access to exciting books and inspiring discussions, you can attend interesting seminars whenever you want.

7. Financial security

Your job is so well paid that you can fulfil all your material desires. On top of this, you also have money for all other pursuits.

8. Excitement

Your job constantly leads to exciting new situations. By the same token, you are up to all new challenges and able to enjoy everything fresh and new.

9. Fame and recognition

Everyone respects and admires you. Everyone is interested in inviting you to events. You are also a welcome guest at important social and political occasions. People want to rub shoulders with you, others want to profit from you.

10. Identification

You stand behind your work completely. You identify with what you do, including with respect to your personal values. When people ask you who you are, you always put your professional identity at the very top of the list.

11. A perfect family life

You can structure your working time so that you always have enough time for your family. Your family and you experience an ideal relationship in which each one receives the love and affection that they need.

12. Freedom to plan time

Nobody tells you when and how you are to work. You decide yourself how you structure your day, your month, your year, and how long your holiday is.



13. Intellectual challenge

You are needed in your job, which allows you to apply your entire cognitive capacities. You recognise solutions to critical problems and logical connections between different problems. You always receive interesting intellectual challenges.

14. Expert status

You comprehend the meaning and purpose of issues and tasks, interrelationships and consequences amazingly quickly. You are the one people at the company/organisation go to; everyone seeks your advice.

15. Importance and relevance

You see what results your work produces and that you are important to other people. Your work has an impact and makes a difference.

16. Teamwork

You work together with people who you find interesting and inspiring. The atmosphere allows you to learn from each other without degenerating into squabbling over domains of responsibility.

17. Self-realisation

Your work contributes to your nearing your life objectives. You know every morning why you get up to go to work and how it relates to your own life objectives.

18. Results

You create specific, tangible results in your work. You see at the end of a working day/a working week the product of your efforts.

19. Job security

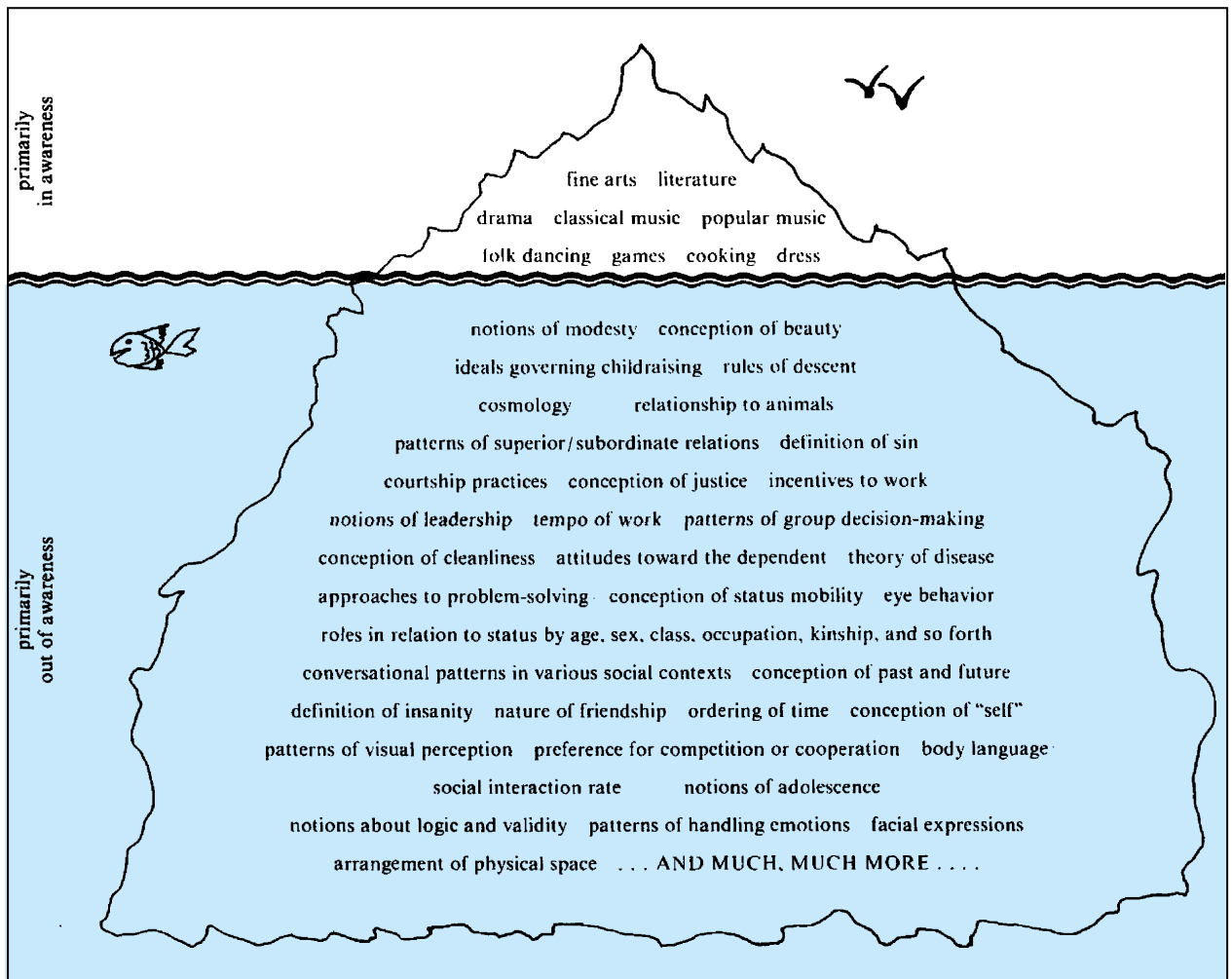
You have permanent position, with regard to which you know that you will keep it until the end of your working life if you so desire. Any changes in conditions cannot take your job from you.

20. Clear structures

There are clear structures in your work. You know precisely what your task is and how you are to perform it. There are clear target agreements and work structures



Iceberg model



Just like nine-tenths of an iceberg is below the surface of the water, nine-tenths of cultures are also in our subconscious. Edgar Schein identifies the following aspects of the iceberg in his concept of culture:

- **Artefacts** = how we behave and perceive others
- **Values** = what is important to us in life
- **Assumptions** = what we believe to be true and right; what we consider to be given truths

<http://www.jugendfuereuropa.de/informationsangebote/publikationen/tkit/>



D.I.E – Description, interpretation and evaluation

(description – interpretation – evaluation)

adapted on the basis of: <http://www.intercultural.org/die.php>



Objectives

- Underscores how quickly we tend to interpret and judge things
- Create an awareness of how our first story does not necessarily have to be the only true one



Mode of procedure

- The groups are shown one of the pictures.
- The participants are requested to say something about the picture. What is important here is the type of challenge: not “please describe” or “tell me what you see”, but rather “tell me something about this picture”.
- The statements made by the group become visible for everyone, as they are written on a chart (flipchart, whiteboard or similar) directly in the three columns for “description”, “interpretation” and “assessment”, without these columns having these titles.
- After being listed, the three categories are explained.
- The participants are then presented an additional picture and are asked to merely describe what they see. These descriptions are recorded under the category of “description” (if need be corrected when participants interpret or assess them). After this, they are asked to interpret what they have seen. This is recorded, too. The group is then asked to provide a positive and negative assessment of the picture.
- Optional: The participants split up into groups, are given a photograph and asked to describe, interpret and assess a picture.



Assessment

- What accounts for the difference between the three aspects?
- Why is this familiar from your everyday work?
- What situation can help differentiate between these three aspects?



Target group / size of group

10 to 20 persons



Time needed

45 to 60 minutes



Preparation and material

- Images with multiple meanings, best of all with scenes from cultures which the participants are not familiar with (without captions or anything else aiding in interpretation)
- Flipchart/whiteboard



Example 1



This photograph shows a scene from the Rainbow Parade in Vienna, which is at the same time a political demonstration and colourful parade, taking place each year in Vienna's centre-city. The Rainbow Parade is devoted to achieving equal treatment of homosexuals and is the most important event in the homosexual, bisexual and transsexual movement in Austria.

Four persons can be seen in the picture. Contrary to the assumption that this scene shows charges being filed or similar, in which the police (on the right-hand side) could take action, the two persons on the left-hand side of the photograph are a couple who have lost their child in the crowd. The police (on the right) passes this information on to the organisation staging the parade (middle of the picture) who, holding the microphone, then makes the announcement to the crowd.

The Rainbow Parade is supported by the City of Vienna. More than 100,000 people take part as demonstrators or visitors each year. After this there is a final event in the celebration at a square near the Ring, at which prominent politicians and showguests are in attendance.

Source: <http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Regenbogenparade>



Example 2



Text for the picture: “A new-born child is worshipped as a human being. It is carefully cared for in a manner different than in the West, but with no less devotion. Before the new-born child is wrapped in white cotton fabric, he is rubbed with sesame oil, which is massaged into its skin and along its limbs. The joints are given special attention. In order to ensure perfect hygiene, a powder made of dried plant matter is applied to absorb body secretions, thus protecting the soft, tender skin. Narrow strips of cloth hold the loose garments together, securing them in the right place. This also binds the arms and legs of the new-born child so that it lies in the harmonious proportions of a square and continues to grow.

The mother selects a rich, colourful fabric with embroidery or silk interwoven with metal threads, into which happiness and luck have been woven, giving the new-born child all positive thoughts in its protective, helmet-like headcover. This little headcover is the most important of all: it keeps the head of the child warm, and what is more, supports its fragile bone structure. Kohl drawn along the lower eyelids is also used to trace the eyebrows of the child. And to provide additional protection, the words “ma sha’allah”, God be with you, are written on the forehead of the child.

Source: Maria & Pascal Maréchaux: „Arabian Moons - Passages in Time Through Yemen“, Marseille 1987



Example 3



The best photograph of 2006 shows rich and beautiful Lebanese touring the ruins in a poor district of Beirut after the war – or so it would seem. Bissam Maroun, who can be seen in the snapshot, said the following about the story behind the photograph in an interview.

“At the beginning, everybody thought that these were rich, chic Lebanese driving around like tourists in a war-torn district”, according to Bissam. *“But that was completely untrue.”*

The fact of the matter was that the captions to the picture, which was printed in newspapers throughout the world before it won the award, were not very positive. Foreign commentators expressed outrage over the skimpy T-shirts worn by the girls, which stuck out like a sore thumb in the quarter, and over their dismayed faces, showing that the rich feel no pity for the normal folk.

And then the car – a provocation pure and simple – right in the face of the poor inhabitants of the city district. And there were rumours in Bissam’s environment – at the bank, in which she works, that she had called in sick. When her photograph received the World Press Photo Award, her boss called upon her to tell the press the true story.

“We ourselves come from Dahiye, from a suburb”, said Bissam on a hot February afternoon in Beirut. They, their 22-year-old brother Jad and their 26-year-old sister Tamara fled Sfeir, their district,

during the Israeli bombing. They stayed in a hotel in the secure district of Hamra and did what probably most Lebanese did at the time: they waited. The siblings of the two other girls in the picture, Noor Nasser and Liliane Nacouzi, arrived at the hotel. Both are employees of the Plaza Hotel and stayed in an empty room during the war.

On 15 August, the day of the cease-fire, Jad borrowed the orange Mini Cooper from a friend. For weeks the siblings had not heard any news about whether their apartment building was still standing or not. Now that there was a cease-fire, they wanted to see for themselves. Jad was driving, Tamara was on the passenger seat, while Bissam squeezed into the middle of the back seat between her friends with her cell phone camera at the ready.



“We briefly discussed whether we should remove the convertible roof or not, but it was so hot, and there were five of us in this small car, so we took it off.”

Bissam admitted that their trip at first glance must have looked like a classic example of “war tourism”. *“But they looked at our faces, which clearly showed how appalled we were, how shocked”,* she said. *“We were not joyful.”* As for the accusation that she and the other young women were too provocatively clad, she now only smiles in bemusement. *“This is Lebanon. We always dress like that,”* she says. She has never had any problems with conservative neighbours.

It was about one in the afternoon and young people were on the way to their homes when the photographer Spencer Platt saw the orange convertible from the corner of his eye. *“I picked up the camera and clicked the shutter four, five times”,* he said to the US television station CNN. Most of them did not turn out because people had walked in front of the camera. *“The prize-winning picture was the only one which could be used”. He never spoke to the five young people. He expressed his regret that they had been plunged into controversy as a result of his photograph. “I definitely was not trying to make any political statement with the picture.”*

Bissam has only been able to enjoy the success of the snapshot since her history was published in several Lebanese newspapers. She told the journalists that her apartment had also been heavily damaged, that all the windows were broken, and that all the furniture had been demolished by the concussion waves. Since then her customers at the bank have no longer pointed an accusing

finger at her, instead bringing her newspaper cuttings with her picture. “My whole desk is full of them,” she says. In the coming weeks her journalist friends have predicted all kinds of media dates. *“But hopefully it will all be over by summer.”* Bissam wants to get married then without much fanfare.

Source: <http://www.spiegel.de/kultur/gesellschaft/0,1518,465407,00.html>,
<http://www.spiegel.de/fotostrecke/fotostrecke19235.html>

Spencer Platt stated the following about his award-winning photograph in an interview:

“Everyone interprets the picture somewhat differently. It has led to a fabulous discussion over photography and its purpose as well as Lebanon. ... I was confused, however, by the first picture captions, “war tourists in Lebanon”. I thought that was regrettable, as the picture speaks for itself. When I took it, I did not know anything about these people. I thought that they were Shiites because there are a lot of them living in the area. I never spoke to them. I only knew that they were there for the same reason as I was: as voyeurs – even though that was where they were from. They were doing what we were all doing – just with a lot more style.”

Source: <http://www.stern.de/fotografie/interview-spencer-platt-mein-foto-ist-zu-perfekt-588021.html>



Authors

Tom Kehrbaum

Born in 1971, works on the Executive Board of IG Metall in the Department for Trade Union Educational Work. After completing his training as a mechanic he worked in industry and served as a company and trade union interest representative. He studied labour and social law at the European Academy of Labour in Frankfurt am Main and vocational pedagogics and philosophy at the Technical University of Darmstadt. He was a Fellow in Residence at Kolleg Friedrich Nietzsche in Weimar in 2012. As an educational researcher, he has among other things conducted research on social processes in connection with innovations. His other areas of specialisation include interpersonal ethics and critical-emancipative pedagogical theory.

Clemens Körte

Born in 1970, is project developer and organisational consultant, director of the Competence Center EUROPE Office South/East at the Berufsbildungswerk (Continual Vocational Education Centre). Since completing his doctorate in the history of pre-trade union movements in Ireland, he has acted as a consultant for not-for-profit organisations, trade unions and associations in the development of new innovation projects in the areas of development cooperation, further vocational education, training and labour-market policy.

Oskar Negt

Born in 1934, is one of Germany's most important social researchers. He studied with Max Horkheimer and Theodor W. Adorno and was professor for sociology in Hanover from 1970 to 2002. Oskar Negt was awarded the August Bebel Prize for his political commitment in 2011. He has had a tremendous impact on trade union education in theory and practice in Germany. His current publications have greatly stimulated the discussion over political and democratic learning in Europe.

Adam Ostolski

Born in 1978, is a sociologist and member of the "Politique Critique", a leftist quarterly journal established in 2002 which is at the same time a political movement as well. The focal point in Adam Ostolski's research work is on aspects of collective memory, political discourse

and Polish-Jewish relations. Adam Ostolski is moreover active in the Polish Green Party.

Martin Roggenkamp

Born in 1970, is project manager specialising in international trade union work, European works councils and local social policy. He worked as a researcher at the Centre for Social Policy at the University of Bremen before he became self-employed as a consultant for European projects. He is the author of various publications in the field of "European project management", European works councils", research on political parties and labour-market policy and is currently working for the Competence Center EUROPE at the Berufsbildungswerk (Continual Vocational Education Centre).

Fernando Benavente Tendillo

Born in 1960, born in 1960, is the regional director of the trade union education institution IFES (UGT) in Valencia. He has been working on European projects promoting vocational training and integration for 20 years. He has been president of the European network EURORESO since 2002.

Christine Zeuner

Born in 1959, is professor of educational science with a concentration on adult education at Helmut Schmidt University/University of the German Army in Hamburg. She studied American Studies, English Studies, Sociology and Further Training and Education at the University of Tübingen, performing her doctorate at the University of Bremen on the development of workers' education in the USA and Germany. She did her post-doctoral thesis at the University of Hamburg, examining regional development of adult education in Hamburg. The focal point of her work is on: international comparative adult education, historical adult education, political adult education, educational work by trade unions, counselling and advice in further training and education, target group research and the theoretical foundations of adult education.



Description of the Organizations

bfw	<p>bfw – Unternehmen für Bildung – is one of the leading service providers in the field of vocational education in Germany. A recognised company in the field of vocational further training and education, the enterprise has been working for around 60 years to ensure viable jobs for the future while meeting needs of skilled workers by means of training, counselling and placement.</p> <p>The company’s European department (Competence Center EUROPA) was established to develop innovative approaches together with educational institutions in the countries of the European Union.</p>
Birleşik Metal	<p>BİRLEŞİK METAL İŞ is a non-confessional, independent trade union of Turkish metal-workers founded in 1947. It is one of the founding trade unions in the progressive democratic umbrella association DISK, which was founded in 1967.</p>
Cartel ALFA	<p>The National Trade Union Confederation “Cartel ALFA” was founded in 1990 as an independent trade union with the purpose of establishing a real and authentic representation of Romanian workers. NTUC “Cartel ALFA” played a decisive role in the transformation of the Romanian trade union movement by educating experienced militants which can freely express their opinions and defend the interests of the workers.</p>
ETUI	<p>The European Trade Union Institute is the independent research and training centre of the European Trade Union Confederation (ETUC) which itself affiliates European trade unions into a single European umbrella organisation. The ETUI places its expertise – acquired in particular in the context of its links with universities, academic and expert networks – in the service of workers’ interests at European level and of the strengthening of the social dimension of the European Union.</p>
IDEAS	<p>The IDEAS Institute is an independent trust and not-for profit commercial company, established by SIPTU in 2001, that provides training programmes and services to employees and their organisations in the public, private and voluntary sectors of the economy.</p>
IFES	<p>IFES (Instituto de Formación y Estudios Sociales -Training and Social Research Institute-) is a not-for-profit foundation representing the technical instrument created by the Spanish Trade Union UGT for Lifelong Learning. IFES was founded in 1986.</p>
IG Metall	<p>With about 2.3 million members, IG Metall is the biggest individual trade unions in Germany and the biggest employee representation organisation in the world. IG Metall represents employees from the fields of metal-working, electronics, steel, textiles and clothing, wood and plastics and the information and communications technology sector.</p>
Litmetal	<p>Lithuanian Unification of Metalworkers’ Trade Unions (LITMETAL) – an independent trade association which brings together members working in the field of engineering industry - metal products, machinery, bicycles, electrotechnology and electronics industry, vehicle sector and companies in other industries.</p>
ÖGB	<p>The Austrian Trade Union Federation is a non-partisan interest-representation organisation for employees founded in 1945. A trade union umbrella organisation, it is constituted as an association and internally made up of seven sub-trade unions.</p>
ZNP	<p>The ZNP is the oldest trade union for teachers in Poland (founded in 1905). It is a united, voluntary, independent and self-governing trade union made up of teachers and teaching personnel who are employed in elementary schools, lower-, middle- and upper-level secondary schools, universities and the field of research.</p>



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IG Metall Vorstand

Funktionsbereich Gewerkschaftliche Bildungsarbeit

Wilhelm-Leuschner-Straße 79

60329 Frankfurt am Main

Fon: ++49 69 6693 2510

Fax: ++49 69 6693 2467

E-Mail: tom.kehrbaum@igmetall.de

www.igmetall.de

www.bildung-international.de