

# SOCIAL STUDIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES TEACHERS' VIEWS

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## Summary

The discretionary powers of teachers should not be underestimated, because they daily give substance to the curriculum by choosing to avoid or highlight certain concepts (Lipsky, 2010). The diverse personal and political experiences and preferences of teachers influence their teaching practices (1998, in Jeliaskova 2015, p, 22). Therefore, this study aims to map different views and characteristics of secondary school teachers about their subjects social sciences and/or social studies, to explain how these teachers give substance to varying degrees of discretionary space.

A similar research design of that of Jeliaskova (2015) was used to conduct the current study. A total of 43 statements, related to the subjects of social studies and social sciences, politics, and society, were ranked (prioritized) by fourteen social studies and/or social sciences teachers, of which most are located in the East of the Netherlands. In addition, most of the respondents were interviewed and asked about their thoughts and views, while ranking the statements.

The results of this study show three clear ideal types of views among these social sciences and/or social studies teachers. The groups of teachers are called ‘the active teachers’, ‘the tender teachers’, and ‘the relaxed teachers.’ The active teachers are *busy bees*, dedicated to a variety of tasks, next to being a social studies and/or social sciences teacher. Within their teaching practices, they mainly emphasize the happiness of their pupils and real-life experiences instead of transferring large sums of knowledge. The active teachers adhere to a certain structure and order, which is not surprising since they have so many other tasks: maintaining structure helps overseeing it all.

The tender teachers underline social obligations, whereas the other groups of teachers rather underline individual rights. Just like the active teachers, they are not in favour of transferring large sums of knowledge. However, the reason why differs, since the tender teachers emphasize the pedagogical aspects of their profession, rather than transferring knowledge. The relaxed teachers possess the quality to release restraints within their teaching practices. They mainly accentuate the (future) independence of their pupils.

All three types of teachers that were distinguished have their own way of emphasizing what they feel is most important within their teaching practices. However, since there are great difference present between teachers, schools, the number of top-down regulations between social studies and social sciences, these varying degrees of discretionary space might affect the teaching practices of the groups of teachers.

Analysis of the ranking positions of the 43 statements and the comments of the respondents, the results showed that both the active teachers and the relaxed teachers adhere more to the applicable policy documents than the tender teachers do. The tender teachers utilize their discretionary powers and emphasize pedagogical aspects, sometimes even at the expense of the exam program.

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## 1. Introduction

*'I think social studies certainly has a great pedagogical aspect'.<sup>1</sup>*

*'I think critical thinking is a very important skill, especially in social studies.'*

Two quotes from two social sciences and/or studies teachers in secondary education in the Netherlands. Both statements mentioned above aim at how a teacher of social studies (and/or social sciences) gives substance to the teaching practice of his/her profession, whereas one teacher emphasizes pedagogical aspects, and the other underlines critical thinking.

According to Freire (1998, in Jeliaskova 2015, p. 22), it is inevitable that the diverse personal (political) experiences and preferences of teachers influence the professional choices they make. Teachers make choices about what counts as knowledge and what is relevant. Lipsky (2010) stated that the power of executive officials (teachers, in this case) should not be underestimated, because they daily give substance to the curriculum by choosing to avoid or highlight certain concepts.

To what extent do teachers' frames of reference, political ideas or mindset influence their teaching practices? Are differences in teaching practices bigger when a subject leaves more room for the interpretation from regulations at government level?

To suggest ways to improve existing practice, it is necessary to see whether there are differences between teachers who teach social studies (and/or social sciences). Whether different groups or types of teachers can be distinguished based on their mindset and personal characteristics and how these different types of teachers deal with varying degrees of discretionary space.

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<sup>1</sup> These quotes have been translated by me from Dutch.

## 1.1 Background of Social Sciences and Social Studies

To best understand why this research was conducted, it is important to first have some background information about the subjects of social sciences and social studies (in Dutch: maatschappijwetenschappen en maatschappijleer) and to be aware of existing differences between the two school subjects. Therefore, both subjects will be discussed in this chapter and their differences will be highlighted.

Social studies which is currently a compulsory subject and social sciences which is an elective subject both study the fields of society and politics, both individually and in conjunction. In many other countries, social studies and social sciences are mentioned in the same breath. After all, both courses contribute to citizenship education and refer to social and political science (Olgers, 2012).

The school subject social studies has been established since the implementation of educational-reform legislation, the Mammoth Act, in 1968. According to this act, the core of the course lies both in analysing social and political issues and reflecting on possible solutions and approaches to these issues. Pupils should also get to know their position within political and social relations and are required to develop values and political preferences when following the course. The aim of social studies is threefold: to increase pupils' political and social literacy, raise their capacity for political and social judgement, and improve the capacity for political and social participation (Olgers, 2012).

Since September 2007, the subject of social sciences was set up. Social sciences has recently been renewed in August 2017, aiming at the concept-context approach. Pupils should be able to apply basic knowledge of core concepts in contexts, both specific contexts described in the syllabus and unknown contexts (College voor Toetsen en Examens, 2019).

Teachers shape the curriculum daily by choosing what parts of the teaching material is relevant and what is not by highlighting certain concepts and omitting others and ignoring certain political events, and discussing others in detail (Jeliazkova, 2015). This does not mean that the teaching practices of teachers for the same subject cannot be in line at all, since the government requires certain underlying structures and concepts via policy documents ('eindtermen'). However, for the subject of social studies, these policies leave more room for interpretation than the policies of social sciences. More details about the policies of both subjects will be set out in the following paragraphs of this chapter.

Policy documents that describe this knowledge, skills, and competences in the Netherlands are '*Examenprogramma Maatschappijleer*' for social studies and '*Examenprogramma Maatschappijwetenschappen*' and '*Syllabus Maatschappijwetenschappen*' for social sciences (College voor Toetsen en Examens, 2019). Additional policy documents are '*PTA*' (Program for Assessment and Closure, in Dutch: Programma voor Toetsing en Afsluiting), in which regulations about methods of testing, the content, and gradings per subject are documented for each school and the '*Examination Regulations*', which include rights and obligations, procedures, and organizational regulations regarding examinations.

For social sciences, exam requirements for the subject which are described in the policy documents mentioned above, are tested by means of national final exams. Examination requirements for the subject of social studies are not tested with national final exams, since

social studies is not a final exam subject. The teacher tests the subject requirements in-school, mostly in the form of school exams or tests. Schools and teachers, in their turn, are subject to school inspections to check whether the quality of education meets the national standards. However, teachers mostly only deal indirectly with the inspection. For example, if the school or study program requires something from them as a result of an inspection visit (Onderwijsinspectie, 2020). According to inspector general Monique Vogelzang, inspectors have never been in the classrooms with ‘checklists’ (Baars, 2017). Contact with the inspectors is, more frequent and common for the school board than it is for teachers. According to Vogelzang, inspectors visit once every four years (see also Onderwijskader 2017, version 2020, p. 39). The school board gives a presentation on how things are going and what the ambitions are. The inspectors then walk around in the school, talk to teachers, and see how the school board’s vision is consistent with their findings (Baars, 2017).

To illustrate how these differences in forms of testing between both subjects are present in practice, the policy documents or exam programs of both subjects will be outlined. For **social studies**, the in-school exam program for e.g. HAVO 2019 consists of a three-page description of knowledge, skills, and competences. ‘The school exam relates to domains A till E.’ (College voor Toetsen en Examens, 2019, p. 24).

The (in-school) exam program of **social sciences** for HAVO 2019, consists of (the comparable number of) four pages of descriptions of knowledge, skills, and competences. ‘The school exam concerns subdomains E3 and E4 and, at the discretion of the competent authority, domain F or G, in combination with domain A (...). If the competent authority so chooses: also, one or more domains or subdomains to which the central examination relates’ (College voor Toetsen en Examens, 2019, p. 1).

In addition, the subject of social sciences is tested by means of a **central** exam. ‘The central exam concerns the (sub) domains B, C, D, E1, and E2, in combination with domain A.’ (College voor Toetsen en Examens, 2019, p. 1). The exam programs of both subjects are illustrated in Table 1 and Table 2.

*Table 1 exam program social studies*

<b>Exam program in school</b>
<b>Social studies</b>
Domain A: Skills
Domain B: Rule of law
Domain C: Parliamentary Democracy
Domain D: Welfare State
Domain E: Pluralist society.

Table 2 exam program social sciences

<b>Exam program in school</b>	<b>Central exam</b>
<b>Social sciences</b>	<b>Social sciences</b>
Domain A: Skills	Domain B: Development
Domain E (sub 3 and 4): Changes	Domain C: Relationships
Domain F; Analysis of a social topicality	Domain D: Bonding
Domain G: Analysis of a political topicality	Domain E (sub 1 and 2): Changes
	* All the above in combination with Domain A.

A striking difference between the policy documents for social studies and social sciences is that there is an additional national policy document for social sciences, next to the in-school examination program. The additional policy document ‘the Syllabus,’ consists of 78 pages describing knowledge, skills, and competences (College voor Toetsen en Examens, 2019). The four main concepts in the (renewed) concept-context approach are *Development*, *Relationships*, *Bonding*, and *Change*. The four main concepts and 23 core concepts are the same for HAVO and VWO (SLO, 2019).

It is worth mentioning that, despite the large number of pages of policies that are mentioned for social sciences, ‘the Syllabus’ also provides some room for interpretation: “The syllabus is not a completely closed and delineated description of everything that might appear on an exam (...). The syllabus is thus a tool for those who prepare others or themselves for a central exam. (...) if necessary, the syllabus can also be adjusted in the interim, for example, if a situation described in the syllabus has been changed.” (College voor Toetsen en Examens, 2019, p. 6).

In conclusion, both subjects emphasize the fields of society and politics and contribute to citizenship education. The subject of social studies is compulsory and only examined by means of in-school testing, whereas the subject of social sciences is an elective subject examined both via school exams and via a national final exam. The amount of policy documents between both subjects differs extensively since only for social sciences an additional 78 pages policy document is applicable.



## 1.2 Relevance and research questions

Now that the relevant background information, similarities and differences between both subjects are set out, the relevance and the research questions of the study will be described.

My motivation to conduct this study was born out of curiosity. As a teacher of social studies and former social sciences teacher in secondary education, I notice that every teacher offers the same teaching material to his or her students in different ways. Which might be logical, since there is a great variety at the individual levels of teachers. On the one hand, this could be explained by differences in personal characteristics, the teacher's frame of reference, selective perspectives, experiences, etc. After all, everyone has their own choice of words and emphasizes parts of the subject that he/she finds most important. On the other hand, this could be explained by large variations in the study backgrounds of teachers. A masters in political science, sociology, psychology, public administration, communication sciences, law, are all studies that in principle allow access to a programme that leads to a first degree teaching qualification in social studies and social sciences in secondary education (Utwente, 2019).

In addition, each section of the subjects social studies and sciences has the freedom to use a teaching method of their choice. *'Dilemma'*, *'Seneca'* (Schra & Veldman, 2019) and *'Thema's'* (Broeke, Schings, Ruijg, Vermeulen, Rijkema & Schuurman, 2019), are examples of some of the teaching methods for these subjects. Each with their own approach, which might affect the teaching practices and the subjects that are being discussed within the classroom. Whereas *'Dilemma'* focusses on the process of explaining social contexts by theory (Janssen, et al., 2019), *'Seneca'* emphasize thinking skills (Schra & Veldman, 2019) and *'Thema's'* mainly focusses on discussing four themes: Rule of law - Parliamentary democracy - Pluriform society - Welfare state (Broeke, et al., 2019).

Also, as already established, it is inevitable that personal and political experiences and preferences of teachers influence the professional choices teachers make (Freire, 1998 in Jeliaskova 2015, p, 22). Therefore, I am curious about differences in teaching practices, especially between two subjects, both contributing to citizenship education and both emphasizing the same fields (society and politics). Yet, the differences between the number of applicable policy documents are big.

Currently, there is a great deal of dissatisfaction amongst secondary school teachers. Personal issues, workload, stress, few career possibilities, low wages, and disrupted relationships with colleagues, supervisors and school boards are the reason that about 15 percent of the beginning teachers quit within five years (Kennisrotonde, 2019). In addition, four out of five teachers in secondary education experience a high to very high workload. According to de Moel (in Poortvliet, 2018), the reason for the high workload is simply that there is too much work that must be done in too little time. De Moel (2018) continues to explain that for one class of 50 minutes, teachers have an additional 30 minutes within which they must prepare their class, check homework, make tests, be present at report meetings, and meeting with parents. As Lipsky (2010) already stated, the power of executive officials like teachers should not be underestimated. Especially, now in the light of the COVID-19 measures, teachers are labelled as practitioners of vital professions (Nationale beroepengids, 2020), top-down leaders ask and expect a lot from teachers during this pandemic. Do teachers even have the time or

the energy to implement these various top-down expectations and regulations? Now, I am even more curious about how teachers deal with varying degrees of discretionary space.

Attempts to internationally raise and improve educational standards to create opportunities for all children (Ball, et al. 2012) has led to constant changes, a never-ending stream of initiatives, and reforms to be ‘implemented’ by schools and teachers. In response, a lot of research has already been done into evaluating how well policies are realized and implemented. Less attention has been given, however, to the process of implementation itself: understanding how teachers actually deal with these multiple and sometimes conflicting policy requirements; how they work creatively to interpret policy texts and translate them into their teaching practices (Ball, et al. 2012). Large-scale comparative studies that studied the effect of citizenship education on young people have been conducted, but in these studies teachers again play a marginal role (Jeliazkova, 2015).

Lipsky (2010) partly filled this gap in science when he proposed the concept of street-level bureaucrats in 1979, referring to a large group of professionals in areas ranging from safety and security to education and social services. Therefore, extensive research has been carried out in which civil servants (for example police officers, border guards, social workers but also teachers) actually do play an extensive role in the implementation process. The studies on street-level bureaucrats showed that the role of the individual bureaucrat should not be marginalized but instead play a critical role in how discretionary power is used. However, as mentioned, the researches of Lipsky aimed at a large group of civil servants. Again, teachers and their process of implementing policies are not discussed at length. Little to no research was conducted into factors that may influence how teachers give substance to discretionary space and how they deal with various expectations and regulations from their superiors.

The research of Jeliazkova (2015) is one of the first researcher that only highlighted citizenship education teachers. Jeliazkova (2015) compared the views of citizenship education teachers between three countries: the Netherlands, Bulgaria, and Croatia. Based on her findings, teachers were distinguished into different types. The “confusion and mixed messages for the implementers at national level and ultimately at ‘street level’, in the everyday classroom practice of teachers” is mentioned and discussed (Jeliazkova, 2015, p. 20), but her research does not add significance to the process of implementing policies by teachers.

Beyond that, this still leaves a gap in science for researching teachers' views within the same country and thus the same educational system, and how this affects how teachers deal with varying degrees of discretionary space.

Therefore, this research will combine the concept of street-level bureaucrats and their discretionary powers (Lipsky, 2010) and teachers’ views on citizenship education (Jeliazkova, 2015).

This research aims to explain how teachers give substance to discretionary space within their teaching practices and what factors could influence this. As described, personal characteristics, education (level), teaching experience, secondary tasks, the teaching method, the courses they teach, and the political preferences of teachers may be variables. Also, differences in the varying degrees of discretionary space could be an important factor. This study examines whether different ‘types’ of teachers can be distinguished based on similarities or differences between the personal characteristics and views of teachers. In

addition, to get an idea of how teachers deal with discretionary space, this study examines how these different ‘types’ of teachers translate and implement laws and regulations from policy documents into their teaching practices by comparing two substantively comparable subjects of which one offers a greater extent of discretionary space than the other. In other words: to what extent these different types of teachers correlate to the way these teachers present the same underlying structures and concepts that are documented in policy documents at government level.

Therefore, the main question of this research is:

*Which factors explain differences in the way teachers in social studies and social sciences deal with varying degrees of discretionary space?*

To answer the main question, the following sub-questions have been formulated:

1. Which personal characteristics of teachers in social studies and social sciences can be distinguished?
2. How and to what extent do teachers in social studies and social sciences implement the applicable regulations in their teaching practice?
3. To what extent do these personal characteristics of teachers in social studies and social sciences affect their use of discretionary power within their teaching practice?

For the purpose of this study, it is important to establish that studying the views of teachers, does indeed tell us something about how and to what extent teachers implement laws and regulations. By studying the implementation process by teachers in secondary education, the results of the research can help policymakers (re)formulate their expectations and help or send signals to secondary schools and teachers to translate and implement these expectations within the content of their teaching practice.

### 1.3 Structure of the thesis

In chapter 1, an introduction and background information about the subjects social sciences and social studies is given. Differences between both subjects' exam programs are big, whereas social studies is only examined via school exams and social sciences both via school exams and a central (national) final exam. Chapter 1 also presents the aim of the study and the research questions.

In chapter 2, scientific literature about the implementation process of policies, street-level bureaucrats are set out. In addition, sociological and anthropological studies about four typical thought styles that are present in every (western) society are explained in detail.

Chapter 3 presents the research design of Q methodology which is a mixed-method design that allows both qualitative data and quantitative data to be collected. Furthermore, the materials, procedure, and discrete information about the respondents that participated in the study are described.

Chapter 4 presents the results of the study. Three factors were found among the respondents and are outlined based on several aspects concerning the teachers' goal (critical vs. good citizen), approach (indoctrination vs. neutrality), concern (individual rights vs. social obligations), role (supervisor vs. coach), and focus (attitude vs. knowledge). Also, the discretionary behaviour of the types of teachers is explained.

Finally, chapter 5 presents the conclusion and addresses some discussion points that emerged during the study.

## 2. Cultural and Implementation Theories

The core of the current research into the thought styles of teachers concerning the subjects of social studies and social sciences is founded on the research of Jeliazkova (2015). However, before going into detail about the research of Jeliazkova (2015), let us first take a look at explanations of (differences in) policy implementation by de Boer, File, Huisman, Seeber, Vukasovic, & Westerheijden (2017) and Lipsky (2010)

Differences in policy implementation between social studies and social sciences can be explained by implementation theories. De Boer (et al., 2017) argues that two perspectives stand out within the policy implementation process: top-down and bottom-up. Both perspectives are in sharp contrast with each other. The top-down approach is based on the assumption that policy is clearly defined by top-level policymakers (government and administration level), such as the 78-page Syllabus in social sciences. The bottom-up approach is based on the assumption that goals are ambiguous and leave room for interpretation (discretionary space). When values and interests of implementers and program designers differ, policy compliance becomes an issue (de Boer, et al., 2017).

Research into these discretionary powers of civil servants was inspired by Lipsky (2010). While Lipsky already proposed the concept of street-level bureaucrats in 1979, it is striking that the literature never mentions differences between civil servants: how do these civil servants deal in various ways with discretion? The concept of street-level bureaucrats emphasizes the great discretionary powers of teachers as policy implementers to determine and even reverse the intended policy results. Lipsky (2010) hypothesized in 1979 that the formal and existing rules that civil servants face can never be precisely applied to specific cases that executive civil servants (street-level bureaucrats) face. This would mean that teachers could never precisely apply the policy documents to specific cases. In the case of teachers, this may include differences in groups of pupils. In certain groups, the teacher will have sufficient time to get to the teaching material, while in other groups class management is more important than the content of the material.

Lipsky (2010) stated that the power of executive officials should not be underestimated. When the interests of street-level bureaucrats are not in line with the interests of their authorities, and the available sanctions are not enough to deter, non-compliance will occur. Lipsky (2010) states that street-level bureaucrats see their own interests as separate from the interests of their superiors. In the context of this study, these superiors are school boards or the national government. After all, the authorities are not as much aware of the individual needs of pupils as teachers are. When the interests of the teachers are not in line with the interests of their authorities, teachers will seek to safeguard their own interests. A hypothesis in the context of this research, based on the assumptions of Lipsky (2010), therefore is:

*If a subject is less regulated, the differences in teaching practices between teachers are greater.*

Since the power of the executive officials should not be underestimated (Lipsky, 2010), one could suggest that individual differences between executive officials (teachers) could affect their use of discretionary powers within their teaching practices. This then leads to the

question if types or patterns can be found among those executive officials (or individual bureaucrats).

As mentioned in Chapter 1.2, previous research into factors that may influence how teachers deal with discretionary powers has been done by Jeliaskova (2015). She has conducted a comparative study into different views of citizenship education teachers across Europe and has distinguished different groups of teachers, based on their views. Jeliaskova (2015) argued that, despite policymakers' plans about larger goals in education and the assumption that teachers simply implement this, teachers teach according to their own professional and moral standards and ideological beliefs. Jeliaskova interviewed citizenship education teachers about their views and the way they perceive different aspects of citizenship education, social sciences, and political education (2015).

As mentioned in Chapter 1.2, the research of Jeliaskova (2015) partly fills the 'gap' in science about how teachers in various ways deal with discretion. Partly, because the link with policy implementation processes was not made. It is noteworthy that, since her research involved a comparative study between three countries (the Netherlands, Bulgaria, and Croatia), differences in culture, language, school systems, regulations, and history can give a bias in the research results.

Jeliaskova describes in her book '*Citizenship Education: Social Science Teachers Views in Three European Countries*' (2015) that she mapped the 'train of thought' of citizen education teachers, utilizing Q methodology and applied the methodology grid-group theory including cultural theory to the outcome of her research. Therefore, the grid-group theory is of great importance to Jeliaskova's research. Let us take a more in-depth look at the grid-group cultural theory.

Based on the fact that people have varying worldviews or cultural biases, the grid-group cultural theory suggests there are four kinds of world views (or rationalities), whereas most sociological typologies only allow for two options, for example: left or right. The grid-group theory was firstly developed by anthropologist Mary Douglas in 1970, and still has particular relevance nowadays. Her life experience of thinking about how societies organize themselves and how people relate to each other could offer insights into phenomena such as the rise of the extreme right and religiously inspired terrorism (Bunting, 2007). Thus, the theory conceptualizes four main types of social organizations: egalitarian, individualists, hierarchs, and fatalists. According to Jeliaskova (2015), the four main types can be recognized in any known human society. However, according to Bunting (2007), the four types co-exist in every western society. This scientific difference of opinion is not relevant in the context of this research, since this research takes place within a western society i.e. that of the Netherlands.

When distinguishing these four main types in a (western) society, respondents were asked to provide a limited series of answers to basic social questions. For example, questions about how the world works, how people truly are, what is the ideal type of citizen: critical or good (Jeliaskova, 2015). Douglas has developed the theory for more than 50 years. Of course, the grid-group theory has been developed over the last decades, for example by Jeliaskova (2015) who translated these basic social questions into questions related to citizenship education and school, for example: What kind of school do you prefer? A democratic or traditionally hierarchical one? What kind of pupil: an independent, self-centered, a confidential, traditional

one, a critical, socially engaged person or someone who cannot quite handle it? What kind of subject: should social studies have more elements of citizenship education or not?

Within the grid-group theory, there is an orientation in two dimensions: grid and group. A high group score would represent an individual who prefers a high degree of social interaction and close connections. A high grid score would stand for an individual whose life is limited by formal rules and regulations. As mentioned, the combination of both dimensions leads to the possibility of distinguishing four types of social organizations or rationalities. In the context of this research (and that of Jeliazkova), these social organizations or rationalities are called 'thought styles'. These four thought styles relate to ideas about what a human being is, what an individual's place in society is, and how one can influence the world around them.

It concerns the following four thought styles: fatalistic, hierarchical, individualistic, egalitarian. The four thought styles are graphically shown in Figure 1. Below, a general description will be given per thought style related to teachers of citizenship education, based on the study of Jeliazkova (2015). After that, a description of how the relevant thought styles think about the following opposing aspects: *critical vs. good citizen*, *indoctrination vs. neutrality*, *individual rights vs. social obligations*, *coach vs. supervisor*, *attitude vs. knowledge* (Jeliazkova, 2015) will be set out.

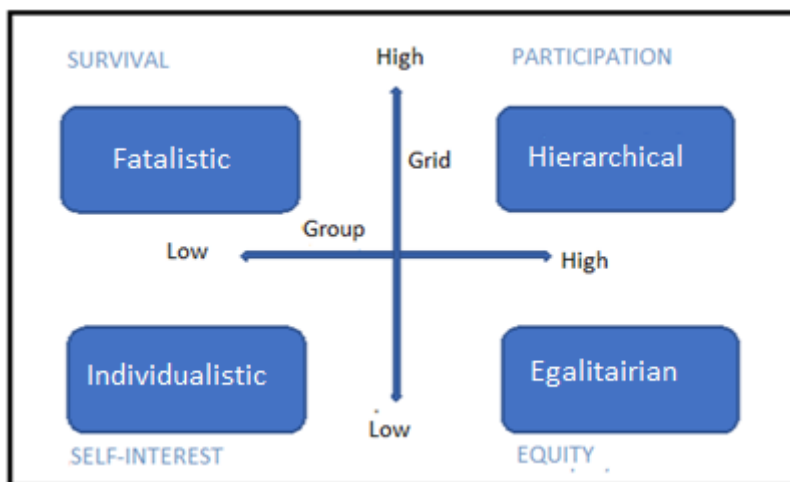


Figure 1 Graphical representation of the grid-group theory (Jeliazkova, 2015)

- The *individualistic* thought style: “the student leads”.

The individualistic teacher lets the student (or pupil) take the lead. The personal development and emancipation of the student by the students is a central goal of the individualistic teacher. Education is mainly aimed at the self-realization of the individual. The didactic emphasis is on the development of the capacity for critical thinking, usually seen as rational, logical, and necessary to process the available information and to arrive at an optimal decision for the future development of a person. So, the focus is on teaching cognitive skills aimed at solving problems.

The role of the individualistic teacher is to provide the necessary information both neutrally and objectively, whereas indoctrination is excluded. A critical attitude towards social order is guided by the need to optimize and maximize the opportunities of each person. This type of

teacher is fact and knowledge oriented. As for the relationship between the "social sciences" school subject and citizenship education, a teacher with this thinking style sees them as two different things. They feel that social sciences is more concerned with schemes and explanatory models with which they are less concerned, whereas the main emphasis of the social studies is more practical: analytical skills, negotiation skills, knowledge of rights and obligations, the way market-based, pluralistic societies function, and everything else that is necessary for career development and self-realization.

The educational style of individualistically oriented teachers would include an average number of rules, such as adhering to a particular curriculum or teaching method. Contact with students is on an equal footing. The teacher encourages students to be more interested in law than in responsibilities and obligations. Individual competition is not only tolerated but rather sought and appreciated, whereas debates and discussions usually have a win-lose format. This thought style is characterized by a low tolerance for rules and regulations, weak group membership (little social interactions), and a high degree of self-regulation.

Concerning the opposite aspect, *critical vs. good citizen*, the individualist is at the low grid edge (Figure 1). They are rather critical than good citizens since they are guided by self-interest. Self-interest is not necessarily a bad thing, because they are also concerned with individual rights and freedom.

The opposite aspect of *indoctrination vs. neutrality* relates to how teachers deal with their own political convictions: do they teach value-neutral or value explicitly? Typically, the individualist will not impose values or ideologies; after all, they stand for a high degree of self-regulation. They believe that students will have to find their own values and ideologies. The individualists will, of course, put individual rights above social obligations concerning the opposite aspect to *individual rights vs. social obligations*.

A teacher as a *coach* will treat his/her students as equals. A coach sees students as partners who must somewhat be guided to find their own ways. The individualist will therefore only provide students with the necessary tools so that students can learn to make rational and effective decisions. The individualist does not fit the role of *supervisor*, who, unlike a *coach*, feels as if he is ranked above the students.

Finally, the individualist emphasizes *knowledge* rather than *attitude*, because having knowledge prevents manipulation and indoctrination on the student's free spirit.

- The *egalitarian* thought style: "democratic education".

This thought style represents the advocates of critical democratic citizenship. Supporters of this mindset focus on equality and are involved in improving today's society through the promotion of democracy in schools. An inspiration for this thought style is Martha Nussbaum. The central element of Nussbaum's concept of good education for democracy is "critical thinking, the ability to explore own views and limitations, being able to see and tolerate differences between nations and within a community" (Nussbaum, 1997 in Jeliazkova, 2015, p. 47). The teachers with an egalitarian thought style are strongly community-orientated and therefore look for 'real' experiences outside the classroom and for 'active participation' in life. For egalitarians, education is an institution for social change and the promotion of social justice. In some cases, there may even be too much emphasis on character formation and



moral education, at the expense of knowledge transfer. Belonging to and collaborating in a community, acting in the interest of the common good are based on morale and are very important to egalitarian teachers. They share this characteristic with hierarchically oriented teachers. The hierarchs, however, occupy a fixed place for every individual in society, while egalitarians are focused on personal growth and development in harmony with the community. While individualistic teachers allow their students to pursue self-interest and provide them with the necessary tools to move forward in life, egalitarian teachers feel an obligation to instil certain values, the most important of which is the sense of justice and equity.

The teaching methods of egalitarian are interactive, often innovative, and aim at reforming the school system, such as holistic assessment methods, more extracurricular activities, and a more visible role for the school in the community. Egalitarian teachers "strive to reduce differences in status between individuals and build self-esteem, caring, and inclusive social equality" (Lockhart, 1999, p. 869 in Jeliaskova 2015, p. 48). The focus on education is usually on norms, values and relationships, but also on the role of the mass media that is seen as a source of deception and brainwashing. Therefore, non-critical attitudes need to be changed. The egalitarian teachers are advocates for discussion, as are the individualists. However, they focus less on winning that discussion and are more consensus-oriented: a safe learning climate is of great importance. A modern version of this thought style also endorses environmentally friendly views.

This egalitarian thought style is based on weak regulation and strong social interaction. People of the egalitarian type are characterized by strong group feelings and a low tolerance for outside rules and regulations (low grid, see Figure 1). This leads to a logical organization in small groups, where collective decisions are made through discussions aimed at consensus. Egalitarian thinking also includes social contract philosophers Thomas Hobbes, John Locke, and Jean-Jacques Rousseau. They claimed that the premise is that people are born in freedom and equality, but that some form of rules is needed to protect this premise. Without rules, there will be a permanent war of all against all (Scheffer, et al. (2017).

Supporters of the egalitarian way of thinking are more often *critical* than a *good citizen*. In the egalitarian version, the critical attitude is driven by a concern for equality, social solidarity, and emancipation.

The egalitarian way of thinking justifies *indoctrination* in a sense by the need to instil in the younger generation the ideas and values that the community considers valuable. Furthermore, supporters of the egalitarian thought style, as well as the individualist, will encourage creativity and initiative. Also, the egalitarian way of thinking will put *social obligations* above *individual rights*, given the strong group feelings and strong social interaction.

Concerning the opposite aspect *coach vs. supervisor*, advocates of the egalitarian mindset will take on a more coaching role and help pupils find their place in society and develop a sense of justice and solidarity. Besides, because care for every member of a community is important to an egalitarian teacher, she sees her role more as a coach than as a supervisor (similar to the individualistic teachers). The egalitarian bias with *attitudes*, even at the expense of *knowledge*, can be explained by the critical position concerning the status quo, which also includes school and curriculum.

- The *hierarchical* thought style: "know your laws".

For the hierarchical teacher, being a "good" citizen means being well-adjusted and thus participating in society in an orderly, constructive, and predictable manner. Social schemes and institutions will not be questioned. Influencing politics in the official and "right way" such as voting, membership of political parties, community administrations will be strongly encouraged.

Hierarchs adhere to traditional citizenship models. Certain conservative views such as patriotism fit this style of thinking. The hierarchical thought style is best suited to someone who is a-political, whereas they are rather good citizens than critical citizens. Patriotism and loyalty are the most common themes in this thought style. The hierarchical teachers tend to promote a particular ideology, prefer a standard unified curriculum, and reflect the large social scheme in the way that they see it themselves. The hierarchical thought style focuses more on reproductive as opposed to "transformative" education. When change is pursued, it is achieved through predictable patterns and participation takes place through established channels and institutions.

Political literacy for the hierarch means knowing 'how the system works' and not so much wanting to change it. Character formation and respect are quite central to education. The aim is therefore to prepare future citizens to participate in established political and social institutions; it is generally clear what position one gets assigned on the social ladder; students are prepared for this suitable role. A future citizen will be well-adjusted, rational, but not critical, maintain the status quo, pay more attention to responsibilities and obligations than their individual rights. The role of the teacher is to guide this adjustment process and, if necessary, to act as a role model for the students. In particular, the teaching style of hierarchs is top-down and based on discipline. They will not easily invite students to participate in interactive learning forms. The main themes will only be topics that are necessary to participate in society, such as political parties and voting systems, rules, and responsibilities, as well as good preparation for the labour market. The preferred skills are conviction, leadership and reliance on information from experts. The hierarchical thinking style is thus determined by both strong group interaction and strong external regulation. Hierarchically oriented people display high feelings of group dependence and see themselves as the subject of a strong system.

The *good citizen* (as opposed to the *critical citizen*) is located on the high grid edge and fits both the hierarchical and the fatalistic thought styles. The high grid edge means a certain idea of belonging, being part of a structure. Being "good" means being adjusted, functioning properly, accepting the way the world is controlled, and not necessarily demanding a change. For hierarchs, being good means knowing your place in society and making the most of it, and the good citizen is well adapted.

The hierarch will place *indoctrination* above *neutral* education because indoctrination can be justified in maintaining and reproducing social systems and relationships. The hierarch will also place *social obligations* above *individual rights*: discipline and character education will be seen as a precondition for success in society.

Supporters of the hierarchical thought style will logically see the role of the teacher more as a *supervisor* than as a *coach*. They will also focus more on *knowledge* than on *attitude*, but

different from the individualist. For the hierarch, the world is an organized, systematic structure to which young people must be introduced by providing them with the correct information about its functioning.

- The *fatalistic* thought style: "keep them out of trouble".

Finally, the *fatalistic* thought style consists of people who feel left out and isolated from social life while at the same time being subject to top-down regulations. Their basic modus is survival, and their strategy is avoidance. At worst, a society with too many fatalists would inevitably fall apart (Jeliaskova, 2015).

The fatalist, or the 'isolated thought style', is often overlooked in research because it is perceived as a 'passive' thought style. And yet, research shows that the fatalistic style of thinking still regularly emerges. This thought style is based on an image of insufficient students, resulting in relatively low expectations about their future role in society. The fatalistic teacher feels the need to take these students under their wings. These students do not understand the rules of the game and often feel that they fall prey to the games of others. They feel that they have no say in both social developments and their own lives, and therefore can get very cynical or desperate. Social sciences teachers (or other forms of citizenship education) feel the responsibility to "take these students away" from this dead-end of society. These teachers can take a kind of fatalistic position themselves, in which they regard 'the system' as 'almighty' and see themselves as actors without control over social developments. They know the art of survival and 'staying out of trouble', which they transfer this to their students. The teacher within the fatalistic thinking style sees education as a form of protection and takes on the role of parent, protector, and supervisor. This thought style might relate to an old image about the goals of social studies that should entail solving problems, spending time on the school climate and culture, safety, and discipline (Olgers, van Otterdijk, Ruijs, de Kievit & Meijs, 2014).

From this perspective, aspects of citizenship education are more important than social studies, given that these students are not willing to gain knowledge since they feel sceptical, cynical, and left out. The emphasis is much more on avoiding criminal behaviour and promoting work-related employability. The latter goal also applies to hierarchical teachers, but in the case of the fatalists, it is seen as a security measure and a way to leave the dead-end of society, rather than a form of self-realization among the hierarchs. It is clear that "active participation" is a step too far for this type of student, at least in the perception of their teachers. On the contrary, teachers focus on discipline, following orders, acquiring minimal knowledge of the system, and simple logical reasoning skills. Teachers within this mindset often target minorities and other disadvantaged groups.

The *fatalistic* thought style (as well as the hierarchs) is on the high grid edge. She struggles to survive as a *good* citizen and is incapable of *criticism* because she adheres to rules imposed by others. In the fatalistic version, "*good*" also has the undertone that he has no control and is satisfied with what the world has to offer. Social schemes and institutions are not likely to be questioned at the high grid edge. Influencing politics officially and "appropriately" such as voting, membership of political parties, community governments will be strongly encouraged.

The fatalist will place *neutrality* above *indoctrination*. In the fatalistic version, the neutral *attitude* is purely pragmatic due to a lack of interest in political or ideological positions. When a teacher sees his students mainly through a fatalistic lens, she will try to take them out of their isolated position by providing them with knowledge and understanding of their *individual rights*.

In a fatalistic mindset, students are in need of protection and guidance. A fatalist will, therefore, be more of a *supervisor* for students than a *coach*. Finally, in the fatalistic position, *knowledge* is only a minor issue; survival skills based on *attitude* come first.

Now that we have described society based on the grid-group theory, it will be explained how this relates to how teachers in social studies and social sciences translate (implement) the attainment targets.

The grid-group theory examines the ‘views’ or ‘thought styles’ of individuals. For the purpose of this research, it is therefore important to note that studying these ‘views’ says a lot about the teaching practice of these individuals. Views lead teachers in the daily choices they face, usually implicitly. Via their thought styles, they find practical solutions and to their own seemingly contradictory positions. For example, teachers teach critical thinking while remaining neutral in their position, for example, they teach democracy in institutions that are not necessarily democratic, they teach future citizens how to participate in society, but they are aware that the influence of the school on future participation is very limited (Jeliazkova, 2015). These daily practical choices are not made ad hoc but are based on thought patterns and subsequent actions, which are based on core beliefs, i.e. views on politics, education and the profession of teacher, democracy, politics, neutrality, political education, the place of education in society and the teacher as a profession (Jeliazkova, 2015). Furthermore, in practice, teachers might also adapt these daily practical choices on their pupils’ capacities and attitudes.

Coming back to the content of the subjects of social sciences and social studies, social sciences has considerably more regulations than social studies. The content of social sciences allows for a more in-depth look at the complex world, apply analytical tools, reasoning skills about the subject, the school, and politics (Olgers, et al., 2014). Looking at the four thought styles of Jeliazkova (2015), the individualistic and egalitarian types are both thought styles that are critical and have the lowest tolerance for external regulation and they would logically teach the subject with the least regulations, which is social studies. My second hypothesis therefore is:

*Social studies teachers are more likely than social sciences teachers to exhibit an individualistic or egalitarian way of thinking.*

This does not mean that hierarchical and fatalistic types cannot be found amongst the respondents, yet I expect them to be less representative amongst social studies teachers since they have a higher tolerance for external regulations.

### 3. Data on the train of thoughts

The research question demands distinguishing different types of teachers, based on their thought styles and characteristics. Distinguishing types of teachers is best approached via Q methodology since Q methodology involves collecting subjective data: ‘data on the train of thoughts of individuals’ (Jeliazkova, 2015, p. 70), in which the ordering of statements and interviews ensure that both qualitative and quantitative data can be collected.

Q methodology will be applied to the second and third research question, which are about how and to what extent teachers in social studies and social sciences implement the applicable regulations in their teaching practice (2) and to what extent personal characteristics of teachers in social studies and social sciences affect their use of discretionary power within their teaching practice (3). Q methodology is a mixed-method research design and consists of two phases: collecting quantitative followed by collecting qualitative data. The qualitative data is collected and analysed second in the series and helps to explain or elaborate on the quantitative results obtained in the first phase. The qualitative data refines and explains those statistical results by exploring the participants' views more deeply (Punch, 2016).

Q methodology has been applied in a wide range of disciplines and has proven to be an excellent tool for revealing complex belief systems and assumptions. The disadvantage of the Q method is that the result of the test cannot be generalized to a large group of people or a population (Valenta & Wigger, 1997). However, these drawbacks might actually work as two advantages in this study. The results might not be generalized to a large group of people, but the method provides a very thorough analysis and reliable results of the group of people that are studied. Also, working with a relatively small number of respondents, makes the method cost-effective and practical.

Convenience sampling was the best I could do in the corona lockdown situation. Since I am a social studies teacher myself, eight social studies and/or social science teachers (from other schools) were contacted via my network. Through my network an additional number of six social studies and/or social sciences teachers were contacted.

#### 3.1 Q Methodology

An equivalent method to that of Jeliazkova (2015) was used to answer the research questions. Jeliazkova used Q methodology to obtain the different subjective views of the participants. In Q methodological research, participants are asked to respond to a certain number of statements: the Q set (Appendix 1). They rank the statements according to the question to what extent they agree with the statement. In this case on a scale from -4 to 4. The statements that the participants agree with most are placed on the right at 4 and those of which they disagree most on the left at -4. The statements of which the participants feel more neutral, or have no or rather mixed feelings, are shown in the middle. After the participants have read all statements, one by one, they are asked to place them provisionally on the scale, which is round one. In round two, they were asked to sort the cards in a standard normal distribution. The columns to the left and right of the neutral centre are filled with statements of which the participants are progressively positive or negative. In this way, the participants are forced to prioritize their previously indicated preferences. A logical assumption would be that people

normally have (very) strong feelings about a relatively small number of subjects, both negative and positive. This is reflected in the standard normal distribution, whereby only a small number of statements can be arranged on the sides and relatively many statements in the neutral centre (Watts & Stenner, 2012).

Because of the coronavirus measures, it was not possible for me to directly speak to the participants and be present while they ranked their statements. So, I had to find an alternative way. Via [www.qsortware.net](http://www.qsortware.net), which was set up by dr. Alessio Pruneddu (UK), who graciously allowed me to use his software for free. I was able to conduct the same research method online. Via [www.qsortware.net](http://www.qsortware.net) the respondents were able to see the statements on their computer screen and rank them onto the scale (-4 to 4). It was also possible to allow only three statements under -4 and 4, four statements under -3 and 3, etc. Just like within the original face-to-face way of conducting Q methodical research, there were two rounds of ranking statements: first, a provisional ranking, and second the definitive ranking of statements.

With 10 out of the 14 respondents, I had video conferences via Teams or Google Meet. In-person or face-to-face interviews are a traditional form of generating data in qualitative studies (Creswell, 2013). The downside of video conferences is that not everyone has access to the internet. Also, not everyone has the necessary technical skills (Adam & Minges, 2018 in Gray, Wong-Wylie, Rempel & Cook, 2020, p. 1293). However, meeting participants in person is not feasible if they are geographically dispersed, are unable or unwilling to travel, if research funding does not allow it, or in this case, because of the coronavirus measures. Video conferences can offer researchers and participants a cost-effective and convenient alternative. Video conferencing could be used to save costs, access larger and more diverse populations, interview more participants in a shorter period by eliminating travel and avoiding unpredictable conditions, such as bad weather, that one could meet when travelling to a face-to-face interview (Gray, et al., 2020). For conducting this research, the most important advantage of the video conferences was that interviewing was made possible and the coronavirus measures were still adhered to.

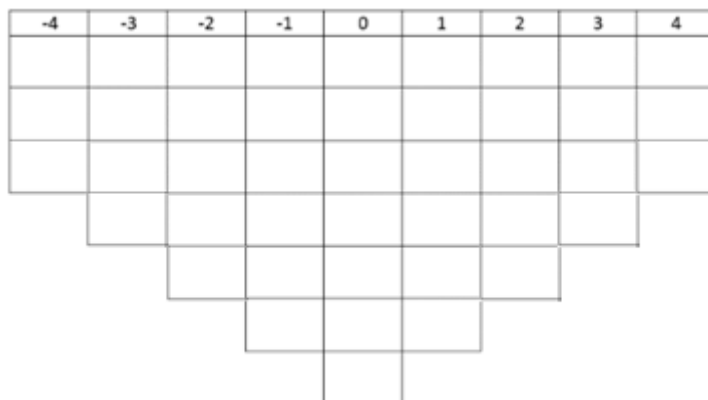
After conducting the Q methodology research design, the results could be linked to the grid-group theory. Appendix 2 serves the purpose of ordering (and double-checking) the range of the set of statements. What is notable is that Appendix 2 does not necessarily declare or assign a certain measurement. Unavoidably, some respondents will interpret some statements differently than the intention with which they were developed. So, Appendix 2 must be read while taken different interpretations into account. In addition, it is not said that, for example, when a statement aims at distinguishing a supervisory hierarch, that this statement cannot be used by distinguishing a supervisory fatalist.

The idea of ordering and double-checking came from the study of Jeliazkova (2015). Most of the 43 statements that were used in this study were inspired by the statements that Jeliazkova (2015) designed. However, the number of statements that were linked to a thought style and their expectations differed. For example: to distinguish the *hierarchical* type by the expectation *indoctrination/neutrality* had only one statement (40) linked to it. Similarly, for the *fatalist* thought style *critical/good citizen*, *rights/obligations*, and *attitudes/knowledge*. So, based on the theoretical framework of the thought styles, I added statements, so that every 'cell' within the table in Appendix 2 had at least two statements linked to it. Besides, since

this study aims at the subjects of social studies and social sciences and the study of Jeliazkova (2015) aimed at citizenship education, I replaced the words ‘citizenship education’ by the words ‘social sciences and social studies’. Finally, the statements were translated from English into Dutch.

### 3.2 Qsoftware.net

During the research, the participants are presented with a total of three research materials. First, the Q set, that consists of 43 statements (via [www.qsoftware.net](http://www.qsoftware.net)), second, an empty Q sort (figure 2), and third, several open questions to collect demographics (such as age, gender, additional tasks, study background, etc.) and other related information. These demographics and other related information of the respondents were used to provide more insight into the different positions after the factors have been interpreted.



-4	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3	4

Figure 2 Example of an empty Q sort

In Chapter 3.1 was mentioned how the results can be linked to the grid-group theory and that Appendix 2 serves the purpose of ordering (and double-checking) the range of the set of statements. In addition, the statements 4, 11, 13, 14 and 20 resemble (parts of) the exam program of social studies and/of social sciences. Based on the rankings of these five statements, the discretionary powers of the respondents were measured. After describing every type of teachers in Chapter 4 Results, a description about their discretionary powers is given.

### 3.4 The teachers and the procedure

In total, 14 social studies and/or social sciences teachers were asked to (anonymously) respond to the 43 statements. With most of the respondents, an online meeting (or video conference) took place, so that in-depth questions (interview) about their train of thoughts during their participation could be asked.

First, the participants were informed about the study via e-mail. It was explained to them that the research focuses on social studies and/or social sciences teachers and their ‘thought styles’. By this is meant: the way teachers think about their subject, which aspects they consider

important to convey to students and what they emphasize, etc. Also, information was given about Q methodology. Online meetings were planned with 10 of the 14 respondents. Via [www.qsortware.net](http://www.qsortware.net), a personal link to the statements was sent. The respondents were asked to 'share' their display and if they would agree with a recording of the interview. After this introduction, the respondents were asked to rank the statements and explain their way of thinking, whereas I could ask them more about their way of thinking. The 4 respondents that were not interviewed ranked the statements without me recording their train of thoughts.



## 4. Results

### 4.1 Introduction and description of respondents

Out of the fourteen respondents, five respondents are female and nine are male. Three respondents are over 50 years old, eleven are under 50 years old. Of six respondents their highest level of education is HBO, eight are academically educated.

Ten of the respondents teach only social studies, four of the respondents teach a combination of social studies and social sciences. None of the respondents only teaches social sciences, only in combination with social studies (as represented in the table below). Next to the four teachers that teach a combination of social sciences and social studies, four respondents also teach other subjects such as history or philosophy.

Social studies	Combi of social studies and sciences
14	4

Although the respondents obtained their teaching qualifications from institutions all across the Netherlands, they are not representative for all teachers in the Netherlands, since they were not randomly selected, as a result of the COVID-19 measures. But also, because a Q study does not require representative samples. This means that the respondents, mostly located in the East of the Netherlands, do not represent another group of respondents based on their demographics or other characteristics (Jeliazkova, 2015).

### 4.2 Number of factors

To see whether the participants could be divided into a comparable number of groups based on their shared thought style, such as the four-factor option of Jeliazkova (2015) and Douglas (1970), a statistical basis for this should be found first.

To get an idea of the types of teachers that can be distinguished, I analysed the data from the Q-sorts entered using the software program PQMethod software 2.35. The manual of the Schmolck program (2014) and the book 'Doing Q Methodological Research' by Watts & Stenner (2012) have provided the basis for analysing the data. After entering the 14 Q-sorts in PQMethod, I let the program calculate the factors using 'Principal Component Analysis'. I then rotated the factors using Varimax (see Table 3).

According to Watts & Stenner, Eigenvalues (above 1) are seen as an actual factor, since Eigenvalues are indicators of the statistical force of a factor (pp. 105-106). However, the Eigenvalues of not four, but three, according to the Kaiser-Guttman criterion (Guttman, 1954, Kaiser, 1960 in Watts & Stenner, 2012) were found. So, a total of three clear factors were found that could be distinguished, while I expected to find four factors. This expectation was based on the theory of Jeliazkova (2015), who also found four factors among Dutch social sciences and/or social study teachers. Also, the anthropologist Mary Douglas (1970) found four main types of social organization. Possibly, the fact that the respondents were not randomly selected (only within my network as a social sciences teacher), could be an explanation for this outcome.

To determine how many factors can be taken into account, the program analysed the

completed Q sorts. Table 3 (in Chapter 4.3) shows the factors and factor loadings ('X') per factor. The program calculated the significant factor loadings via automatic pre-flagging. One respondent (number 9) was not automatically placed on a factor, so the (logical) assumption was made that this respondent belongs to factor 3, since he/she has the highest loading there (0.58). I, therefore, flagged this respondent manually.

### 4.3 Factor interpretations

Table 3 Rotated factor matrix with flags

	1	2	3
1 A	0.27	0.69 X	0.34
2 B	0.62 X	0.33 X	0.42
3 C	0.73 X	-0.06	0.11
4 D	0.39 X	0.06	0.70 X
5 E	0.06	0.07	0.79 X
6 F	0.76 X	0.09	0.30 X
7 G	0.74 X	0.33	0.11
8 H	0.51	0.21	0.60 X
9 I	0.56	0.28	0.58 X
10 J	0.21	0.20	0.66 X
11 K	0.66 X	0.38	0.29
12 L	0.64 X	0.48	0.33
13 M	0.05	0.69 X	0.38
14 N	0.15	0.80 X	-0.11

After rotating the factors via Varimax, three factors were distinguished by the program PQ Method (Table 3). From the three factors, ideal-typical Q-sorts were made, which are based on the strength of the different positions per factor. These ideal-typical Q-sorts can be found in Appendix 3. These ideal types reflect how the statements can be divided per factor in an (ideal) Q-sort. In addition, the program PQ Method calculated which statements characterizes each factor the most (Appendix 5). For example, the three most important statements for factor one are 6, 15, and 2.

Ultimately, three different types of teachers can be described based on these ideal types, the relationship between statements and the comments of the respondents in the interviews. The analysis showed one consensus statement, concerning statement 31, whereas all the respondents completely disagreed (-4). ‘My job as a teacher is to defend government policies and interests because I am an employee of a government-funded educational institution’ (see the list of statements in Appendix 1). Therefore, statement 31 cannot be used to distinguish factors.

In the next section, the three different types of teachers will be described. But first, a reading guide to the next sections will be given. To give more depth to the analysis, comments about the respondents’ subject (social studies and/or social sciences), their students, their school in general, or on which the assumptions are based, will be cited. The short citations are in italics and in between quotation marks. Citations that are longer than three lines are not in italics, but are placed in between blank lines and with a smaller font size. The respondents (A - N) are placed after the citations. Since the data must stay anonymous, no data will be released that could be traced back to the respondents. Also, the number of the statements will be indicated by brackets, for example: (33). Finally, the ideal-typical place of ranking this statement by this factor is recognized by, for example: (-4) or (+4).

To provide more insight into the possible explanations of a certain point of view, control variables such as age, gender, secondary tasks, teaching method, study background and

political preferences of teachers whose Q-sort loaded high on that particular factor will be mentioned. For example, teachers who have a certain study background may have a completely different view of the subjects of social studies and social sciences than teachers who have a different study background.

In addition, subsections of the ‘opposing aspects’ that Jeliaskova described, are made (*critical vs. good citizen, indoctrination vs. neutrality, individual rights vs. social obligations, coach vs. supervisor, attitude vs. knowledge*). Below I will explain the thought style of the group of teachers per section: goal, approach, concern, role and focus and add the opposite aspects (for example critical vs. good citizen). Similarities and differences with the four ideal types: individualist, egalitarian, hierarch, and fatalist (Jeliaskova, 2015 & Douglas, 1970), will be set out. The last subsection for each factor is ‘discretionary behaviour’, in which will be explained how different types of teachers deal with varying degrees of discretionary space.

#### 4.4 The active teacher (factor 1)

Other than what the name of this group of factors might suggest, these teachers are not so much active within the classroom, but outside the classroom. They are busy bees who, in addition to their profession of teaching social studies (and/or sciences), have many other tasks. For example: writing a teaching method for the subjects, teaching multiple subjects (for example history or philosophy of life or both social sciences and social studies), being a disc jockey, being a member of the participation council, etc. So, being a social studies (and/or sciences) teacher is not their only task: they also have many other passions and activities.

These teachers are *bon vivants*. They would also like to transfer this joy of life to their students through their way of teaching. Their main concern is the happiness of their pupils. ‘First, teach a child to live’ (B). This group of teachers considers knowledge transfer the least important of the three factors that were found. They are more concerned with human development than with intellectual development. According to these teachers, students learn a lot more from actually experiencing life.

The active teachers are somewhat in between the hierarchical and the individualistic styles that Jeliaskova (2015) described. They are individualistic in the sense of being critical and emphasizing individual rights rather than social obligations. They are a bit hierarchical, but only in the sense of being orderly within the practice of their job as a teacher.

As mentioned in Chapter 3.1, the discretionary behaviour of the teachers was measured by analyzing the rankings of the statements 4, 11, 13, 14 and 20. Based on the results of these five statements it seems that the active teachers prefer to adhere, to some extent, to a particular curriculum or teaching method. Which is not surprising, since they have so much else to do in life or within the context of their job: being orderly and maintaining structure help overseeing it all. More about their discretionary behaviour is set out at the end of this chapter.

#### **Goal**

##### *Critical citizen*

We need to teach young people to be critical and not to believe everything they see and hear in the media (6, +4) was, according to Appendix 5, the most important statement for this group. Therefore, the active teacher is an advocate of critical thinking. ‘Critical thinking is a

very important skill, especially in social studies.’(F). They feel that one should always ‘Stay sharp and that it is allowed to question the opinion of experts.’(B).

The active teachers are orderly within the practice of their profession. They are not only orderly themselves, but also aim to transfer this characteristic to their pupils. By using methods, theories, and models, pupils create a kind of social order and handles when analyzing the world around them (13, +3).

However, the active teachers are aware that this goal cannot be achieved with all pupils and that they might change strategy.

‘If you want to make a student into a thinking citizen, this means that you have to enable him to think for himself what he or she thinks is okay. So that he must give a well-founded opinion about something. The question is whether you will achieve this with all students. For a certain group of students, especially VMBO, the question is whether you will achieve this by teaching them all kinds of theories and models. I think that learning intuitively or allowing an opinion to be formed intuitively, for example, based on cases (do you think this is okay? Or not? And why?), works better. So, more attention to the norms and values system. So, this depends on what type of student you have in front of you.’ (B)

‘Methods, theories, and models might go a bit far, but I do very much agree with learning them to assess facts and draw conclusions.’ (K, 13, +3). So, the goal remains to make critically thinking civilians of pupils. However, depending on the pupils the active teacher has in front of them, the strategy might differ.

According to Appendix 5, statement 2 was the second important statement for this group of teachers. Therefore, not only critical thinking should be the goal, but also making pupils independent and teaching them how to make their own decisions (2, +4). ‘I think this is one of the core elements of education.’(F).

## **Approach**

### *Indoctrination*

The opposite aspect of indoctrination vs. neutrality relates to how teachers teach value-neutral (or avoiding) or value explicitly. For the individualist, indoctrination will not occur, since they believe that pupils have to find their own values and ideologies. For the hierarchical type, indoctrination is justified, as they are in favour of reproductive education. The active teachers feel that it is ‘nonsense’(C) not to communicate their political views and that it is ‘no mortal sin’(G). ‘You can also include them in the thinking process of how I arrive at a political preference.’(G). The teacher should discuss norms and values instead of strictly adhering to neutrality (29, +3).

‘I try to avoid the words ‘norms and values’ in class because they do not sound ‘sexy’. I’ll explain what it is, but it sounds so dusty. I replace the words with ‘What do you support?’ And ‘What do you find important?’ (G)

So, for the active teacher, indoctrination is justified. However, ‘indoctrination’ is not the best choice of word in this context, it will, therefore, be replaced by ‘value explicit’. The active teacher is an honest one, they feel that their political preferences will always show through, however hard one may try to avoid this. ‘With neutrality, you often just make things difficult for yourself. You are going to reason from your own opinion. So, then it is better to communicate consciously than unconsciously.’(G).

The active teacher is very much an advocate of highlighting different sides of a story. *'I try to highlight things from different sides.'*(G). Highlighting their own opinion in that process is therefore justified. This will not necessarily mean that they impose their own opinions on their pupils. They allow their pupils to 'get acquainted' with all different ideas about political and social order, without declaring any ideology as the correct one (34, +3). Since different sides of a story are highlighted, the term 'value-neutral' is not the right choice of words in this context. Therefore, 'multiple values would seem more in place. After all, a variety of values are mentioned by the active teachers, but none is declared as the correct one.

In some way, highlighting different sides of a story might also be traced back to their favoured way of offering 'order' within their teaching practice. Instead of letting their pupils battle with their own chaotic train of thoughts, they already provide them with different sides of a story so that a pupil only must decide for himself which one they prefer.

## **Concern**

### *Individual rights*

Concerning individual rights opposite to social obligations, the active teacher is definitely an individualist. Teaching pupils that caring for every member of the community is important is not their job. That this is not their job was mentioned by every single respondent within this factor. Mostly as a response to statements 7, 17, and 41. Whereas these statements aimed at encouraging pupils to participate in public life (7, -1), taking the public interest into account rather than following individual interests (17, -1).

When they mention that this is not their job, this does not mean that they don't find social obligations unimportant. According to the active teachers, humans are dependent on each other (41, +2) and 'We have to be kind to each other'(C), as a respondent said about statement 33, which was about the subjects serving against the growing lack of social tolerance. The active teachers just do not feel that social obligations are of that much importance. Students should learn to take the public interest into account, rather than just following their private interests (17). 'How can you disagree with that? But to say that I find that very important..?'(G).

## **Role**

### *Supervisor*

Within the role of the active teacher, something of the hierarchical type that Jeliaskova (2015) described could be recognized. According to Jeliaskova (2015), the difference between being a coach or a supervisor is in the way that the teachers fulfil their role towards their pupils. Do they see themselves on the same level as their pupils (coach)? Or is a teacher ranked above the students (supervisor)? For the hierarchical type, being a supervisor is fitting. The active teacher, however, is only hierarchical (or a supervisor) in the sense of offering order and structure. Not so much that these teachers, as Jeliaskova (2015) describes, feel that they are ranked above their pupils.

The teacher must be a model of honest and decent behaviour, this is the core of social studies and social sciences (5, +1). 'This is exemplary behaviour, if I am not a model of honest and decent behaviour myself, students cannot take me seriously'(F). In other words, this offers a certain order. Students know where they stand and what to expect from their teacher. In terms of offering order to their pupils, turning students into thinking citizens who can use different methods, theories, and models to explore the world around them, and who can determine facts

and draw conclusions (13, +3). This also could be interpreted as pupils should have the handles to make the world around them understandable and predictable.

The active teachers do not avoid controversial topics in class to protect students who might feel addressed (19, -2). For the active teacher, it is not a question *if* controversial topics are discussed in class, but rather a question of *how* to tackle the topic. As mentioned, the main concern of the active teacher is the happiness of their pupils. So, the active teacher will, to some extent, take possible emotional reactions of students into account when discussing a controversial topic. 'In some cases, for example on a subject like crime. If one of the students has a father who is in prison, it might be helpful to repackage the subject and prepare it properly. Possibly even discuss this with this particular student first.' (G)

## **Focus**

### *Attitudes*

The active teacher is absolutely in favour of attitude instead of knowledge. 'Knowledge can be googled. I'd rather prefer them to behave.'(C) 'Knowledge is power. This sounds almost Marxist. First insight, then knowledge, lists with facts are less important than insight and critical thinking.' (F). Since 'knowledge is power' is of paramount importance to individualists, the active teachers are not individualists 'all the way'.

The attitude that the active teachers favour is not so much aimed at preparing their pupils for the labour market (8, +4), but at building on self-confidence.

'Good preparation for the labour market. I'm sorry, I don't find that interesting. 'In my lessons, I emphasize on "How do you present yourself? How do you sell yourself?" I think social studies in the broadest sense is learning to form an opinion, so that you are better prepared for the big bad outside world, that you can take a position, that also gives confidence' (G).

The teacher must first emphasize knowledge of government systems: the division of powers, the functions, and rights of the institutions, the different types and purposes of democratic systems (11, -2). 'No, first teach a child to live'(B). Therefore, the active teachers prefer actual participation in society. 'My experience is that they only temporarily remember learning work. If you let them "experience" how democracy works, they remember it much better.'(K). However, this attitude that the active teachers try to transfer, seems to be somewhat harder than they would desire since it is hard to motivate pupils 'Pupils are not committed to their interests. I try to make it clear to them that if they don't agree with something, say something about it. Take action! Some students tried to set up a student council, but that is incredibly difficult.'(K).

## **Discretionary behaviour**

In terms of determining the discretionary behaviour of the types of teachers, I looked at statements 4, 11, 13, 14 and 20, because these five statements resemble, to some extent, the exam program(s) of social studies and/or social sciences. Below, all five statements and the rankings and reactions of the active teachers will be set out. In addition, a table of the rankings of the five statements per type of teacher is given in which the rankings of the active teachers is highlighted (see Appendix 3 for an complete overview of the ranking results).

Statement	Active teacher	Tender teacher	Relaxed teacher
4	-1	-3	2
11	-2	-4	1
13	3	0	1
14	2	-2	1
20	-3	1	-1

Statement 4 is about the importance of transferring knowledge about our laws and rules. The statement resembles Domain B: ‘the candidate can give examples of freedom rights and obligations that residents of the Netherlands have to laws and articles in the Constitution’ (Examenblad, 2020). As mentioned, the active teachers are no advocates of transferring knowledge, and they logically ranked statement 4 on -1.

Statement 11 is also about the importance of transferring knowledge of government systems, separation of powers, the functions and rights of the institutions. This statement resembles domain C of the exam program of social studies: ‘the candidate can explain the structure of representative democracy in the Netherlands at municipal, provincial and national level’ (Examenblad, 2020). Again, since the active teachers do not feel that transferring knowledge is important, they ranked statement 11 on -2.

As mentioned under ‘Role’, statement 13 is about teaching pupils to use methods, theories, and models. The usage of methods, theories, and models resembles social sciences more than it resembles social studies, whereas “The candidate can analyze what causes social and political conflicts (...), distinguish models (...)” (see Subdomain C3 in Examenblad, 2019) and “compare theories” (see Subdomain C2 in Examenblad, 2019) are part of the exam program of social sciences. Statement 13 was ranked at +3 by the active teachers.

To further determine their discretionary behaviour, I also looked at statement 14: ‘Students must learn to defend their positions in political discussions and social debates; that is why I help them develop research and discussion skills.’. Statement 14 emphasizes research and debate/discussion skills, whereas research skills are part of the exam program of the subject of social sciences (see subdomain A3 in the Syllabus on [www.examenblad.nl](http://www.examenblad.nl)) and to some extent also resembles social studies (see subdomain A1, on [www.examenblad.nl](http://www.examenblad.nl)). Statement 14 was ranked +2 by the active teachers.

Statement 20: ‘Social studies and social sciences should not be associated too much with politics, because individual acts of charity and generosity are also important’, resembles domain C and to some extent Subdomain D3 and E3 of social studies (Examenblad, 2019). Whereas the subject of social studies is hard to imagine without any content of ‘politics’. Since the active teachers placed this statement at -3, it would seem that they feel that the subjects of social studies and social sciences should be (and stay) associated with politics.

In terms of determining the discretionary behaviour of the active teachers, the reactions on and the rankings of statements 4, 11, 13, 14 and 20 could mean that they do not prefer to transfer knowledge because the policy documents require them to do so, but they rather make their own choices about what knowledge, skills and competences they feel is important to transfer: ‘I think there is far too much knowledge in the books. Far too many facts are given, while I actually do not think that is very important for pupils. Several things are, such as fundamental rights, but many are not.’(K).

For the active teachers, methods theories and models are helpful ‘handles’ for pupils to understand and analyze the world around them, but also to maintain order and structure within their busy lives (13, +3). They also feel that developing research and discussion skills is important (14, +2). However, transferring knowledge about institutions, laws and regulations is not that important (4, -1 and 11, -2).

So, with regard to the discretionary behaviour of the active teachers: they make a choice about what they feel is important to pass on to their pupils. They do not adhere to all the applicable policies and regulations, but they do if they feel that the policies actually contribute to the development of their pupils.

#### 4.5 The tender teacher (factor 2)

I labelled factor 2 the tender teachers because out of the three factors, this group emphasizes social obligations more than individual rights. They are concerned about society and feel that every member of society counts. The tender teachers see goodness in people. To some extent, they look like the egalitarian ideal type that Jeliazkova (2015) describes. This group does not find that transferring knowledge, within the subjects of social studies and social sciences, of significant importance (4, -3), but rather attend to their vulnerable pupils. ‘I think social studies has certainly a great pedagogical aspect’ (N).

In terms of their discretionary behaviour, it would seem that this group feels the least pressure to adhere to the applicable policies, compared to the other ‘types’ of teachers. More about the discretionary behaviour at the end of this chapter.

##### **Goal**

###### *Critical citizen*

According to the grid-group theory (Douglas, 1970 in Jeliazkova 2015), egalitarian teachers are more likely to be critical than good citizens. The tender teachers are, just like the egalitarian type, critical citizens.

According to Appendix 5, the second most important statement for the tender teachers is statement 37. For the tender teachers, their students must dare to speak up when justice, equality, solidarity, and emancipation are at stake (37, +4). They believe that they must teach young people to be critical and not believe everything they see and hear in the media (6, +1).

‘Because the media illuminates everything from a certain angle. Another channel will view the same problem from a different angle. There are always many more points of view that are present but are not mentioned in the media.’(A).

The tender teacher does not believe that staying silent because one’s actual influence might be doubtful, makes one happier (24) (-2). ‘You can just go and build your own political party’(A).

##### **Approach**

###### *Indoctrination*

According to Jeliazkova (2015), the egalitarian way of thinking justifies value explicit education in a sense by the need to instil the ideas and values that the community underlines. The statement that was formulated to ‘test’ this, was ranked rather high: The teacher should



discuss norms and values instead of stiffly adhering to neutrality (29, +2).

With regard to statements 30 and 40, that is to some extent of the same content (only negatively formulated), the tender teachers did not agree at all. The teacher should not disclose his or her political views to the students. Quite the opposite, only broadly accepted social and political values should be discussed (30, -3).

So, according to the tender teachers, value explicit education by disclosing one's political view is justified. 'Why not? When I turned 18 years old, I voted the same as my mother did. I once asked my pupils which political party they would vote for. Their answers were the same as mine at that age: what my parents vote.'(A).

Tender teachers only justify indoctrination about the ideas and values that live within the community, not because the government 'says so'. They are too critical for that to accept. According to Appendix 5, the third most important statement for the tender teachers is statement 34. We should not declare any ideology as the correct one; instead, we should allow students to learn about different ideas about political and social order (34, +4). 'I agree because there is not 'one single' truth'(N).

However, their value explicitness has limitations. The tender teachers absolutely do not feel that they should indoctrinate or promote a certain ideology. To best communicate to students how the political system and society works, it is necessary to promote a particular ideology (40, -4).

Students must learn how to analyse social problems, but this should not hinder the maintenance and reproduction of social systems and relationships (23, +2). By the other two groups that were found ranked statement 23 on 0 and -3, therefore the tender teachers seem to have the least problems with value explicit education.

### **Concern:**

#### *Social obligations*

The tender teachers emphasize social obligations. The tender teachers sometimes feel that children might not, to some extent, be capable of caring and acting in the public interest or society. 'I think that children look at themselves more anyway, that they are more focused on themselves (private interests) and that they do not yet have a complete understanding of what it feels like to be part of a group and a larger whole.'(A) So, the tender teacher helps them to develop a sense of social obligations.

Students should learn to take the public interest into account, rather than just following their private interests (17), which was ranked on +3 by the tender teachers. The relaxed teachers also ranked statement 17 on +3 for that matter, which will be discussed in the next chapter. The human is a social being and we are dependent on each other to some degree. Students should learn that care for every member of a community is important (41, +3). Statement 41 distinguishes the tender teachers from the other groups since this statement was ranked the highest by the tender teachers.

The tender teachers' concern about the well-being of their pupils. They believe that pupils are very influential at this age, especially because of peer pressure. Young people should get to know themselves and choose what is best for them, despite what others say or believe. 'Pupils of this age are more concerned with the world outside and not with the world inside them, it should be the other way around.' (A).

‘We are not sufficiently exposed to other populations and subcultures. However, within secondary school, pupils still are exposed to other populations and subcultures. As one ages, his world becomes smaller. I, therefore, think that these students are actually still tolerant. The downside to this is that we don’t hear opinions that differ from the crowd.’ (A).

## **Role**

### *Coach*

The tender teachers feel very strongly that their role as a mentor is more important than their specialty about their subjects (18, +4), whereas this exact statement is, according to Appendix 5, the most important statement for the tender teachers. Therefore, a coaching role fits better than a supervisory one.

‘I am also still learning that myself’ (A) indicates that the tender teacher is not afraid to be vulnerable. They have the quality to attend to their pupils, and really see and know them. If necessary, they will help and give extra attention to the vulnerable ones. They encourage their students to get the best out of themselves, what they love, and chase their dreams. ‘As a teacher, you are also a pedagogue, even more than a subject specialist.’

Pupils must be well adapted and thus participate in society as expected from citizens. This is part of the social sciences and social sciences courses (21). ‘Horrible, of course not. If that is the assignment, then I have to renounce’ (N).

## **Focus**

### *Attitude:*

These are the rules, these are the laws. I think that the knowledge transfer of our laws and rules is an important part of social sciences and social sciences (4, -3). The focus of the tender teachers on attitude, even at the expense of knowledge. This can be explained by the critical position concerning the status quo, which also includes the exam program, school and the curriculum. They are not in favour of ‘just’ following an exam program or curriculum, they’d rather focus on pedagogical aspects.

‘I think you are pedagogical in every subject, and I think that certainly applies to social studies. Concerning discussing norms and values, talking to each other: how do you do that? Have respect for each other. How do you have an open mind? How can you view things from different angles? Those rules and laws will come at a later age. If you have to apply for unemployment benefits, you will naturally look for ways to do this.’ (A)

First of all, the teacher must emphasize knowledge of government systems: separation of powers, the functions and rights of the institutions, the different types and purposes of democratic systems (11, -4), was placed the lowest by the tender teachers.

‘No, I wouldn’t start with this. I think that teachers are primarily concerned with the climate in the classroom. Getting to know each other, getting used to each other. I would rather start with something social like a plural society than with democracy.’ (N)

So, tender teachers make room for pedagogical aspects instead of focussing on knowledge that the exam programs subscribe. Social studies and social sciences should not be associated too much with politics, because individual acts of charity and generosity are also important (20, +1), was ranked relatively high in comparison with the other factors (-3 and -1).

As described, of all three factors, the tender teachers emphasize on social obligations and are concerned with the climate in the classroom, which must be safe enough for pupils to feel free to speak up and debate. This takes time, since creating a safe environment in the classroom is not done within one class. The tender teacher is dedicated (if necessary) to every individual pupil and patient. Tender teachers do not feel the pressure of top-down legislation, since they do not feel that knowledge transfer is of very much importance. The tender teachers actually made me think about a book I recently read, written by Rutger Bregman: ‘Most people are good’ (2019). Bregman sheds new light on our future by claiming that people are actually inherently good.

### **Discretionary behaviour**

As mentioned in the previous chapter, the statements 4, 11, 13, 14 and 20 were used to determine the discretionary behaviour of the types of teachers. Below, all five statements and the rankings and reactions of the tender teachers will be set out.

Statement	Active teacher	Tender teacher	Relaxed teacher
4	-1	-3	2
11	-2	-4	1
13	3	0	1
14	2	-2	1
20	-3	1	-1

As mentioned in the previous chapter, the statements 4 and 11 are about the importance of transferring knowledge about our laws and rules (4), government systems, functions and rights of the institutions (11). In the previous chapter we established that statement 4 resembles Domain B and statement 11 resembles Domain C of social studies (Examenblad, 2019). The tender teachers ranked both statements 4 and 11 the lowest (-3 and -4) of all three types of teachers.

Statement 13 is about teaching pupils to use methods, theories, and models. Using methods, theories, and models resembles social sciences more than it resembles social studies, whereas “The candidate can analyze what causes social and political conflicts (...), distinguish models (...)” (see Subdomain C3 in Examenblad, 2019) and “compare theories” (see Subdomain C2 in Examenblad, 2019) are part of the exam program of social sciences. Statement 13 was ranked at 0 by the tender teachers, which is the lowest of all three types of teachers.

Statement 14 emphasizes the importance of discussion and debate skills and resembles subdomain A3 of social sciences and subdomain A1 of social studies. Again, the tender teachers ranked this statement lowest (-2) in comparison to the other types of teachers.

Statement 20 emphasizes, other than the four statements mentioned above, on the importance of charity and generosity within the content of the subjects, at the expense of politics. With regard to this statement, the tender teachers actually ranked the highest (+1) of all types of teachers. Looking into the exam programs of social sciences and social studies, it is hard to imagine the subjects without any content of ‘politics’.

Concerning the discretionary behaviour of the tender teachers, their rankings could indicate that they do not pay that much attention to the applicable policy documents. Which is also stressed by the reactions of the tender teachers:

'I think that a lot of news and good things can come out of it if citizens are not adapted, think differently, and think innovatively and think for themselves. Not adapt and conform and do what the masses want, then you get a robot society. This is actually something I come across. The welfare state theme states that you must get a diploma and look for a job and start a family. The theme of democracy states that you must vote. As if that is the only course you can take in your life. Throughout the program, you will read what you have to do to be a good citizen. I then think: no! Have a nice in-between year, or two or three. Go travel. If you don't want to get married and want children, then you don't. We should put more emphasis on that.' (N).

This might, in fact, tell us something about the discretionary behaviour of the tender teachers. They seem to be willing to deviate from the exam program, since learning pupils to follow their dreams in the sense of taking an in-between year, and not acting as 'the system' expects from them, is not in any applicable policy documents. More about the discretionary behaviour of the tender teachers will be explained below.

Based on the rankings of the statements 4, 11, 13, 14 and 20 and the comments of the tender teachers, it would seem that they do not agree (or maybe even adhere) to the regulations that are given in the exam programs of social studies. Also, since none of the tender teachers are social sciences teachers, they seem to be the kind of teachers that would not appreciate 78 pages of regulations about how they should transfer knowledge, skills, and competences to their pupils. Tender teachers utilize their discretionary powers and (are willing to) deviate from the exam program.

#### 4.6 The relaxed teacher (factor 3)

The factor 3 teachers are relaxed, social, are not afraid to speak up, and are not agitated quickly. They feel that it is very important that the student, preferably because of their intrinsic motivation, takes the lead. This is a quality that not every teacher has: daring to release the restraints (because chaos could lurk around the corner). That is why I called them the relaxed teachers.

But what if their students do not have any intrinsic motivation? Well, the relaxed teacher will not move mountains to trigger this within their pupils. This does not mean that they will not make any effort, because they will try, but if the intrinsic motivation of the pupil does not react to it, the relaxed teacher will 'accept'. 'I once pulled on a dead horse in my life, I'm never doing that again.'(D). Which actually might sound a bit fatalistic, since fatalist teachers have little expectations of their students. However, pupils who do have this intrinsic motivation (who are critical, interested in the subjects and show that they are motivated) can get very far with a relaxed teacher as their tutor.

The relaxed teacher, in some ways, looks a lot like the individualistic teacher that Jeliazkova (2015) described. However, there are some differences since their statements actually seem a little fatalistic, both about what they expect from their pupils and about what their influence actually is, which might explain their 'acceptance rate' when pupils do not show their motivations.

'Pupils get certain things from home. Sometimes you also hear the parents in the answers of the pupils. So, whether we really improve the world with our profession? I used to have the

idea that education provided an important contribution to this. However, the longer I teach, the less influence I think I have. I think social media and friends have a much stronger influence. Sometimes, a teacher will have an impact on certain points, but I will not easily win.’(D)

The idea the relaxed teachers might, to some extent resemble the fatalistic thought style disappeared quickly after the responses to statement 24 (-2): Citizens have little to no real influence on politics. The sooner someone accepts this, the happier one becomes. (-2) ‘Absolutely not agree!’(J)

In terms of the discretionary behaviour of the relaxed teachers, it seems that they adhere to the applicable policy documents most of all ‘types’ of teachers. Not surprisingly, since three out of five relaxed teachers teach both social studies and social sciences, they also adhere to the (larger) amount of policy documents for social sciences.

## **Goal**

### *Critical*

Relaxed teachers are definitely in favour of a critical way of thinking. We must teach young people to be critical and not to believe everything they see and hear in the media (6, +4). ‘I am a critical person myself, so I would very much like to pass that on to students.’(E).

Next to the goals that pupils should be critical, being independent and make their own decisions, is also very important. As Jeliazkova (2015) described, the personal development and emancipation of the student by the student is a central goal for the ‘individualistic teachers’. According to Appendix 5, the relaxed teachers feel that learning pupils to be independent and making their own decisions is most important (2, +4). ‘I really feel that that is the essence of social studies’(E). Therefore, their teaching practices entail transferring independence to their pupils. Since the relaxed teacher has the quality to release restrictions, their pupils will automatically learn some independence and making their own decisions (2). ‘I want these young people to be able to fully participate in society.’(J).

## **Approach**

### *Neutrality*

The relaxed teachers warrant neutrality, as do the individualist described by Jeliazkova (2015). The relaxed teacher will not impose or communicate their values or ideologies. ‘We should not do that, that looks like indoctrination.’(E). After all, they stand for a high degree of self-regulation. They believe that students will have to find their own values and ideologies. The teacher should discuss norms and values rather than strictly adhering to neutrality (29, 0). The relaxed teacher feels that no ideology should be declared as the correct one; instead, we should allow students to learn about different ideas concerning political and social order (34, +3 and 40, -4).

However, there is one exception to this freedom of speech: ‘Expressing extreme opinions like sexist or fascists expressions’ (D and E). Therefore, extreme opinions will be corrected by the relaxed teachers. ‘I had a colleague who was discharged for his right-extreme ideas’(D).

## **Concern**

### *Individual rights*

The individualist (Jeliazkova, 2015), will put individual rights above social obligations. To some extent, this applies to the relaxed teachers as well, however not in an extreme way. Relaxed teachers acknowledge that humans are social beings and that we depend on one

another. Charity and generosity within the subjects of social sciences and social studies are not seen as equally important to politics. Both subjects should be (and stay) associated with politics instead of making a place for individual acts of charity and generosity (20, -1). In fact, our society might, in the eyes of the relaxed teacher, be too individualistic: 'We live in an increasingly individualized society. Nowadays we all go for our own happiness and the rest is not all that interesting.'(D)

The relaxed teacher being an advocate of individual rights (but in a nuanced way) also appears from the ranking of statement 35 (+1): The main task of subjects such as social studies and social sciences is to inform students about their civil and political rights and freedoms. The relaxed teacher somewhat agreed but was not ranked fairly high. This, however, could also be explained by the way that the statement was formulated. Most teachers stumbled over the words 'the main task', which implies that it is the most important one of their subject. The relaxed teachers find it important to inform their pupils about their rights and freedoms, but not the most important one. 'The subjects entail more than that'(J).

Young people may memorize the law, but this does not mean that they will necessarily follow it. (16, -1). Jeliaskova (2015) formulated statement 16 to say something about how individualists feel about individual rights or social obligations: However, I noticed that this statement was not always interpreted in the same way. One relaxed teacher emphasized 'memorizing the law': 'I don't think that they will memorize the law', without actually reading the second part of the statement. Another teacher emphasized on the second part of the statement said: 'Yes, could be. But do I need to have an opinion about this..? It is more a fact that could be substantiated (or not) by crime data that I do not have at this point.'(J).

As mentioned, according to the relaxed teachers, it is not all (and only) about individual rights. The relaxed teachers feel that the common good is also important to some extent (17, +3). 'We should look at the present, for example with corona. To some extent the common good has to be taken into account.'(D).

## **Role**

### *Coach*

The role that the relaxed teacher fulfils is a coaching one, not a supervising one. 'Pupils must be well adjusted? That sounds dictatorial' (E, 21, -2). They are aware of the fact that the generation that they are teaching, is the next to keep up our society. So, the relaxed teachers do not steer, they will only give directions. Directions towards allowing young people to participate in society. 'I think that young people are too often excluded from decisions that have to be made, while this is the generation that should ultimately keep our society functioning.'(E).

The relaxed teacher does not feel the need to encourage pupils either to participate in life. The teacher must make clear to his students that they must participate in public life if they are to make progress in society (7, -1). 'I think they will figure this out by themselves'(J).

The teacher must be a model of fair and decent behaviour, which is the core of social studies and social sciences (5, +1). 'Not necessarily. I think you have a certain role as a teacher, but honest and decent behaviour is subjective. As a teacher, one doesn't go to school with the thought 'I'm going to behave indecently today.'(E). Statement 5 was designed for the hierarchical type since they are to some extent expected to copy to the behaviour of teachers.

The fact that the relaxed teachers did not rank this statement highly, means that they feel they are more a coach than a supervisor or example to be copied.

I think it is important that my students, via their own input, begin to understand the world of politics and discover structures and regularities (12, +2) ‘Yes, I think one will understand things much better through their own input. I think politics is really something you have to discover for yourself, it is a very dynamic world.’(E)

Whereas the tender teachers and the active teachers feel that (to some extent), must be careful when discussing controversial topics, the relaxed teachers are not careful at all. Controversial topics, according to the relaxed teachers, should absolutely be discussed. Students who may feel addressed should not be protected by not discussing certain topics (19, -4). ‘The world does not protect them either. They should rather have controversial conversations in a relatively safe classroom and develop the skills to engage in these conversations.’(E).

**Focus:**

*Knowledge*

Whereas the active teachers and the tender teachers emphasize attitude, the relaxed teacher feels that knowledge is more important. We must pay more attention to knowledge: knowledge is power (9, +3). ‘I totally agree. I think that if one speaks from knowledge, one will leave less space to speak from gut feelings. One will then make better thought-out decisions.’(E). This was also underlined by statements 11 and 4. These are the rules, these are the laws. I think that knowledge transfer of our laws and rules is an important part of social studies and social sciences (4, +2).

The teacher must, first of all, emphasize knowledge of government systems: the division of powers, the functions, and rights of the institutions, the different types, and purposes of democratic systems (11, +1). Which was ranked at -4 by the tender teachers and -2 by the active teachers. ‘I think this is very important, however, not ‘first of all’. (J).

**Discretionary behaviour**

Statement	Active teacher	Tender teacher	Relaxed teacher
4	-1	-3	2
11	-2	-4	1
13	3	0	1
14	2	-2	1
20	-3	1	-1

As mentioned in the previous chapters, both statements 4 (+2) and 11 (+1) are about transferring knowledge and resemble Domain B and Domain C of the exam program of social studies (Examenblad, 2020). Both statements were ranked highest by the relaxed teachers, in comparison to the other types of teachers.

With regard to differences between the amount of policy documents between social studies and social sciences. Statement 13 (using methods, theories, and models), resembles the exam program of social sciences (Examenblad, 2019). The relaxed teachers placed statement 13 at +1. Therefore, it would seem that they are willing to adhere to the exam program, even if the

amount of policy documents is greater. This makes sense, since three out of five relaxed teachers teach a combination of both social studies and social sciences.

Statement 14 emphasizes the importance of discussion and debate skills and resembles subdomain A3 of social sciences and subdomain A1 of social studies (Examenblad, 2019). The relaxed teachers ranked this statement on +1.

Statement 20 emphasizes the importance of charity and generosity within the content of the subjects, at the expense of politics. Statement 20 (-1) resembles Domain C and to some extent Subdomain D3 and E3 of social studies (Examenblad, 2019). Whereas the subject of social studies is hard to imagine without any content of 'politics'. Since the relaxed teachers feel that both subjects should be (and stay) associated with politics, it would seem that they prefer to adhere to the applicable policy documents. Concerning the discretionary behaviour of the relaxed teachers, it would seem that they, to some extent adhere to the applicable exam program. It is noteworthy that, in comparison to the other types of teachers, the relaxed teachers seem to adhere most, based on their rankings and reactions to the statements 4, 11, 13, 14 and 20.

#### 4.7 Types of teachers and their discretionary behaviour compared

Now that we have distinguished types of teachers, this section will highlight the background characteristics in relation to the discretionary behaviour of the types of teachers. Noteworthy is that the content of this chapter is complementary to the results of Q methodology, since the method only takes the visions of the teachers in account and no background characteristics of the respondents.

In terms of distinguishing personal characteristics of teachers in social studies and social sciences (research question 1), three types of teachers are present. Appendix 4 provides an overview of the background characteristics and demographics of all types. Concerning the factor 1 teachers: the active teachers, they were described as having an active social life (varies from being a disc jockey in the weekend to coordinating projects to being a member of political parties and/or the participation council) and therefore preferring to maintain an orderly structure, mainly within the classroom. What stands out in Appendix 4 is that all six active teachers have, relative to the other factors, a great deal of teaching experience. An average of fifteen years, whereas factor 2 (tender teachers) has an average of eleven years, and factor 3 (relaxed teachers) has an average of twelve years of teaching experience. There are no relatively new teachers among the active teachers since the respondent with the least years of experience for factor 1 is eight years. For factor 2 the respondent with the least years of experience is one year and for factor 3 half a year. It would seem that the active teachers have mastered the art of teaching social studies and have therefore found a way to work in a structured way and to have time and energy left to attend to various other tasks.

The factor 2 teachers: the tender teachers, are advocates of social obligations and feel that every individual counts, which they also apply to their teaching practice, sometimes even at the expense of the exam program(s). Transferring knowledge is not the most important task, but creating a safe environment for their pupils is. They are dedicated to and patient with their pupils as they prefer pedagogical methods. Two out of three of the tender teachers are



relatively new to being a teacher, they have two or fewer years of teaching experience, whereas the third tender teacher has 30 years of teaching experience. What stands out in the study background of the tender teachers is that they all three have studied cultural and social-oriented studies, which could explain their sense of social obligations.

The factor 3 teachers: the relaxed teachers, are able to release the restraints within their teaching practice and stand for a high degree of self-regulation. Looking at Appendix 4, the majority (four out of five) of the relaxed teachers are academically educated. Also, the highest proportion of social sciences teachers are amongst this group: three out of five. As described in chapter 4.6, pupils that have intrinsic motivation, show that they are critical and interested, could get far with a relaxed teacher as their docent. This is why the majority of the relaxed teachers want to offer their pupils that are interested in sociology and politics an additional course: social sciences.

With regard to the discretionary behaviour of the groups of teachers, based on the rankings and the comments of the respondents on the statements 4, 11, 13, 14 and 20, it can be concluded that both the active teachers and the relaxed teachers adhere to the applicable policy documents of both social studies and social sciences, to some extent. Even if regulations are more extensively present (in social sciences), both the active teachers and the relaxed will still adhere to the applicable top-down policies. Noteworthy is that, out of the three types of teachers, the relaxed teachers adhere the most to the applicable policy documents, whereas they scored highest on the statements that measured discretionary behaviour.

Based on the rankings and the comments of the statements by the tender teachers, it seems that this group for a great deal does not agree (or maybe even adhere) to the regulations that are given in the exam program. Since none of the tender teachers are social sciences teachers, and therefore only teach in social studies, they in fact have the freedom to use their discretionary powers. They seem to be the kind of teachers that would not appreciate a great number of regulations about how they should give substance to their subject. Tender teachers utilize their discretionary powers and (are willing to) deviate from the exam program when they feel pedagogical aspects and (individual) needs of their pupils are in place.

The given information mentioned above concerns the first hypothesis: *If a subject is less regulated, the differences in teaching practice between teachers are greater.* The hypothesis aimed at the assumptions of Lipsky (2010), who stated that the power of executive officials should not be underestimated and that the teachers see their own interests as separate from their top-down managers. All respondents ranked statement 31, which is about defending the governments' policy and interests, at -4. In addition, the reactions to this statement were also very negative. 'Oh no, I do not agree at all'(A) 'I really don't agree with this'(C). 'No, I'm not here to defend policies.'(D) 'Yeah, bye!'(B). Therefore, it seems that teachers do indeed not feel that they need to defend top-down policies and interests within their teaching practice. However, do the results and the analysis of the conducted study tell us something about the differences in teaching practices between a greatly regulated and a less regulated subject? Let us take a look.

We had already established that the subject of social studies offers teachers a much greater deal of discretionary space than the subject of social sciences. All fourteen respondents are social studies (less regulated) teachers, only four of them are also social sciences teachers (more regulated). In terms of the hypothesis, I expected that the teaching practices of social sciences are more likely to be alike than the teaching practices of social studies because

teachers in social sciences have more top-down regulations to adhere to within their teaching practices. However, except for the assumption that the approaches with regard to their use of discretionary space of the active teachers and the relaxed teachers (among which are social sciences teachers present), seem to be more alike, the results and analysis of Q methodology, are not enough to verify or falsify the hypothesis.

So, to further establish differences in teaching practices between the types of teachers and to what extent discretionary powers affect their teaching practices (research question 3), a graphical representation (Figure 3) of the types within the model of the grid-group theory proves to be useful. Figure 3 is merely an indication, based on the qualitative and quantitative data that was collected. Below, a description of the content of figure 3 is given.

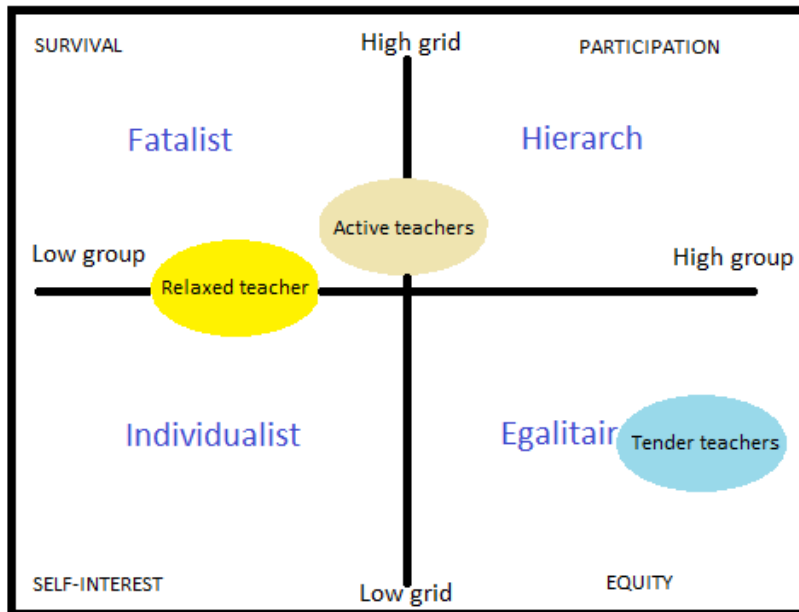


Figure 3 three factors linked to the grid group theory (Jeliazkova, 2015)

By returning to the grid-group theory, the factors, as indicated above, fall into place. The relaxed teacher is placed on the low group side, because of their high degree of individualism. Although not completely on the left end of this dimension, because they still think that social obligations are not entirely unimportant. They also showed that they can be a little bit fatalistic, but only if their students do not show intrinsic motivation. Therefore, they are somewhat on the 'survival' side.

The active teachers are also on the low group side because they also show a high degree of individualism. However, their sense of social obligation is somewhat greater than that of the relaxed teachers. This group showed to be somewhat hierarchical, so they are placed somewhat more towards the high grid and hierarchical side.

Finally, the tender teachers stand out. This group is not individualistic, as this is the group that focused mostly on social obligations (high group). They also have the least tolerance for top-down regulations, since they greatly disagreed with the statements that resemble regulations from the exam program of social studies. Coming back to the first hypothesis, it can be said that, based on this graphic representation of figure 3, the relaxed teachers and the active teachers (both of whom also have social sciences teachers among them, i.e. more regulations) are more similar to each other. The group that is 'out of tune' is the group with only social sciences teachers. Therefore, the first hypothesis can be confirmed: differences in teaching

practices between teachers of social sciences are indeed smaller than the differences in teaching practices between teachers of social studies. In addition, the fact that the tender teachers ranked the statements (4, 11, 13, 14 and 20) that resemble regulations of the subject of social studies very low, confirms that they indeed comply less with these regulations than the other teachers do. However, none of the respondents only teaches social sciences, only the combination of the two subjects. I, therefore, cannot distinguish in what role the combi-teachers have ranked the propositions: that of social sciences or social studies teacher? As one of the respondents said: 'If I only had to fill this in for social sciences, I would have placed this statement higher.'

In terms of the second hypothesis: *Social study teachers are more likely than social sciences teachers to exhibit an individualistic or egalitarian way of thinking*, I expected that social study teachers are more likely to be individualistic or egalitarian. Individualistic because of their low tolerance for regulations and their critical minds. Egalitarian because of their low tolerance for regulations, their critical minds and their sense for social obligations. As already established, based on the results of this study, the tender teachers, who most resemble the egalitarian type (Jeliazkova, 2015), emphasize at social obligations, even at the expense on adhering to the applicable regulations. After all, none of the tender teachers are social sciences teachers. With regard to both the relaxed and the active teachers, who both to some extent resemble the individualistic type, four out of eleven teachers teach a combination of both subjects. So, individualistic teachers are not necessarily only social study teachers. Therefore, the second hypothesis is falsified.

## 5. Conclusion and discussion

This research aimed to set out different views of social studies and social sciences teachers and to explain how these teachers give substance to varying degrees of discretionary space. To do so, a mixed-method (Q methodology) was used, whereas social studies and social sciences teachers were asked to rank a set of statements that were related to (the content of) their subjects and were interviewed during this process. Furthermore, based on the quantitative and qualitative data that were collected, different types of teachers could be distinguished.

I expected to find four groups of factors, based on the theory of Douglas (1970), who stated that four kinds of worldviews are present within every society, and the study of Jeliaskova (2015), who also found four groups of factors among Dutch social sciences and/or social study teachers. However, among social studies and social sciences teachers in East of the Netherlands (in my network as a social studies teacher), I found three clear groups of teachers: six active teachers, three tender teachers and five relaxed teachers.

Among these three types of teachers four similarities stood out. First, the teachers have in common that they unanimously strongly disagreed (-4) with the statement that it is their duty to defend government policies and interests because they are employees of a government-funded educational institution (31).

Secondly, they also all strongly disagreed with the statement that the subjects of social sciences and social studies belong more to private schools since politics are too abstract and incomprehensible for some pupils. Thirdly, promoting an ideology to impose one's own beliefs is, according to the teachers, 'not done'. Therefore I feel that the term 'indoctrination' is not the right term to be used. Rather, 'value explicitly education' is more in place.

Finally, with regard to the use of the term 'neutrality', which related to how teachers deal with their own political convictions (teaching value-neutral or value explicitly), one cannot speak of teaching 'value-neutral'. Rather the term 'multiple values' is in place, since different sides of the stories are highlighted by the teachers (only no opposed one's preferences are avoided).

The type of teacher that I did not find, and therefore I would like to address the issue here, is the fatalist thought style. It may be less surprising that fatalist social studies and social science teachers were not found than would appear at first sight, because both subjects aim at discussing the controversial topics that live in society. The fatalist' strategy, however, according to Jeliaskova (2015), is to avoid. Jeliaskova acknowledges that this thought style does not emerge frequently, however she states that they do still regularly emerge. Maybe, when the research sample is bigger, a few fatalists will emerge, but within this research, there were no fatalists to be found. However, some statements that are typically fatalist, for example, statement 15: 'Social studies and social sciences should focus on developing skills and attitudes that students need to survive in today's complex world.' were ranked by the active teachers on an ideal 4. Of course, the statement could be interpreted in different ways. A fatalist will emphasize on the words 'survive in a complex world.', others will emphasize on 'developing skills and attitudes'. I believe, according to the qualitative data interpretation (interviews), that most respondents emphasized the latter.

In addition, the typical fatalist statement 31: 'My job as a teacher is to defend government policies and interests because I am an employee of a government-funded educational institution.' which lets very little room for interpretations other than defending governments policies, was ranked at an ideal -4 by all three groups of factors. So, I think that some of the respondents have some fatalistic characteristics within them, but I do not think when fatalistic

characteristics prevail, that one is inclined to become a social studies or social sciences teacher. And if they do exist among social studies or social sciences teachers, the sample of fourteen in this research did not find one.

Coming back to answering the research questions. With regard to the first research question: *Which personal characteristics of teachers in social studies and social sciences can be distinguished?*, the conclusion can be drawn that three types of teachers could be distinguished, based on their style of thoughts and personal characteristics. The first type of teacher, 'the active teacher', is dedicated to a variety of tasks. The active teachers enjoy life to the fullest and convey this to their pupils: there is more to life than just this course. In terms of the opposite aspects, the active teacher feels that being critical is a very important skill. The active teachers justify value explicit education, since communicating their political preferences is 'no deadly sin' and it is 'nonsense' not be allowed to do so. The active teachers are concerned with individual rights, rather than with social obligations. They do not feel that social obligations are unimportant, but they do strongly feel that learning pupils to become socially obligated is not their job. An orderly way of teaching can be seen in their role as a supervisor rather than being a coach. The active teacher is predictable in both their behaviour and in handing out handles for pupils to make their worlds better understandable and predictable, which can be experienced as pleasant for pupils' chaotic lives. Finally, the active teachers prefer attitude over knowledge, as they feel that knowledge is only temporary. Experiencing life is far more useful.

The second type of teachers 'the tender teacher', stands out most of all groups of teachers, since they emphasize social obligations whereas the other groups emphasize individual rights. In terms of the opposite aspects, the tender teachers teach their pupils to be critical, which mostly emphasizes on daring to speak up when justice, equality, solidarity, and emancipation are at stake (37). In addition, they are somewhat critical towards the media (6), but not as critical as the other groups of teachers. As for value explicit or value-neutral education, the tender teacher only justifies value explicit education about the ideas and values that live within society. Therefore, of all three groups of teachers, the tender teachers justify the value explicit education most. Social obligations are important for tender teachers, they believe that we all depend on each other to some degree (41) and that each individual counts. Since every individual counts, the tender teacher takes time (if necessary) to help out students who need extra attention. A coaching role of a mentor and pedagogue is fitting to this type of teacher. They really see goodness in people and they want to convey this to the next generation. Tender teachers feel less for transferring large sums of knowledge since their coaching role takes over. Tender teachers like to take the time for talking with and respecting each other, more than they feel the need to teach their pupils about our laws and rules, government systems, separation of powers, the functions and rights of institutions and teach them methods and theories.

The third and last type is 'the relaxed teacher', who has the quality to release the restraints within their teaching practice. By doing so, pupils learn to develop independence. The relaxed teachers are critical and would like to pass this on to their pupils. They also aim at value-neutral education, since they stand for a high degree of self-regulation: pupils should find their own values and ideologies. They feel that the subjects should not be about charity, generosity: we live in an individualized society now anyway. As already established, the relaxed teachers dare to release restraints, so logically they fulfil more a coaching role than a supervising one: 'I think they will find this out by themselves' resembles the role they fulfil.

Of all three types of teachers, only the relaxed teachers emphasize more on knowledge than on attitude. They feel that ‘knowledge leaves less space to speak from gut feelings and better thought-out decisions can be made’.

In terms of the second research question: *How and to what extent do teachers in social studies and social sciences implement the applicable regulations in their teaching practice?*, relates to the extent to which teachers in social studies and social sciences implement the applicable regulations in their teaching practices depends on their personal views and characteristics.

As determined, both social studies and social sciences contribute to citizenship education and refer to social and political science. However, the amount of regulations from government level differs considerably. The exam program for social studies counts three pages of regulations. The exam program for social sciences counts four pages, plus the additional document ‘The Syllabus’ (Examenblad, 2019), that counts 78 pages. Therefore, teachers of social studies have more discretionary space. This leaves them the freedom to be able to determine for themselves how they perform their teaching tasks.

The three types that were distinguished all have their way of emphasizing what they feel is most important. Based on the rankings and the comments of the respondents on the statements 4, 11, 13, 14 and 20, it can be concluded that both the active teachers and the relaxed teachers adhere to the applicable policy documents of both social studies and social sciences. Even if regulations are more extensively present (in social sciences), both the active teachers and the relaxed will still adhere to the applicable top-down policies.

For the tender teachers, however, it seems that this group to a lesser extent agrees or maybe even adheres to the regulations that are given in the exam program, based on the rankings of the statements and the comments of this group of teachers. This might explain why none of the tender teachers is a social sciences teacher, adhering to a great number of policies, at the expense of pedagogical aspects, is not their preferred way of giving substance to their teaching practices. Tender teachers utilize their discretionary powers and (are willing to) deviate from the exam program when they feel pedagogical aspects and (individual) needs of their pupils are in place.

Therefore, it can be concluded that in a situation with a certain degree of discretionary space, some types of teachers make more use of it than others. Tender teachers take up more space than the other two types and therefore, the personal views and characteristics of teachers are more present and visible within their teaching practices (research question 3: *To what extent do these personal characteristics of teachers in social studies and social sciences affect their use of discretionary power within their teaching practice?*). In addition, this means that the active teachers and relaxed teachers, among whom are also social sciences teachers, feel that they are more bound to the regulations that apply to their subjects which leaves less room for emphasizing what they feel is most important within their teaching practices.

This brings us to the confirmation of the first hypothesis: *If a subject is less regulated, the differences in teaching practices between teachers are greater*. The graphical representation of Figure 3, which shows that the teaching practices of the tender teachers ‘stand out’. They are less concerned with adhering to applicable regulations and are more society-oriented than the relaxed teachers and the active teachers. The relaxed teachers and the active teachers (both of whom also have teachers among them, i.e. more regulations) seem to be more similar to

each other. Also, as mentioned, based on the rankings and the comments of the respondents on the statements 4, 11, 13, 14 and 20, it can be concluded that both the active teachers and the relaxed teachers adhere to the applicable policy documents of both social studies and social sciences.

So, based on Figure 3, the teaching practices between teachers of social sciences seem to indeed emphasize more or less the same on regulations and self-interest.

Finally, in terms of the second hypothesis, I expected that social study teachers are more likely to be individualistic or egalitarian, because of their low tolerance for regulations. As already established, the tender teachers, who most resemble the egalitarian type (Jeliazkova, 2015), have the lowest concern for regulations. After all, none of the tender teachers are social sciences teachers. In terms of the relaxed teachers, who most resemble the individualistic type, three out of five teachers teach also social sciences. So, individualistic teachers are not necessarily only social study teachers. Therefore, the second hypothesis is partly falsified.

## 5.1 Scientific relevance

According to Douglas (1970, in Jeliazkova, 2015), four main types of social organizations are present in every (western) society. Jeliazkova (2015) called these social organizations 'thought styles'. The four thought styles are: fatalistic, hierarchical, individualistic, and egalitarian.

Based on the grid-group (cultural) theory (Douglas, 1970 in Jeliazkova, 2015), I expected that four thought styles would be present among the respondents. However, three of these thought styles were distinguished in this current study. As mentioned before, the fatalistic thought style was not found under the fourteen respondents of this study (however, some fatalistic characteristics were found among the respondents). The individualist thought style was most resembled by the active and the relaxed teacher, the egalitarian thought style was most resembled by the tender teachers. Finally, the hierarchical thought style was partly resembled by the active teachers since they also resembled the individualist type. The results of this study partly confirm the grid-group (cultural) theory that there are indeed (at least) three thought styles present within society.

In addition, looking at the results of Jeliazkova (2015), and the types of teachers that she found among Dutch citizenship education in the Netherlands, the results of this study also confirms some of the results from the study of Jeliazkova. Among the Dutch citizenship education teachers, she found four factors: *the Action Learning Idealist*, *the Critical Academic*, *the Loyal Citizens' Teachers*, and *the Pluralist Democratic Educators*. The four groups of teachers will be set out below and compared to the findings of the current study.

*The Action Learning Idealist* feels the importance of contributing to society and societal obligations. They feel less for transferring knowledge and facts (other than in the formal sense of them being tested via exams), they feel that the pedagogical aspect of their profession is more important than transferring knowledge (Jeliazkova, 2015). The tender teachers that I found in the current study, also emphasize the importance of contributing to society and the transfer of knowledge is not their most important task, since they'd (also) rather attend to

pedagogical aspects. Therefore, the tender teachers resemble *the Action Learning Idealist* a lot.

*The Critical Academics*, have many years of experience and are involved in the making of policies and curricula. They emphasize knowledge, methods, theories, and models. Worth mentioning is that *The Critical Academics* are involved in policymaking (Jeliazkova, 2015). The active teachers, in that sense, resembles some extent with this group since they also are involved in a variety of tasks (members of political parties, the participation council, and writing their own teaching method) and are indeed the most experienced teachers of all groups that were found in this study. Also, the active teachers are in favour of methods, theories, and models. A difference between *The Critical Academics* and the active teachers is that the active teachers do not emphasize knowledge.

In the sense of emphasizing knowledge, the relaxed teachers might, to some extent, resemble *The Critical Academics*.

*The Loyal Citizens'* pay even more attention to the common good and mutual respect than the *Action Learning Idealist* (Jeliazkova, 2015). Therefore, the tender teachers might also, to some extent, resemble *The Loyal Citizens'*. However, *The Loyal Citizens* also emphasize knowledge, whereas the tender teacher would not agree.

Finally, *The Pluralist Democratic Educators* who aim at broadening the horizon of their pupils and see themselves as examples of moral behaviour. They pay attention to the common good, but less so than for the *Loyal Citizens'* Teachers. *The Pluralist Democratic Educators* define their role clearly as pedagogical, as opposed to being a subject specialist (Jeliazkova, 2015). They feel that their pupils should see the world 'larger than home, beyond the comfortable cocoon of mum, dad, brothers, and sisters.' (Jeliazkova, 2015, p. 133). Again, the tender teacher would seem to resemble this group of teachers the most, based on their mutual emphasis on the common good and pedagogical aspects.

What stands out in differences in the results of the study of Jeliazkova (2015) and the current study is that the majority of the groups of the current study are individualistic oriented (two of the three factors/groups). Whereas, all the groups distinguished by Jeliazkova (2015) emphasize on social obligations. This might be explained by differences in society between now and five years ago.

Coming back to the scientific relevance of this study. Despite the resemblances between the groups of both studies not being exactly the same, common patterns amongst both groups were found. Besides, Jeliazkova (2015) also did not find any fatalist thought styles, which could mean that these patterns are constant over time. Therefore, the results of this study, partly confirm the results of Jeliazkova (2015).

In addition, this current study is to a great extent similar to the study of Jeliazkova (2015), whereas both aimed at distinguishing different types of teachers. The study of Jeliazkova (2015), compared these views and types between three countries, the current study added some elements: how these types of teachers deal with varying degrees of discretionary space.

Finally, the assumptions of Lipsky (2010), who stated that the power of executive officials should not be underestimated and that the teachers see their own interests as separate from their top-down managers, were also reflected in the results of this study. The outcome of this research will therefore hopefully contribute to a better understanding of social sciences and



social studies teachers. The great disagreement on statement 31 (-4) by all types and the negative reactions (for example: ‘I am not here to defend policy’(D), ‘*Yeah, bye!*’(B) and ‘Oh no, I do not agree at all’(A)) indicates that teachers indeed do not feel that they need to defend top-down policies and interests within their teaching practices. The reactions to this statement by the Dutch respondents in the study of Jeliazkova (2015), are comparable and therefore underlines that teachers do not feel the need to defend policies: ‘Halleluiaah, no, absolutely not! I do not even have to discuss this!’ (p. 122). Jeliazkova (2015) then explains that the teachers feel that it is their right to be ‘scandalously provocative if they please’ (p. 122).

## 5.2 Social relevance

The outcome of this study could possibly suggest ways to improve practice. The perspectives of social sciences and social studies teachers on the policies of social sciences and social studies can inform, improve, and influence the policy processes. The studies on street-level bureaucrats showed that the role of the individual bureaucrat should not be marginalized but instead plays a critical role in how discretionary power is used (Lipsky, 2010). Teachers pass on their personal views about politics and society to their pupils, some more than others. Therefore, their role is great. Why not involve them more in the policy process?

We might want to declare the purposes of the government and school boards when it comes to regulations about the subjects and how teachers should give substance to the subjects. Do we want more tender teachers, who take the time for their students and are committed to their students? And possibly pass more community-oriented and less individual ways of thinking? Or giving teachers the chance to do things differently with fewer rules. Then we have to give teachers fewer regulations, such as with social studies. Or do teachers have to implement what they are commanded from above and is (additional) training on (the regulations in) the exam programs desirable? So, more rules and tests, so that less attention is paid to the individual, but as a result, students become critical and independent. Or is a combination of both more ideal?

One might expect that we should move more towards a rational consensus, because of the consequences of individualistic society and polarization. This is one of the reasons why citizenship education was established in the first place (Andreoli, 2020). Why? There is already a maze of citizenship-related subjects next to social studies and social sciences: ‘People and Society’ (in Dutch ‘mens en maatschappij’), ‘Social Skills’ (in Dutch: ‘maatschappijkunde’), ‘Citizenship education’ (in Dutch: ‘burgerschapseducatie’). Whereas ‘People and Society’, ‘Social Skills’ are (depending on the niveau/level, sometimes taught instead of social studies and social sciences) mandatory subjects in secondary education. ‘Citizenship Education’ is mandatory on MBO (van den Broek, 2019; Andreoli, 2020). We can also achieve this through social studies, or maybe even with lesser subjects, for that matter. The outcome of this research can, therefore, bring policymakers and teachers closer together, since it could help both parties to better coordinate what each other's expectations are and involve the street-level bureaucrats (teachers) in the policy processes.

### 5.3 Limitations

For this research, teachers of social studies and social sciences ranked statements related to their subjects and were interviewed about their ‘train of thought’ (Jeliazkova, 2015), while doing so. Some statements (for example 4, 11, 13, 14 and 20), resembled parts of the exam program for the subjects. By analyzing the rankings and the comments of the respondents on these statements, I was able to conclude the views of the teachers relating to these particular parts of the exam programs. However, not all parts of the exam programs were converted to statements. Therefore, these conclusions only aim at the views of the teachers on these particular parts. To come to a more comprehensive answer to the question to what extent there are (large) differences between the teaching practices of social studies teachers (and how they deal with varying degrees of discretionary space), further research is needed. For example, by observing a series of lessons or ask more directly about teachers’ knowledge about the applicable policies and testing to what extent they apply these policies within their teaching practices.

Also, all social studies teachers gave notice that they make use of a teaching method (mostly *Thema’s*, Broeke, et al., 2019) within their teaching practices. Logically, teachers seem to be more consciously engaged with the teaching methods they use than with the applicable policy documents of their subject. And why should it be the other way around? Since the chances of being examined by the education inspectorate are little. This, however, does not mean that they do not adhere to the applicable policy documents, since the exam programs are converted into these teaching methods. However, in some teaching methods more explicitly than others. Coming back to the answer to the question to what extent there are differences between teaching practices and how teachers deal with varying degrees of discretionary space, some additional questions arise: do teachers use their discretionary powers consciously, out of ignorance, or maybe even out of criticism? Therefore, a possible way of answering these questions more comprehensively, an extensive analysis of the teaching methods is needed.

Among the respondents, some teachers gave notice that they also teach ‘Social Skills’ (maatschappijkunde), which is also a subject that emphasizes on politics and society. In the context of this research, that aimed at studying social sciences and social studies teachers, ‘Social Skills’ was not taken into account. As mentioned, there is already a maze of subjects related to civics. Follow-up research could contribute to the research results and double-check if the results would show the same patterns when also studying other civics related subjects. Finally, the sample of fourteen in this research did not find the fatalistic type of teacher. Some teachers did, however, rank typically fatalist statements rather high. Follow-up research with a bigger sample could verify if and to what extent there actually are fatalist teachers among social sciences and social studies teachers.

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# Appendix

## Appendix 1: Statements (in Dutch)

1. Leerlingen hebben een omgeving nodig waarin ze de problemen van de samenleving kunnen bespreken zonder dat iemand ze corrigeert.
2. We moeten jongeren leren onafhankelijk te zijn en hun eigen beslissingen te nemen.
3. Ik moedig mijn leerlingen aan om via de daarvoor bedoelde (traditionele) instellingen en kanalen (bijv. stemmen en verkiesbaar stellen) betrokken te raken bij de maatschappij en de mening van experts niet in twijfel te trekken.
4. Dit zijn de regels, dit zijn de wetten. Ik denk dat kennisoverdracht van onze wetten en regels een belangrijk deel van maatschappijleer en maatschappijwetenschappen is.
5. De docent moet een model zijn van eerlijk en fatsoenlijk gedrag, dit is de kern van maatschappijleer en maatschappijwetenschappen.
6. We moeten jongeren leren kritisch te zijn en niet alles te geloven wat ze in de media zien en horen.
7. De docent moet zijn leerlingen duidelijk maken dat ze moeten deelnemen aan het openbare leven als ze vooruitgang willen boeken in de samenleving.
8. Maatschappijleer en maatschappijwetenschappen moeten bijdragen aan een goede voorbereiding op de arbeidsmarkt.
9. We moeten meer aandacht besteden aan kennis: kennis is macht.
10. Het is niet voldoende om alleen discussies te voeren over hoe de wereld te verbeteren, het is belangrijk om jonge mensen de kans te geven deel te nemen aan het echte leven.
11. De docent moet allereerst de nadruk leggen op kennis van overheidssystemen: de scheiding van machten, de functies en rechten van de instellingen, de verschillende soorten en doeleinden van democratische systemen.
12. Ik vind het belangrijk dat mijn leerlingen door middel van hun eigen input de wereld van de politiek beginnen te begrijpen en structuren en regelmatigigheden beginnen te ontdekken.
13. Het doel is om van leerlingen denkende burgers te maken die verschillende methoden, theorieën en modellen kunnen gebruiken om de wereld om hen heen te verkennen, en die in staat zijn feiten te beoordelen en conclusies te trekken.
14. Het is belangrijk dat leerlingen leren hun standpunten te verdedigen in politieke discussies en maatschappelijke debatten; daarom help ik hen onderzoeks- en discussievaardigheden te ontwikkelen.
15. Maatschappijleer en maatschappijwetenschappen moeten gericht zijn op de ontwikkeling van vaardigheden en attitudes die leerlingen nodig hebben om te kunnen overleven in de complexe wereld van vandaag.
16. Jongeren leren de wet misschien uit hun hoofd, maar dit betekent niet dat ze zich er noodzakelijkerwijs aan zullen houden.

17. Leerlingen moeten leren rekening te houden met het algemeen belang, in plaats van alleen hun privébelangen te volgen.
18. Ik voel dat ik eerst en vooral een docent (en/of begeleider) ben en daarna een vakspecialist. Het onderwerp is secundair.
19. Controversiële onderwerpen moeten niet klassikaal worden besproken, om leerlingen die zich aangesproken kunnen voelen te beschermen.
20. Maatschappijleer en maatschappijwetenschappen moeten niet teveel worden geassocieerd met politiek, omdat individuele daden van liefdadigheid en vrijgevigheid ook belangrijk zijn.
21. Leerlingen moeten goed aangepast zijn en dus deelnemen aan de samenleving zoals dit van burgers verwacht wordt. Dit is feitelijk onderdeel van de vakken maatschappijleer en maatschappijwetenschappen.
22. Jongeren moeten kennis verwerven over democratie: hoe het werkt en waarom is het de moeite waard het te verdedigen.
23. Het is heel belangrijk dat leerlingen leren hoe ze sociale problemen kunnen analyseren, maar dit moet het onderhouden en reproduceren van sociale systemen en relaties niet in de weg staan.
24. Burgers hebben weinig tot geen echte invloed op politiek. Hoe eerder iemand dit accepteert, hoe gelukkiger je wordt.
25. Vakken als maatschappijleer en maatschappijwetenschappen zijn in wezen niet kritisch: democratie is goed, we zijn een democratische staat, dus zijn we goed.
26. De democratische benadering van onderzoek en debat moet worden onderwezen in de klas, om de interesse van leerlingen in de politiek aan te moedigen.
27. Leerlingen kunnen op school geen democratie leren, omdat school zelf geen democratische instelling is.
28. Maatschappijleer en maatschappijwetenschappen betekent ook dat leerlingen leren dat zij verantwoordelijk zijn voor hun gedrag en hen betrekken bij liefdadigheids- en gemeenschapsactiviteiten.
29. Het is beter dat de leraar normen en waarden bespreekt in plaats van zich strikt aan neutraliteit te houden.
30. De leraar mag zijn of haar politieke opvattingen niet bekendmaken aan de leerlingen. Integendeel, alleen breed geaccepteerde sociale en politieke waarden moeten worden besproken.
31. Mijn taak als docent is om het beleid en de belangen van de overheid te verdedigen, omdat ik een werknemer ben van een door de overheid gefinancierde onderwijsinstelling.
32. Ik ben verplicht als burger en als docent om dingen aan te wakkeren als dat nodig is, en niet alleen via de zogenaamde legitieme politieke kanalen.
33. Naar mijn mening dienen maatschappijleer en maatschappijwetenschappen tegen het groeiende gebrek aan sociale tolerantie.
34. We moeten geen enkele ideologie als de juiste verklaren; in plaats daarvan moeten we leerlingen de gelegenheid geven kennis te maken met verschillende ideeën over politieke en sociale orde.

35. De belangrijkste taak van vakken als maatschappijleer en maatschappijwetenschappen is leerlingen te informeren over hun burgerlijke en politieke rechten en vrijheden.
36. Maatschappijleer en maatschappijwetenschappen moeten ook maatschappelijk nuttig zijn, bijvoorbeeld door bij te dragen aan meer veiligheid.
37. Mijn doel als docent is bereikt als leerlingen zich kritisch durven uit te laten wanneer rechtvaardigheid, gelijkheid, solidariteit en emancipatie in het geding komen.
38. Burgerlijke gehoorzaamheid betekent meer dan alleen de wet gehoorzamen, het betekent gehoorzaamheid aan hogere persoonlijke standaarden en hogere sociale belangen.
39. Voor de meeste leerlingen is politiek veel te abstract en onbegrijpelijk, het hoort meer bij privéscholen.
40. Om leerlingen het best duidelijk te maken hoe het politieke systeem en de samenleving werkt, is het noodzakelijk om een bepaalde ideologie te promoten.
41. De mens is een sociaal wezen en we zijn tot op zeker hoogte afhankelijk van elkaar. Leerlingen dienen te leren dat zorg voor elk lid van een gemeenschap belangrijk is
42. Leerlingen hoeven niet overal kritiek op te leveren. Discipline en het opvolgen van bevelen is ook onderdeel van het leerproces.
43. Een taak van docenten is om leerlingen uit achtergestelde en minderheidsgroepen op te merken. Docenten hebben de taak om deze leerlingen op het rechte pad te houden.



## Appendix 2: Statement selection matrix

Expect	Individualist	Hierarchic	Fatalist	Egalitarian
Goal: critical/good citizen	1, 2	3, 13	39, 42	6, 37, 38
Approach: Indoctrination/neutrality	30, 34	23, 40	20, 31	26, 29
Concern: rights/obligations	16, 35	7, 33	36, 24	17, 41
Role: coach/supervisor	12, 14	5, 18, 21	19, 28	10, 32
Focus: attitudes/knowledge	9, 11, 22	4, 8	15, 43	25, 27

The numbers correspond with the statement number. See the list of statements in Appendix 1.

## Appendix 3: Ideal typical Q sorts

The ideal-typical Q sorts are set up based on the strength of the different positions per factor.

No.	Statement	No.	1	2	3
1	Leerlingen hebben een omgeving nodig waarin ze de problemen	1	1	-1	0
2	We moeten jongeren leren onafhankelijk te zijn en hun eigen	2	4	0	4
3	Ik moedig mijn leerlingen aan om via de daarvoor bedoelde (t	3	0	0	-2
4	Dit zijn de regels, dit zijn de wetten. Ik denk dat kennisov	4	-1	-3	2
5	De docent moet een model zijn van eerlijk en fatsoenlijk ged	5	1	-1	1
6	We moeten jongeren leren kritisch te zijn en niet alles te g	6	4	1	4
7	De docent moet zijn leerlingen duidelijk maken dat ze moeten	7	0	1	-1
8	Maatschappijleer en maatschappijwetenschappen moeten bijdrag	8	-1	0	-2
9	We moeten meer aandacht besteden aan kennis: kennis is macht	9	-2	-1	3
10	Het is niet voldoende om alleen discussies te voeren over ho	10	0	2	3
11	De docent moet allereerst de nadruk leggen op kennis van ove	11	-2	-4	1
12	Ik vind het belangrijk dat mijn leerlingen door middel van h	12	2	2	1
13	Het doel is om van leerlingen denkende burgers te maken die	13	3	0	1
14	Het is belangrijk dat leerlingen leren hun standpunten te ve	14	2	-2	1
15	Maatschappijleer en maatschappijwetenschappen moeten gericht	15	4	1	2
16	Jongeren leren de wet misschien uit hun hoofd, maar dit bete	16	1	3	-1
17	Leerlingen moeten leren rekening te houden met het algemeen	17	-1	3	3
18	Ik voel dat ik eerst en vooral een docent (en/of begeleider)	18	0	4	0
19	Controversiële onderwerpen moeten niet klassikaal worden bes	19	-2	-1	-4
20	Maatschappijleer en maatschappijwetenschappen moeten niet te	20	-3	1	-1
21	Leerlingen moeten goed aangepast zijn en dus deelnemen aan d	21	-3	-2	-2
22	Jongeren moeten kennis verwerven over democratie: hoe het we	22	3	1	2
23	Het is heel belangrijk dat leerlingen leren hoe ze sociale p	23	0	2	-3
24	Burgers hebben weinig tot geen echte invloed op politiek. Ho	24	-2	-2	-3
25	Vakken als maatschappijleer en maatschappijwetenschappen zij	25	-3	-1	-2
26	De democratische benadering van onderzoek en debat moet word	26	2	1	-1
27	Leerlingen kunnen op school geen democratie leren, omdat sch	27	-1	-4	-2
28	Maatschappijleer en maatschappijwetenschappen betekent ook d	28	0	3	0
29	Het is beter dat de leraar normen en waarden bespreekt in pl	29	3	2	0
30	De leraar mag zijn of haar politieke opvattingen niet bekend	30	-2	-3	-3
31	Mijn taak als docent is om het beleid en de belangen van de	31	-4	-4	-4
32	Ik ben verplicht als burger en als docent om dingen aan te w	32	1	-1	-1
33	Naar mijn mening dienen maatschappijleer en maatschappijwete	33	2	-3	2
34	We moeten geen enkele ideologie als de juiste verklaren; in	34	3	4	3
35	De belangrijkste taak van vakken als maatschappijleer en maa	35	1	0	1
36	Maatschappijleer en maatschappijwetenschappen moeten ook maa	36	-1	0	0
37	Mijn doel als docent is bereikt als leerlingen zich kritisch	37	1	4	4
38	Burgerlijke gehoorzaamheid betekent meer dan alleen de wet g	38	-1	0	0
39	Voor de meeste leerlingen is politiek veel te abstract en on	39	-4	-2	-3
40	Om leerlingen het best duidelijk te maken hoe het politieke	40	-4	-3	-4
41	De mens is een sociaal wezen en we zijn tot op zeker hoogte	41	2	3	2
42	Leerlingen hoeven niet overal kritiek op te leveren. Discipl	42	-3	2	-1
43	Een taak van docenten is om leerlingen uit achtergestelde en	43	0	-2	0

## Appendix 4 Personal characteristics and demographics

<b>Active teacher (n=6)</b>	
Gender	2 female, 4 male
Age	Average 40,3 (range: 32-53)
Teaching experience	Average 15 years (range: 8-27)
Teaching courses	Social studies (5), social sciences and social studies (1)
Teacher training type	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Pabo and Second degree social science and history teacher (HBO) (1)</li> <li>- Pabo and second degree social studies (HBO) (1)</li> <li>- Political science and Computer Science (academic) (1),</li> <li>- Second degree social studies (HBO) (1)</li> <li>- History, and first degree history teacher (academic) (2)</li> </ul>

<b>Tender Teacher (n=3)</b>	
Gender	1 female, 2 male
Age	Average 40 years (range 30-60)
Teaching experience	Average 11 years (range: 1 – 30)
Teaching courses	Social studies (3)
Teacher training type	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Cultural and social education (HBO). Anthropology (academic) (1)</li> <li>- Social pedagogical assistance, second degree teacher (HBO) (1)</li> <li>- Pabo and theology (HBO) (1)</li> </ul>

<b>Relaxed teacher (n=5)</b>	
Gender	2 female, 3 male
Age	Average 38 years (range: 26 - 64)

Teaching experience	Average 11,9 years (range: 0,5 – 40) years
Teaching courses	Social studies (2), Social studies and social sciences (3)
Teacher training type	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Theology and pedagogical academy (HBO) (1)</li> <li>- Applied Communication Sciences (HBO), first degree teacher training in social studies and social sciences (academic) (1)</li> <li>- Public administration and first degree social sciences (academic) (2)</li> <li>- Cultural anthropology and first degree teaching social studies and social sciences (academic) (1)</li> </ul>

## Appendix 5 Factor scores per factor

### Factor Scores -- For Factor 1

No.	Statement	No.	Z-SCORES
6	We moeten jongeren leren kritisch te zijn en niet alles te g	6	2.043
15	Maatschappijleer en maatschappijwetenschappen moeten gericht	15	1.551
2	We moeten jongeren leren onafhankelijk te zijn en hun eigen	2	1.548
34	We moeten geen enkele ideologie als de juiste verklaren; in	34	1.437
29	Het is beter dat de leraar normen en waarden bespreekt in pl	29	1.360
13	Het doel is om van leerlingen denkende burgers te maken die	13	1.272
22	Jongeren moeten kennis verwerven over democratie: hoe het we	22	1.105
14	Het is belangrijk dat leerlingen leren hun standpunten te ve	14	1.068
41	De mens is een sociaal wezen en we zijn tot op zeker hoogte	41	1.008

### Factor Scores -- For Factor 2

No.	Statement	No.	Z-SCORES
18	Ik voel dat ik eerst en vooral een docent (en/of begeleider)	18	1.617
37	Mijn doel als docent is bereikt als leerlingen zich kritisch	37	1.616
34	We moeten geen enkele ideologie als de juiste verklaren; in	34	1.510
41	De mens is een sociaal wezen en we zijn tot op zeker hoogte	41	1.446
16	Jongeren leren de wet misschien uit hun hoofd, maar dit bete	16	1.361
17	Leerlingen moeten leren rekening te houden met het algemeen	17	1.106
28	Maatschappijleer en maatschappijwetenschappen betekent ook d	28	1.106
29	Het is beter dat de leraar normen en waarden bespreekt in pl	29	1.063

### Factor Scores -- For Factor 3

No.	Statement	No.	Z-SCORES
2	We moeten jongeren leren onafhankelijk te zijn en hun eigen	2	1.866
37	Mijn doel als docent is bereikt als leerlingen zich kritisch	37	1.616
6	We moeten jongeren leren kritisch te zijn en niet alles te g	6	1.603
9	We moeten meer aandacht besteden aan kennis: kennis is macht	9	1.453
34	We moeten geen enkele ideologie als de juiste verklaren; in	34	1.265
17	Leerlingen moeten leren rekening te houden met het algemeen	17	1.206
10	Het is niet voldoende om alleen discussies te voeren over ho	10	1.167
4	Dit zijn de regels, dit zijn de wetten. Ik denk dat kennisov	4	1.113