This document describes Swedish preschool insight and partnership programmes designed to develop social and moral values concomitant with a democratic society. The programs were tried out in six preschool groups of 18 to 20 6-year-old children. The "insight programme" was made up of suggestions and instructions concerning games, activities, reading, and conversation. The teachers were instructed to relate the content to the children's own experiences. Three main areas were involved: knowledge of self, knowledge of others, and experiences in the family. Children were interviewed before and after the program. The "partnership programme" offered suggestions and methodological instructions for the teacher to use in encouraging 3 or 4 children to role play with puppets in conflict situations. The teacher induced the children to reflect on partnership activities and improve them through puppet drama. Systematic observations were made before and after the partnership exercises. Generally, the results showed that although the children increased their knowledge in all sectors, they gave more answers suggestive of greater insight into such questions as the motives, feelings, and causes of handicaps. A subsequent project has focused on the attitude structure and role apprehension of the preschool teacher. (CS)
Title of project: The socialization process in pre-school
Project no.: 101
In progress at: The Department of Educational Research, Gothenburg School of Education
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Background

One of the overriding aims of the school system is to educate pupils for membership of a democratic society. In order to be able to participate in a democratic decision-making process, people must be aware of their own needs and desires and capable of expressing them, they must be able to relate those needs and desires to the needs and
desires of other people, and they must be aware of the values and goals they consider worth working for.

Educational research in recent years has devoted increasing attention to the factors involved in the development of a capacity for democratic partnership. For example, Kohlberg (1969), using premises from Piaget, has developed theoretical model of social and moral development. This model starts with the egocentric child seeing all actions as right or wrong in terms of its own desires. Growing experience and knowledge of social and causal relationships produces a development from a personal and authority-steered to a principle-oriented moral approach.

Kohlberg assumes this development to be closely bound up with general cognitive development. When children are capable of generalizing, understanding other people's viewpoints and perceiving causal relationships in time and space, they can also understand the causes and consequences of alternative courses of action, feel sympathy and control their actions according to a system of norms.

Other researchers such as Aronfreed (1968, 1969) have emphasized that both emotional and cognitive factors have a bearing on social-moral learning.

A number of studies by Aronfreed et al. have shown that the child's capacity for altruistic action is connected with its ability to discriminate factors in the social interaction process and with its experience of needs satisfaction in connection with the action. Aronfreed also found that children between the ages of 7 and 8 were influenced more by cognitive perception than by threats of punishment in prohibitive situations.

Subsequent investigations suggest that cognitive coding of experience increases the child's capacity for processing
experience and integrating it with the system of norms and values on which its actions are based.

Thus an integration of emotional and cognitive factors would seem to be necessary in order to understand the process underlying the capacity to assess situations of social action and act according to one's convictions. This capacity includes a security or motivation component and a cognitive evaluation component. The security component is formed during the child's first years in relation to its guardians, while the cognitive evaluation component is gradually developed as the child becomes capable of processing information at symbolic level.

The development on which democratic partnership is based is thus assumed to be closely connected with the child's early social experience and upbringing. Studies of the connections between upbringing and various aspects of social development suggest that both the emotional relationship between parents and children and the form of interaction between them, i.e. democratic or authoritarian, as well as the cognitive information given to the child by its parents, influence the child's development into a socially mature individual.

In a study of connections between the ability of seven-year-old children to resolve situations of conflict and the nature of the upbringing provided by their parents, Kärby (1971) found self-critical and reflective processing to be connected with discursive upbringing, particularly if the parents also showed a nurturing attitude.

Studies of child education in Sweden have shown that many children grow up in an environment characterized by authoritarian methods of upbringing. Children are taught to act in a prescribed manner without understanding why. Apart from the resultant delay in the child's maturity in terms of both social and moral judgment, there is reason to suppose that cognitive learning is also delayed by the lack of initiative.
and flexibility resulting from a repressive mode of child education.

Thus Hess and Shipman (1968) found that mothers from the lower social classes tended more often to "help" their children to resolve problem situations by giving them prefabricated solutions, while mothers with a better education tended more often to let the child test different ways of solving a problem and then discuss the alternative solutions.

In studies of the language of different social classes, Bernstein (1971) found that the associative and meaningful functions of the language were more limited in the lower social classes. Results indicating relations between maternal patterns of communication in the course of child education and the cognitive development of the child have been obtained by Cook-Gumpertz (1973).

In a time of rapid technological, economic and social change, more and more situations arise which demand flexibility, initiative and creative capacity in devising new solutions and approaches. This in turn requires both an emotional insight into one's own motives and values and those of other people, and also the cognitive capacity to understand and analyse situations of conflict and devise alternative solutions to social problems.

People are liable to experience a profound sense of moral bankruptcy in periods of rapid economic change. Traditional values have begun to be called into question. Many people feel that competition and go-ahead qualities are overrated at the expense of co-operation and tolerance. The educator in present-day society therefore has a more difficult task than ever before, namely to create people who are flexible and susceptible to influence but who also enjoy a fundamental security and are possessed of a capacity for critical thought and the ability to influence conditions in their own surroundings.
Traditionally it has been the task of the family to communicate fundamental values and attitudes to children. However, more and more children are now coming into contact with pre-school. As pre-school assume responsibility for many of the tasks of child education that used to be performed by the family, there is good cause for more consideration to be devoted to the social and moral aspects of pre-school education.

A more exhaustive description of the theoretical background is given in report no. 35.

Purpose

Social education is a traditional function of pre-school in Sweden. In its final report (SOU 1973:25-26), the Royal Commission on Child Care Facilities proposes the following main goals of pre-school educational activities:

1. Every child should be given the best possible chance of developing its emotional and intellectual resources.

2. In this way the foundations can be laid of an open and considerate personality capable of sympathy and partnership with others and able to form independent judgments and problem solutions.

3. In this way too the foundations can be laid of a will to seek and use knowledge for the improvement of one's own living conditions and those of other people.

Children in the senior pre-school age group have reached a phase in their development where they begin to be able to relate their actions to the norms of society. Social and moral concepts such as fairness, good and evil, right and wrong begin to take on a practical reality in the mind of
The analysis of these concepts serves to lay the foundations of the child's attitudes and values vis à vis itself and others.

It is assumed that the pre-school teacher has an important part to play in the child's development of social and moral concept formation and also in its experience of emotional security.

In order to increase the awareness of teachers concerning factors governing the child's capacity of tolerance and democratic partnership, and also in order to furnish the teacher with practical experience of the concretization of these factors in a process of interaction with the children, methods were developed aimed at

a. increasing the self-knowledge of the pre-school child, making him aware of his own feelings, modes of reaction, motives and abilities and also at gaining acceptance and respect for expressions of the same

b. increasing the pre-school child's knowledge and understanding of other people's feelings, modes of reaction, characteristics and motives, inculcating an attitude of acceptance towards the differences and idiosyncrasies exhibited by others together with respect for their values

c. teaching the child, on the basis of greater knowledge of itself and other people combined with a positive attitude to others and respect for their values, to co-operate and to resolve situations of social conflict constructively.

Knowledge of its own motives and aptitudes and those of other people, combined with a knowledge of fundamental norms and social values will eventually enable the child to arrive...
at constructive solutions of problems of co-operation and social conflicts.

This ability is expected to have an indirect but positive influence on the child's self-perception and to enhance its independence and creativity.

**Testing of "programmes"**

In order to concretize the goals of the project, a number of "programmes" or activities were developed and tested in 12 pre-school groups for 10-12 weeks during the autumn term 1972.

The "programmes" were mainly concerned with the following sectors:

1. Activities designed to give children greater insight into their own feelings and motives, and greater knowledge of other people, their social situation, different attitudes, norms and attitudes to life.

2. Partnership exercises, practice in determining mutual goals by discussion, in the distribution of tasks and roles and in working towards a common end.

3. The resolution of conflicts on the basis of puppet drama situations providing a source of discussion concerning motives, feelings and various proposed solutions.

1. The "insight programme" was made up of suggestions and instructions concerning games, activities, reading and conversation. As regards methods, an attempt was made to co-ordinate cognitive and emotional insight at active and symbolic level. The teachers were instructed to relate the content as much as possible to the children's own experience.
Three sectors were dealt with:

a. Knowledge of myself.

b. Knowledge of others (particularly people who are "different").

c. The family - which also included relationships and sex roles, birth, old age and death.

2. The "partnership programme" was made up of suggested activities and methodological instructions for group work. The groups were randomly composed of 3-4 children each. The exercises began with puppet drama on the subject of a partnership situation. The teacher could then induce the children to reflect on their partnership and improve it by reference to the puppets. The purpose of these exercises was to provide suggestions for the solution of problems arising in partnership situations.

3. Nine conflict situations were devised and acted using the puppets. These situations concerned events which most of the children were assumed to have experienced, e.g. irritability, ostracism, aggressiveness towards teachers and other children, conflict on the subject of rules of behaviour, conflicts with brothers and sisters etc. The puppet dramas were performed in groups of 4-6 children each, using either genuine puppets or flanellograph figures. By putting questions to the children before and after the play, the teacher tried to induce the group to discuss the cause of the conflict, the feelings of those involved and ways in which the conflict could be resolved.

"Insight and partnership programmes" were each tried out in 6 pre-school groups of 18-20 children, mostly six-year olds. All the puppet drama situations were tried out by three pre-school teachers.
Instructions and suggestions were sent to the teachers week by week. At the same time conferences were held together with the teachers roughly once a fortnight in order to discuss problems connected with the implementation of the "programmes". Efforts were made to generalize the aims of the "programmes" in such a way as to cover the activities of pre-school as a whole, i.e. starting with spontaneous events to discuss feelings, motives, alternative solutions of conflicts, partnership etc.

The results of the "programmes"

The six-year-olds taking part in the "insight programme" (76 children) were interviewed before and after the experiment. The purpose of these interviews was

1. to ascertain whether the child's knowledge of the sectors involved had increased and, if so, in what sectors their knowledge had increased most.

2. to ascertain whether the children's attitudes towards "different people" and sex roles had changed.

The interviews were conducted with the aid of a structured questionnaire and dolls representing "ordinary" and "different" children.

Generally speaking, the results showed that the children's knowledge had increased in all the sectors dealt with. They gave more answers suggestive of greater insight into motives, feelings, the causes of handicaps etc. It transpired that the most stimulating elements had been those in which symbolic information could be combined with experience. For instance, a partially sighted person had visited the pre-school and joined in its activities, and this had given rise to many conversations and discussions.
However, no major alteration of attitude as measured in terms of friendship preference could be observed. A certain change could be discerned with regard to attitudes concerning the sex roles.


Systematic observations were made of small groups before and after the partnership exercises, particular note being taken of solitary activity and partnership behaviour. Three test situations were offered: constructive play, role playing and "free creation".

Of the 18 small groups observed, 10 exhibited a rise in partnership behaviour of between 10 and 50 per cent. The greatest increase was observed in the form of activity of which the children had the best previous knowledge.


No systematic evaluation was undertaken of the puppet drama conflicts. A number of experiments were recorded on cassette tapes. One video-recording was made. The teachers reported their experiences of the puppet dramas in interviews.

One finds that there were often great organizational problems, e.g. keeping the other children occupied while a smaller group was performing puppet dramas.

The children's capacity for processing the material varied a great deal. The teacher often adopted a "moralizing" attitude, i.e. suggested appropriate solutions instead of letting the children arrive at solutions of their own by means of their discussions.

A questionnaire addressed to the pre-school teachers after the experiment revealed that all the teachers had found the "programmes" a stimulus in their work. The content agreed
with their aims in pre-school. Some of the teachers suggested changes in order to adapt the activities more closely to the children's level of development.

Generally speaking, the discussions with the pre-school teachers revealed that their ways of implementing the "programmes" varied a great deal. The results also showed considerable variations between the different teachers. Indirectly one could deduce that the mode implementation was connected with the individual values and attitudes of the teacher concerned. Whereas to some teachers the "programmes" were merely one of many ingredients of collective work, others derived from them impulses concerning a more general way of working and of utilizing the spontaneous situations that arose in the course of pre-school activities.

But the discussions concerning the "programmes" were also found to make the teachers more conscious of their role as conditioners of attitudes and values. They found that the "programmes" encouraged the children to talk about themselves and their own situation in a manner which required greater knowledge, self-perception and awareness on the part of the teacher.

In view of the experience derived from the above experiments, the subsequent work of the project came to focus on the attitude structure and role apprehension of the pre-school teacher. We also became increasingly aware of the relation between these characteristics and factors in the ecological environment. Consequently the work of the project became primarily concerned with the working situation of the pre-school teacher in relation to its social context. In this way we endeavoured to arrive at a better understanding of the prerequisites of a more conscious process of socialization.

**Description of the subsequent work of the project**

One of the prerequisites of a better knowledge of the complex structure in which pre-schools operate led to the decision
that greater participation was needed in the work of pre-schools. Each member of the project team established contact with a day care centre, the staff of which consented to the performance there of project work. Two part-time pre-schools also took part. The work was done in the five and six-year-old department.

The purpose of the subsequent work of the project was

1. to describe the teacher's view of her own role, her awareness of the goals of her work, the problems she experiences and the way in which she solves them, her experience of responsibility and liberty in relation to children, parents and other staff,

2. to describe pre-school activities from the children's point of view, the explicit and implicit rules governing activities and why they do so, the relation of these rules to the needs of individual children, relationships between teachers and children and the effect on those relationships of the organizational structure,

3. to analyse the way in which the teacher influences the children's social concept formation by her action in conflict situations arising between the children themselves or between children and teachers, the attitudes and values she then communicates, deliberately or otherwise,

4. to obtain some idea of the way in which parents experience the time spent by their children in day care centres and their attitude to collaboration with the personnel.

With this in view, the members of the project team have worked in somewhat different ways. All of them have been participating observers in a day care centre (one observer per day care centre) throughout the school year.
Björn Flising has studied the teachers' apprehension of their role through weekly conversations with the teachers.

Kjell Ellert and Karin Ekström have analysed the existing structure of activities, the interaction between teachers and children and rules and routines by means of continuous observations and "spontaneous" conversations with teachers. Efforts have been made to analyse the child's general experience of the time it spends at the day care centre by making systematic observations of each child for a whole day.

Apart from their observations at the day care centre, Kristina Nylund and Gunni Kärrby have analysed conflict situations. In addition, structured interviews have been carried out of all day care centre parents (mostly mothers) at "their" day care centres.

During the school year, monthly conferences have been held with the teachers taking part in the work of the project and themes have been discussed which can shed light on the teachers' attitudes and modes of behaviour in the course of their work, e.g. "problem children", conducting a dialogue, partnership between personnel and parents, a film on authoritarian child education etc.

Throughout the school year, the members of the project team have held internal conferences each week at which we have analysed our own working methods and evolved the theoretical frames of reference within which our work can be described. During the initial stages, attention focussed particularly on the role of the researcher and our own relations with children and personnel in pre-schools. Later the discussion turned to the concept of dialogue in its broadest sense and to the way in which it is manifested in pre-school activities. A continuous discussion of the concrete implications of the term socialization process has been maintained throughout the course of the work of the project and is continuing.
During the present year.

During the current school year, the experience of the preceding year is being processed and analysed. A certain amount of contact is being made with the personnel that have participated by a continuation of the monthly conferences. More active partnership with parents is being attempted in one day care centre, while in another experiments are being conducted with sibling groups at the initiative of the personnel themselves.

An independent experiment in creative drama for pre-schools has been conducted by Margareta Svensson.

An interview study of the attitudes of some 100 mothers to pre-schools and day care centres has been conducted as part of the project.

The following reports have been published:


M.A. thesis in psychology
I. Haugstvedt, O. Kjernalnd and K. Nylund

Maternal attitudes to pre-schools and day care centres.
Report no. 50, October 1974. (Swedish only)

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