

Essays on ICDP and education

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International Child Development Programme (ICDP)

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Introduction

This is a collection of papers on ICDP and education written at different points in time. Together they provide a picture of the ICDP approach to education.

The ICDP approach to education represents a balance between an instructive teacher-oriented approach on the one hand, and a liberal pupils-oriented approach on the other. In line with cultural psychology we see the child's development as an assisted development which implies that the child, by his own powers, will not reach far without the assistance from a more competent guide (Tharp & Gallimore 1988, Rogoff 2003).

The question then is which type of guidance will promote a child's development? Research in cultural and developmental psychology indicates that the guidance given should be supportive or facilitative, not intrusive and overpowering. It is important that the child or pupil retains his power of self-initiation and ownership over the skills or knowledge that is obtained. This is possible through a supportive or facilitative approach that is sometimes described as "scaffolding" where the teacher or caregiver assists the child's efforts and initiative only to the extent that it is needed (Bruner and Wood 1978). In the emotional domain a parallel expression is "attunement" to the child's state and needs (Stern 1985, 1995).

¹ Written by Ingeborg Egebjerg in cooperation with Pedro Mendes and Karsten Hundeide

In other words, despite assistance, the child or the pupil should remain the active agent in the learning process, and the teacher or caregiver should adjust sensitively to his initiative, level of competence and state/need. But this requires *sensitivity* and respect for the child as a person – respect for the child's initiatives and potential competence. For this reason, when we train facilitators in the ICDP Program, we prefer to call this "*sensitization*", and that means making the caregiver or teacher more sensitive and responsive to the child's initiatives and needs. The outcome of the sensitization process is not only a set of external skills, it is more *a change of being*; becoming more aware, perceptive and respectful of the child's uniqueness and potential – being emotionally available to the child, being able to read and respond to the child's intentions and feelings. For this reason an important part of the sensitization process is to train the caregiver/teacher to "read" the child's expressivity; his face and body language. Learning to see the positive potential of the child/pupil; not only the routine labeling that very often focuses on the negative features and deficits.

In addition to this, the guidance that we in ICDP stick to, is based on extensive research in developmental psychology like the significance of the three dialogues; the emotional expressive (Stern 1995, Emde 1997, Bråten 2001), the mediational and meaning oriented (Klein 2004, Rogoff 2003) and the regulative (Hoffman 2000, Vygotsky-pupils).

Although the focus of the ICDP Program is on the interaction and relationship between teacher (caregiver) and pupil (child), the practical work is with groups of caregivers and teachers. How can we facilitate and support the caregiver's or teacher's positive interaction and relationship to their pupils?

Most teachers have extensive practical knowledge of interaction in the classroom, what we try to do in the ICDP approach is to *bring out this knowledge, raise awareness for the positive interactive qualities that they already possess*. This is, in other words, a method of reactivating and bringing to awareness the positive skills that they already have. We do not instruct teachers, we assist them to share and bring to awareness their own practical skills. We do this by using the eight guidelines and the three dialogues as *frames for sharing* concrete episodes of interaction: To what extent did I see and respond to the child's initiative? To what extent do I give confirmation and praise to the child who has low self-esteem? To what extent do I regulate and set limits for the pupils in a positive way? Etc. In this way the eight guidelines of good interaction becomes more like a vocabulary for sharing than a tool for correction and instruction.

One method that we have used with success is to let a colleague (teacher) film one another in the classroom, and then afterwards the teacher being filmed analyses his own film and presents it to his group of colleagues in a meeting of sharing where the emphasis is on the positive aspects of what he can identify in his own film. In this way an atmosphere of positive sharing arises focussing in a concrete way on successful practices instead of failures, and on how things can be improved – based on the teachers' own initiative and insight.²

² This approach has some similarity to Schon's "reflective practice" (Schon 1991)

The essays in this collection take for granted that the reader has a basic knowledge of the ICDP program (Hundeide 2001, see www.icdp.info).

I: From early interaction to guided participation in the class-room.³ (15.7.99)

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1. Introduction.

After a period of experimentation with open, dialogue and child-oriented education in the 60 and 70ies (Piaget 1972, Illich 1973, Holt 1965, Kohl 1969), there has in many countries been a reaction against the radical vision of child-initiated learning and development. It is considered unrealistic, and we are now discussing modifications of the traditional class-room - how to provide more space for dialogue and for children's interests and initiatives. (Edwards and Mercer 1987, Cazden 1988).

The new ideal is one of joint responsibility and involvement between the child and the teacher. This is an attempt to balance between the extreme positions and it recommends that the teacher assists the student in the initial phases of task completion and gradually withdraws assistance as the student's competence increases so that the student at the end achieves a feeling of mastery and autonomy. Although a child's own initiatives are considered important, alone they will not bring a child far, it is through the support of a more experienced adult that the child's performance and understanding can grow to a higher level than can be achieved through his own force.

The role of Vygotsky.

This is in agreement with Vygotsky's views on child development. The assumption is that any child has "a zone of proximal development" - a developmental zone - and it is in this zone that a teacher or parent may assist the child so that he, through assistance, can reach higher and further than what he would be able to do through his own initiatives. This means that it is through stretching the child's capacity in the zone of proximal development that optimal development may take place - to leave a child to its own initiative or to adjust the teachings to the level where the child already is, would not promote the child's development optimally, it is when the guidance from the adult is slightly beyond the child's level so that the child has to mobilise his resources maximally to reach that level, that optimal development takes place. In order to operate in this zone, sensitivity on the part of the teacher or adult is required so that responsibility is transferred to the child it becomes more competent. This is a message of the Vygotskian

³ The paper is written as a background for teachers who are interested in using and exploring the ICDP Program in the class-room.

educational psychology (Karpov 1995). It is important because it is optimistic, it encourages the teacher to make an effort to join in with the child at whatever level he is, and to expand his initiatives as far as the child can follow him - not beyond that.

When it comes to the class-room, the distribution of responsibility and control between teacher and pupil may to some extent vary from class-room to class-room, but the typical structure is still one of asymmetry with the teacher in the dominant position. In the figure below adapted from Cazdens’s book “ Discourse in the class-room” (Cazden 1988) the proportion of responsibility allocated to student or teacher in the different approaches is illustrated:

Proportion of responsibility for task completion		
All teacher	Joint responsibility	All student
Instruction	Guided practice	Practice-based
Modeling	Gradual release	“open class”
Demonstrations	of responsibility	
Lectures	(“scaffolding”)	

On the one extreme there is the more authoritarian “traditional class-room” where most initiatives and control is coming from the teacher without much sensitivity to pupils’ initiatives. On the other extreme there is the “open class” where activities are based on the initiatives and the control of the pupils. The joint responsibility and involvement approach represents an intermediate position. This has also been described as “scaffolding” (Bruner and Wood, Tharp and Gallimore 1989), zpd pedagogics (Zone of proximal development pedagogics of Wertsch and Rogoff) or as “guided participation” (Rogoff 1990, 1998)⁴. In this approach the teacher is clearly in control but the objective of the teaching is to prepare the pupils or students for autonomy through a gradual withdrawal of support. This is a different message from the soft child oriented pedagogy of the 60-70ies, maybe more realistic. It is clearly inspired by the revival of Vygotsky’s psychology in recent years (Wertsch 1995).

The new research on parent-infant communication.

In parallel with the Vygotskian influence in education emphasizing the significance of adult interaction and guidance, there has been a revolution in the research on early mother-infant communication. This research shows that the infant from birth and even before is biologically endowed with capacity and motivation for communicating with other human beings. Already shortly after birth an infant is capable of imitating facial gestures, to discriminate the mother’s voice, he prefers to look at human faces compared to objects, and already around two months a simple kind of rhythmical exchange of utterances may take place that has many of the characteristics of a conversation - it is

⁴ Michale Cole’s curriculum “Learning in the fifth dimension” seems to be closer to the student-initiated pole.

therefore called “proto-conversation” etc. (See Trevarthen 1980, Stern 1985, Papousek 1989). This research has shown that motivations towards sociality and cooperation is at the core of human beings, and this has important implications for how we see ourselves as human beings and for the theories we develop about ourselves (Bråten 1998,1999)⁵.

This research has in fact initiated a new type of therapeutic approach towards children and families.⁶ The new approach is more focused on improving present communicative patterns, focusing on the positive aspects, the subtle attunement of the mother to the child’s emotional state, the synchronization of rhythms of give and take when interaction is at its best, the sensitive reading of the infant’s initiatives and intentions in gestures and body language (Stern 1995, Trevarthen 1998). At the same time this new trend is less concerned about digging into past problems, less concerned with professionalization and there is an extensive use of paraprofessionals with natural communicative talents, very often without special academic background. All this have been typical features of this new community based therapeutic trend, which is now spreading particularly in European countries (Biemanns 1987).

The ICDP Program

The ICDP program is an example of this new trend. The focus is on improving the quality of interaction and relationship between caregiver and child. There is abundant research showing that this is a critical influence on the child’s development (Carew 1990, Klein 1994, Sroufe 1985, Schaffer 1998).

However different trends tend to emphasize different aspects of this interaction. As an example; those who are influenced by early mother-infant communication trend (like Stern, Brazelton, Marte Meo and Spin) tend to emphasize mother-child attunement and synchronization to the child, the sensitivity and responsiveness of the caregiver; her ability to see, adjust and follow contingently the initiatives of the child. The emotional state and the emotional relationships of the child is the only focus of interest.

On the other hand there is the Vygotskian and the mediational approach of Feuerstein and Klein, also Schaffer and others (Sigel, Wood, Bruner). Their focus is more on the caregiver’s ability to **adjust to the child’s intentionality** so that they together achieve shared attention and meaning; that is a shared focus of attention and “joint involvement” with the objects that are in focus of interest.⁷ From this basis of shared attention, a child’s initiative may be supported and expanded in different ways and

⁵ Bråten’s book “Inter-subjective communication and Emotion en Early Ontogeny”.(Cambridge University Press.) gives an updated theoretical summary of this research.

⁶ This new trend is interesting also because it is different from the psycho-analytic “object relations” approach which till now has been dominating.

⁷ .“Inter-subjectivity” is a term that has been used to describe the efforts to achieve shared understanding between interlocutors in a situation.

directions, and it is this mediational-narrative support and enrichment which research suggests as decisive for a child's socio-cognitive development. The emphasis within this school is clearly more didactic and educational-cultural, and the typical child at the centre of attention is usually beyond infancy.⁸

The ICDP Program is an eclectic program influenced both by contemporary developmental psychology in general and by early mother-infancy research and by the mediational approaches, described above, in particular.

In the ICDP Program we have developed some guidelines for good interaction directed at caregivers. These guidelines summarize in a simple way some of points that we assume are essential in human communication with children. As these guidelines are directed towards simpleminded recipients, they may appear naive and common-sense to a professional, and that is intended. Still we believe, after having used these guidelines in different communities all over the world, that they represent crucial points in the human care of children at risk.

As the ICDP Program is primarily directed towards caregivers of young children at pre-school age, an adaptation is needed in order to apply the same program to children of school age. This paper is in fact a first attempt to adjust the program to this age level and to this context. As a consequence of this adaptation I have felt the need to go beyond the usually eight guidelines and suggest some other guidelines related to the development of resilience and self-efficacy, on the one hand, and the development of morality and responsibility on the other.

The ICDP interactive guidelines are divided into two parts, those concerned with early emotional-expressive communication between caregiver and child (E) and those concerned with mediation and expansion (M). In this paper I have added two more which I assume are important as the child grows older, namely, promoting resilience and agency (R) and promoting moral awareness, accountability and responsibility (A).⁹

In the next section of this paper these guidelines will be shortly presented in the context of teaching in the class-room. The presentation is directed towards teacher and it is written with a practical intention in mind.

2. The emotional climate of the class-room (E)

⁸ Colwyn Trevarthen's distinction between primary and secondary inter-subjectivity, seem to catch this difference in age. The Vygotskian trend is basically concerned with secondary or tertiary inter-subjectivity (see Bråten 1999), while Stern and the early communication school is mostly preoccupied with the infant's interaction with its caregiver.

⁹ Intervention necessarily involves taking a normative stand towards what kind of child development we assume is optimal and ideal. Some of these values may vary culturally (LeVine and White 1985). Still we assume that the values implicit in our guidelines in some form will be valid in most communities, also those outside the Western-European context.

The ideal that is envisaged in the ICDP Programme is one of dialogue and exchange, respect and confirmation of the child as a person of value to himself and to others, attentiveness to his initiatives, interests and activities, and willingness to support and expand them as far as possible inside the frames of an orderly class-room. Ideally the class-room should provide a “home-base” of security and trust, not of mistrust and fear, from which the child, in co-operation with the teacher and the other pupils, can enthusiastically explore and discover the world of knowledge and culture, learning how to cope, how to cooperate, feel and act respectfully and compassionately towards other people.

The teacher should try to create a trustful and intimate atmosphere by showing emotional warmth, giving praise and confirmation to each child, and as far as possible, within the scope and limits of the class-room situation, try to respond to the children by establishing dialogues and activities along the lines of their initiatives and interests and by giving them praise for what they have done well. It is a secure and interested child with capacity for cooperation and care for others that is envisaged. This is the essence of the emotional–expressive guidelines transferred to the class-room.

As a contrast it may be useful to emphasize some of the characteristics of an authoritarian, class-room: In this class-room there is little room for children's initiatives and there is no adjustment to children's interests, the child is passively receiving messages that he is supposed to remember by heart without asking questions...The emphasis of the teaching is rote memorization and acceptance of the word of the teacher or the book in blind obedience. The structure of the teaching tends to follow the “IRF-format” which means that the initiative(I) comes from the teacher as questions, the pupils reply (R) and the teacher gives evaluative feedback of the reply (F) (Mehan 1979). In other words, it is the teacher who asks the questions, the teachers who knows the right answers and the teacher who evaluates the replies.

In its extreme form, this is the pedagogy of the "correct answer" (John Holt 1972). Within this class-room there is not much self-initiated activity or adjustment to the pupils' interests and initiatives, nor are there questions from the pupils because that would go counter to the code of obedience and respect for the position of the teacher. Similarly there is no emotional confirmation except when the child recites the "correct answer" according to the teacher. Autonomy and independence of mind is not encouraged, rather what is encouraged is obedience and submissive search for the right answer that can please the teacher/authority. It is the teacher's "monologue" voice which is all important (Wertsch 1995, Dysthe 1995).¹⁰

¹⁰ In a comment to this paper, Olga Dysthe points out that the above presentation of the traditional class-room is too negative. There are different variants of the traditional class-rooms and although they are “monological” and as such reduce possibilities for pupils-initiated activities, they may still provide a positive atmosphere and context for learning.

The traditional authoritarian approach to teaching is usually associated with a traditions of obedience and respect for adults, which we find in a large part of the world (“the majority world”). It is part of a social and historical structure or way of life, and for that reason it is also difficult to change.¹¹ The “culture of education” reflects the wider culture and the way of life inside a society (LeVine and White 1987, Bruner 1996). In many Western countries like Norway, there is in a national educational curriculum that reflects an ideology of participation and joint involvement, still practice - what is going on in the different class-rooms - is another issue that needs to be explored.

Including or excluding pupils in the "inter-subjective space" of the class-room

The emotional climate of the class-room does not only dependent upon the teacher's qualities, but upon the reciprocal adjustment (or negotiation) of teacher and pupils to each other. This creates something like a frame or a "metcontract" of reciprocal expectations with regard to position and responsibility, level of intimacy/distance, type of genre and which position, role and privilege each child is supposed to have inside the collectivity of the class-room. In other words, there is a tacit and reciprocal predefinition of the participants in relation to each other (which is negotiated) and this directs and limits what is appropriate behaviour (or conduct) within the class-room. I prefer to call this "inter-subjective space". This is the emerging “space” between the participants that tacitly determines what is natural and plausible to express both from teacher and pupil's point of view and position. It is like a silent conductor that directs the type of interaction that can and should naturally go on within that interactive frame. (Shotter 1996, Hundeide 1999 for further explication of “inter-subjective space”)

The idea of an inter-subjective space may help to analyze the tacit and subtle constraints which are operative in any human encounter and particularly in the class-room. From the inter-subjective perspective, a pupil's reply is not only a reflection of his inner, individual competence, but primarily a reflection of **what is plausible to express in the inter-subjective space between him, the other pupils and the teacher in a particular setting** (See Rommetveit 1998)¹²

This perspective also changes how we understand the whole process of attribution of responsibility: Instead of attributing all deficits to the student, it is reasonable to ask:

To what extent is what we describe as "school competence" a question of mastering the communicative code of the inter-subjective spaces that are dominant in the class-room; like finding one's position and role, being able to tune in to the dominant genre, the non-verbal confirmatory exchange of gaze and nodding to please a dominant teacher.

¹¹ A crucial question is to what extent, and in which way, educational development projects operating in traditional societies should accommodate such attitudes and approaches to teaching (Hundeide 1991 chapter 4 and 5), see also (Heath 1983).

¹² Edward and Mercer's concept of “educational ground rules” is clearly related to the concept of inter-subjective space.(Edwards and Mercer 1987,p.42-62)

To what extent does this code of the inter-subjective space include some pupils and leave out others? For example pupils with a slightly different cultural background may fail because they do not understand “the right way of speaking and answering” to a teacher in the class-room. This is a discourse genre, not only knowledge in the traditional sense (see Edwards 1987).

To what extent are failing students a result of self-fulfilling predefinitions and exclusions from the inter-subjective space of the class-room? (Rogers 1982)

These are not only theoretical issues but very real problems of the class-room that deal with the key-issues of commitment versus withdrawal, being active and creative versus being inactive, blocked and inhibited, feeling included and accepted or feeling inferior as an outsider, or more generally feeling accepted and productive versus feeling like a failure outside the inter-subjective space that the others are sharing.

It is easy to exclude a person by selecting a topic in which that person has no background, or a local genre and body language that include only insiders. This is the more subtle aspect of inclusion/exclusion.

Successful emotional inclusion and confirmation of pupils into the collectivity (or “communitas”) of the class requires therefore sensitivity to these subtle features: A dominating and insensitive teacher who imposes inflexibly his personal style or genre without sensitivity may (tacitly) expel most of his students from the inter-subjective space that he is creating. In this way, and very often without his own awareness, he is creating an emotional climate and atmosphere of anxiety and failure, nobody feels well and motivated because there is no space for the pupils natural expressivity and creativity - an alienated communicative situation is created where neither pupils nor teacher feel at ease.

A good teacher is a teacher that sensitively creates an inter-subjective space that includes all his pupils so that they will feel at ease and can communicate in a way that is natural and easy.

3. Dialogue and mediation in the class-room

The inter-subjective space not only determines the emotional climate of inclusion and exclusion, it also determines what is plausible to say and who is saying what. There is a lot of research particularly in the British discourse tradition (Edwards, Mercer, Middleton, Wells and Wood) which shows that the typical class-room does not always create an inter-subjective space of free exchange and expressivity on the part of the pupils. Analysis of interaction in the class-rooms shows a “two-third rule”:

- a) for about two-thirds of the time someone is talking
- b) about two-third of this talk is the teacher’s
- c) about two-third of the teacher’s talk consists of lecturing and asking questions

(Edwards and Mercer 1987, p.25).

Discourse in the class-room is therefore to a large extent teacher and question driven: 47% of the teachers' utterances are questions while only 4-8% of the pupils' utterances are questions. This research has also shown that questions in general tend to block communication in the class-room - the more teacher initiated questions and the more frequent, the less communication in the class-room. Similarly, the more concrete and precise the question, the shorter the reply (Also be aware that the more precise the question, the more it appears like an examination or control, and the less communication!). In addition, most teachers tend to leave too short time after the questions for pupils to answer in a more reflective way (one second is the average time before he goes further and either answers the questions himself or poses a new question!) (Wood 1997).

On the other hand, the more open and sincere the question, the more discussion ensues.¹³ For example; "what you mean by that...?" Also it seems that a teacher may generate more exchange between the pupils by expressing his own point of view instead of guiding the pupils to his conclusion through narrow questioning... Still the most free and best communication is taking place outside the class-room and outside the inter-subjective space of teacher-initiated questions and control. Outside the class-room there is a way of speaking that is called "chatting" – this is talk that flows freely when the class is over (Brown et al. 1984). The same pupils who have problems in expressing a point of view in the class-room do not seem to have any problem of communicating everyday "chat" and jokes between pupils outside the class-room. How come that the same pupils are "clumsy, unproductive and silent..." in the class-room as Bhaktin expresses it, and free and communicative outside the class-room? There is something about fitting into the genre and inter-subjective space of the class-room, but there is also something about role and power-structure...¹⁴ As long as the role-structure is strongly asymmetrical with the teacher in position of dominance, it follows from this structure that communication cannot be free. As long as all initiatives and control are supposed to come from the teacher, there is not room for free exchange, under such conditions, child-initiated communication is either suppressed or reduced.¹⁵ This is line with Wells conclusion from his research in the class-room and the home. He found that 80% of the discourse between parent and children at home was initiated by the children, while only 20% of the discourse in the class-room was initiated by children (Wells 1985). The inter-subjective space and the tacit ground rules for communication in these two settings are clearly different, therefore these findings do not appear surprising from this point of view.

¹³ Research in the neo-Piagetian tradition has shown that children down to 4-5 years discriminate between real questions and "examination-control questions"(Hundeide 1992 in Wold 1992, also Dysthe 1995).

¹⁴ There has been some interesting experiments where one tries to change this role-structure and create a new inter-subjective space that opens up for more freedom and responsibility on the part of the pupils. See Brown and Palincsar later in this paper p. 13)

¹⁵ S.B. Heath's "Ways with Words" gives an excellent description of the problems children from culturally disadvantaged background face when they come to school. She also describes interesting strategies for how to help them.

Before we proceed further into an exposition of the guidelines for mediational interaction, it is important to be aware that inter-subjective space or the metacontract of the setting may be the decisive factor for whether this or that guideline may appear as plausible and natural. Therefore it is important not only to focus on what is the best type of communication between pupil and teachers but also on the conditions which regulate what kind of communication may emerge between them in a specific context. The idea of meta-contract and inter-subjective space is an attempt in this direction – it has important implications for intervention.

On mediation and "joint involvement episodes"

Our knowledge and conception of the world and our skills at dealing with problems in an environment is not something that emerges from our genes as a purely biological product; without experience in the world this knowledge and skill will not emerge or it will be very limited (Lane 1979). Similarly leaving a child to pursue his own self-initiated activities and experiences alone does not lead the child very far, what is necessary in addition is sensitively guided and assisted experiences by a more knowledgeable partner. According to Feuerstein (1980) a child needs an intermediary between himself and the world, an interpreter who can prepare his experiences so that his development is guided into a social world of shared knowledge and skills - within a community and a culture. This thesis may seem obvious and trivial, still when it is spelled out in more detail, as Schaffer (1996) and Klein (1992, 1996) have done, it becomes a rich field of research that has direct implication for education and intervention.

There is rich experimental evidence from early childhood research showing that a child's play or problem-solving is richer and more advanced with the presence and support of the mother or another confident caregiver (De Loache and Plaetzer 1985, Freund 1990. Schaffer 1996). The type of support which seems especially effective is what Schaffer calls "joint involvement episodes" or "JIEs". This is a special kind of social interaction "which begins with establishing a common attentional focus and which the adult then uses to extend the child's behaviour repertoire and so help the child to reach a higher level of competence... In JIEs the two participants, adult and child, pay joint attention to, and jointly act upon some specific topic. The topic may be an object, a toy, or another environmental feature, though as the child grows older topics are increasingly likely to assume a symbolic and verbal form and the JIE then becomes a conversation... ". (Schaffer 1996, p. 121).

The first step in this process is establishing **joint attention** or what Pnina Klein calls "**focusing**" (Klein 1996). In early infancy joint attention is obtained by pointing, showing and demonstrating, gaze directing, verbal calling "Look here!" combined with pointing. This normally goes into a next stage of naming the object or demonstrating how it functions, highlighting with enthusiasm, which in Klein's terminology is called "**giving meaning**".¹⁶ In practice these two stages tend to go together as one attentional focusing

¹⁶ Meaning has always a tacit emotive or evaluative aspect which is essential for activating pupils' interest and commitment. According to Pnina Klein, the pleasure of sharing with somebody who encourages and

strategy that are spontaneously used by sensitive and responsive caregivers. This is part of what I earlier described as establishing inter-subjectivity (“secondary inter-subjectivity” in Colwyn Trevarthen’s terms)

It is easy to overlook this aspect because a child lives in his own world of experiences and meanings and when a teacher takes the lead and communicates to the child without too much sensitivity and reciprocity, there is the possibility that there is no joint attention, nor intentionality and the child may read some other meaning into the teacher’s utterance that may later be attributed to some incompetence or deficiency of intelligence in the child – deficient communication becomes deficient competence in the child. This is particularly important when it comes to misunderstanding of genre in the class-room (Edwards and Mercer 1987)

One way to ensure some commonality of meaning is to reverse the pattern of dominance in the communicative process so that the child's interests and initiatives comes more into the foreground. When this takes place, it is easier for the teacher to adjust to the child’s intentionality or world of meaning, because it is externalized in the child’s actions and utterances that he can see and hear. By leaving more space for the child's initiatives and activities, the teacher will more easily discover the child’s intentions and thus become a partner inside his world of meaning; they become jointly involved in the same episode (Schaffer 1996).The teacher can thus guide him in line with his initiatives and intentions. In this way a dialogue between child and teacher may ensue that leads into the next point relating to mediation, namely expansion beyond the present situation.

As joint attention and topic sharing is achieved (within reasonable measure)¹⁷, there are different ways of going further depending upon the nature of the episode or task. If it is an **informative context**, the adult and child are looking together at something, for example into a book, there is pointing at pictures, asking questions "what is that?" answering by labeling and giving explanations. According to the mediational tradition of Feuerstein, **expanding (transcendence)** comes in here as a crucial way of enriching the child's experience. Expanding means that the caregiver gives explanations and "goes beyond" what they see together (depending upon the child's age or stage of development): This can be by giving explanations of why, where it comes from, what it reminds of, what will happen further etc Or it can be by telling stories so that the pictures (or topic) becomes assimilated into a story, a drama or into a more logical conceptual scheme of comparison and classification.

According to Sigel (1977) one important aspect of expansion or “going beyond” is “distancing” .This refers to behaviors that "function to separate the individual from the immediate behavioral environment..." (Sigel 1977.p. 168). By creating distance the child

guides the child’s attention into the adult world of shared social meanings is like creating appetites for further understanding. A good teacher is always trying to convey his enthusiasm and his own interest and commitment.

¹⁷ There are subtle aspects in establishing inter-subjectivity of meaning that one cannot expect shall be achieved in a class-room, still communication inside the topic can go on and gradually inter-subjectivity may increase as the child explores the topic.

gets an overview or a “meta-cognitive” representation of the situation so that he can see different alternatives. The method for creating distance is through **reconstruction and symbolic representation** of what the child has experienced – this creates distance from his immediate experience. Questioning the child is another method that Sigel recommends to achieve this. (See also Blank 1977 and Meadows 1990, Pramling 1990). There is a lot of research showing that joint involvement with expansion is the singly most important factor to promote a child’s intellectual development (Sigel 1977, Klein 1995, Carew 1987, Schaffer 1996).

But there are different ways of expanding within an informative context; one way **narrative-dramatic**: that is to tell stories and use drama and role-play as a method of expansion. The other way, which is more within the scientific tradition is **logical-analytic** through classification and comparison, causal explanations etc. (Bruner 1989, Hundeide 1996). Both these ways are important as they prepare children for different fields of human culture, namely the poetic-artistic and moral on the one hand, and the scientific-technical and computational, on the other (Engel 1995).

If the context is **regulative**, the assistance will take a different shape than when it is informative (Hundeide 1996). Within the regulative context expanding and explaining is usually not the essential point, rather supporting, guiding, hinting and directing: When a child is involved in a goal-directed activity like a construction task (building a tower with bricks), or solving a problem in mathematics, the adult tends to apply the scaffolding strategy by adjusting the level of instruction to the child so that the child is assisted, by hints and directive comments, when he fails. At the same time assistance is gradually withdrawn as the child gains more control and mastery of the task.

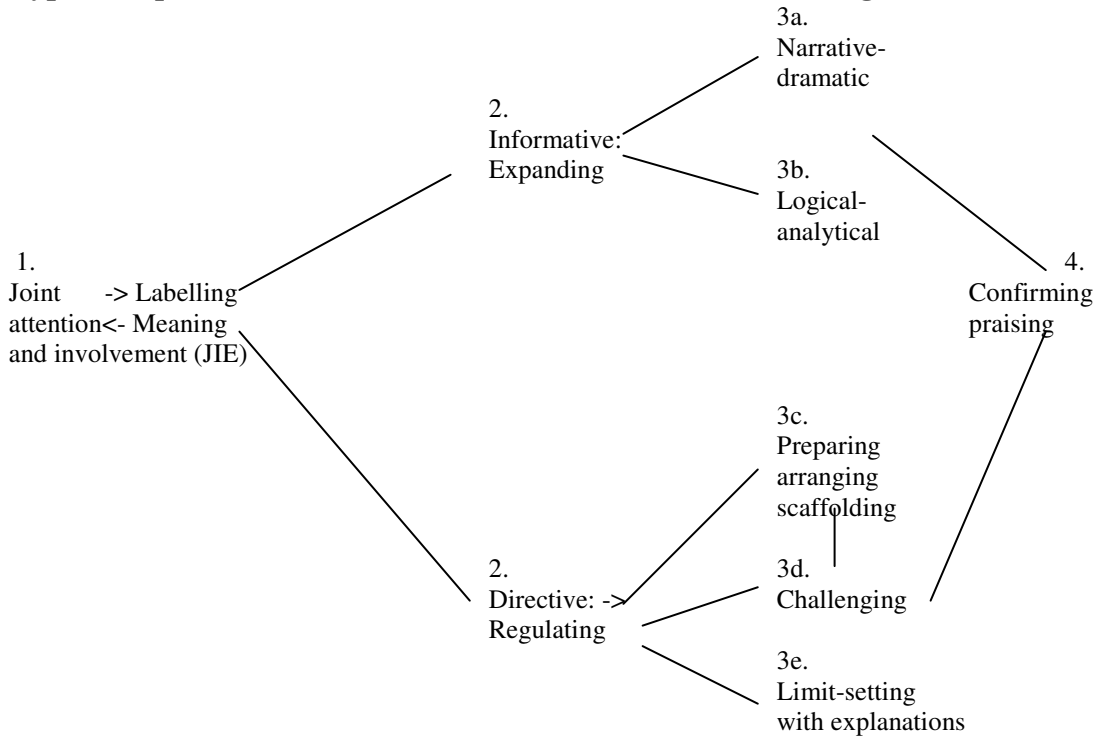
According to Heckhausen (1987) and Vygotsky, the optimal strategy in such situations is based on the principle of **challenging the child "one step ahead"** - the adult focuses the child's attention on those aspects of the task that is just beyond the level of his present competence - the child has to “stretch” to reach the goal indicated. This is a strategy that most caregivers spontaneously seem to apply. But of course it requires sensitivity to the child’s focus of attention, intentionality and capacity. And even if sensitivity fails, it seems that most normal children are able to pick up the instructions or hints that they can use in their ongoing goal-directed activity.¹⁸ In other words, a child is not only a passive recipient, but an active partner in selecting the guidance and care that he receives (Schaffer 1996,p. 267).

In addition to **regulation and assistance in goal-directed behaviour** like a construction task there is also regulation with regard to **limit-setting** when a child is breaking the rules or hurting somebody. I will return to that later in this paper.

¹⁸ It is interesting that most sensitive caregivers do not have any problems in adjusting to the child’s “level” despite lacking academic knowledge of stages. It seems as long as they are able to attend to the child’s intentionality and initiatives, this is sufficient. Besides the child regulates what it needs (Heckhausen 1987).

In the figure below I have attempted to summarize some important features of effective mediation according to both Feuerstein/Klein and the more Vygotskian inspired tradition of Wood, Schaffer, Wertsch and Bruner.

Typical sequences of mediation within an informative and a regulative context.



In a typical mediational interaction, or joint involvement episode, the first step (1) is normally **establishing joint attention and involvement - usually combined with labelling** and demonstrating so that the meaning aspect is included in the first step.¹⁹ This first step is a precondition for any further interaction or communication between the child and the caregiver or teacher and it is therefore essential to raise awareness for the significance of this first step also in a class-room with older pupils. – Is there joint attention and topical sharing?

The next step depends upon the nature of the episode or task, if the context is **informative** (2), then expansion is the natural next step either in the direction of explanations and analysis (3a) or in the direction of story-telling and drama (3b). This is a rich field that can only be indicated in this context. (Engel 1995, Hundeide 1996). This is in fact the essential content of both teaching and schooling.

¹⁹ This is also described as “the anchoring of experience” so that a new experience is identified as something familiar; Giving a familiar label or showing how a new object functions are ways of anchoring experience or giving meaning. This is also similar to Piaget’s concept of assimilation, which he described as “the basic fact of psychology”.

If the nature of the context is **regulative**, the child is involved in some goal-directed activity, the assistance may take the form of supporting, hinting, highlighting the important features, telling (3c) and challenging (3d).

Then there is the whole field of limit-setting in a negative and positive way (3e), that I will return to later in this paper.

Finally, there is usually a fourth stage of evaluative feedback that is providing approval and confirmation (by the teacher or caregiver) on what the child has achieved. This may take the form of explicit praise with explanation (4), or a more subdued form as an approving non-verbal gesture by the caregiver. There is cultural variations in the way confirmation and approval is communicated (Hundeide 1991).

The sequential format that is indicated above is an idealization. In practice there may be all kinds of deviations from this pattern with spontaneous changes and insertions of new contexts and goals.

Positive regulations and scaffolding

Regulation, or the ability to develop a strategy of action, step by step, including the ability to plan ahead, control oneself and not to act on impulse, is an essential capacity in any society and particularly in the problem solving activities that are dominant in the school setting.

Pnina Klein (1997) explains her concept of regulation as: "The adult, by modeling or by scheduling objects or events in time and space, introduces a pattern (plan) of activities for the child, thus regulating the pace and reducing the child's impulsiveness in perception, elaboration and expression..."

Regulation of behaviour is also related to helping the child to get an overview of the situation, helping the child to reflect on how to proceed, how to plan systematically from a "meta-cognitive" view of the situation so that he does not follow his impulsivity and jumps to the first and most obvious conclusion. In short, regulation in a didactic sense consists in helping the child to perform more reflectively and strategically than he would have done otherwise. There is a special didactic methodology developed around these concepts that are very much in tune with the spirit of the ICDP Program (Hundeide 1996, Wood 1998, Tharp and Gallimore 1988, Pramling 1995)

Both within the Vygotskian and the Feuerstein tradition there has been a strong emphasis on the importance of regulation; particularly on how "self-regulation" develops from "other-regulation", and how internal actions (operations) develop from inter-actions between people. As the child becomes more competent in performing a guided task, the guided interaction becomes internalized as inner control so that the child is able to guide himself and anticipate the consequences of his own action-initiatives. This is the key to inner control, according to Vygotsky (1978) Wertsch (1990). For this reason, it is assumed within the Feuerstein tradition, that guided mediational interaction in regulative

context may also facilitate the development of control in the child in general – also in the moral field (Feustein, Klein and Tannenbaum 1991).

In addition to the purely didactic aspects of regulation related to the completion of tasks and projects, another aspect of communication in the class-room is related to how regulation and control is being carried out. This is sometimes called “**limit-setting**”.

The traditional authoritarian class-room, in its most negative variant, the teacher tends to control all unwanted behaviours through negative control techniques like commanding, pointing what is not allowed without explanations and sometimes also by the use of ridicule and scapegoating. This strategy tends to create an atmosphere of apprehension and fear - who is the next to be examined? Who is the next victim of the teachers' ridicule, negative criticisms and even physical punishment? This is the underlying fear. This is not an atmosphere promoting learning and what Pnina Klein calls "inquisitive minds", rather it is an atmosphere that promotes rigid adherence to the letter of "the correct reply", apprehensive obedience and submission under an authority, pleasing the teacher, which is the opposite of an independent and inquisitive orientation to the world. This is the "policeman" approach to education which has been dominant in the traditional school (see John Holt "The underachieving school").

Positive regulation in the sense of “limit-setting” on the other hand is carried out in a friendly atmosphere, the child is respected as a person. Instead of shouting and negative commands, **explanations are given for why things are not allowed and why certain rules or prohibitions are necessary, rule are negotiated and agreed on, also the consequences for breaking them.** This is according to Hoffman one of the most important differences between good and bad control-procedures in child rearing and forms the basis both for the development of accountability and altruism in children (Hoffman 1979).

At the same time, as prohibited actions are pointed out in a clear and firm way with explanations, the child's attention is redirected to what he is permitted to do. This is an important point, particularly with young children, because emphasizing and pointing out what they are not allowed to do, sometimes fixes their attention on exactly the negative actions, and thus prevents them to act more positively. **Redirection of attention** is therefore an important strategy particularly with young children, but also at a higher age-level where inactivity and aimlessness easily leads to a cycle of negative actions.

4. Promoting resilience and autonomy. (R)

In addition to care, protection, guidance and direction, which have been described above, a child also needs to be prepared for the hardships of life by being exposed to challenges that mobilize his resources, adaptability and resilience in facing difficult life situations. This is necessary, not only for his development as such, but also for his ability to adapt in a world of increasing complexity and challenges. In order to cope he/she may need to develop a certain degree of robustness or resilience and a belief in his or her ability to act.

In practice this means that in addition to enriching and extending the children's experience as we have discussed above, there is also **another kind of guidance and expansion where children are encouraged to face challenges and developmental tasks appropriate for their age-level and capacity and to the reality that they are going to face as they grow up.** ²⁰ This guidance may take the form of supporting a child to accept realistic challenges, helping him to get started, preparing the setting, and encouraging him as he goes along, by communicating competence and praise when he achieves the goals that he has set for himself. Many of these tasks are outside the school context itself, they are part of a local peer culture and therefore very often the key to friends and companionship.

Feuerstein has also made similar points. He maintains that one of the most important qualities parents can pass on to their children is an attitude of optimism and hope, the belief that there will always be a solution no matter how difficult things seem to be. Through our attitudes and behaviour, we are, whether we like it or not, models for our children, so that we often indirectly lay the basis for optimistic and hopeful attitudes to life, or pessimism and helplessness (Seligman 1991, Bandura 1995)

The feeling of self-efficacy and self-confidence does not come by itself from nowhere, it comes through the experience of mastering challenging experiences that are confirmed by significant others. Therefore it is important that a child is encouraged and helped to confront moderate challenges that are prepared and adjusted to his level of competence and strength so that he may have the experience of mastery and coping on his own - this also includes having important functions or roles in relation to others in need. (Elder and Caspi 1988, Seligman 1991, Bandura 1995, Grotberg 1995). ²¹

Going to preschool is for many children the first confrontation with the realities and responsibilities outside the family. Such experiences are important preparations for life, although they may appear shocking and painful for some unprepared and insecure children. ²²

Autonomy as learner

Also in the intellectual or scholastic field taking on challenges where the pupils can follow their own initiatives and ideas are important for developing autonomy, independence of mind. This is also a topic in the Piagetian tradition. As Piaget himself

²⁰ The significance of this preparation is particularly visible when one deals children living under extreme life conditions - as we have been doing in the ICDP Program (Hundeide 1991, 1996.)

²¹ Elder and al.. 's study of the after-effects of the great depression on adolescents is particularly interesting in this respect because it shows that most children were negatively affected by their parents negative moods and aggression, still some adolescents seemed to benefit in personal growth and responsibility from having faced and coped with the difficulties and economical hardships their families went through. There is a rich literature on resilient children, who coped and developed despite extreme hardships (Werner).

²² An insecure child is not only a child with "insecure attachment problems", it may also be an unprepared child.

stated, "to understand is to invent" - to understand is to reconstruct and create one's own version of what is said or experienced (Piaget 1972). This active element is easily forgotten in more instructive education where the teacher is supposed to transfer his knowledge to the student through lectures. Such knowledge tends to remain in the field of verbalism and rhetoric, at best useful for examinations, without penetrating into the field of personal, creative understanding and action. For this to happen a more active, reconstructive and dialogical-confrontational approach seems to be necessary – finding one own “voice” in confrontation with other “voices” (Bakhtin 1987, Hundeide 1973, Perret-Clermont and Schubauer-Leoni 1981, Dyste 1989).

The acquisition of knowledge in the sense suggested above is therefore something wider than transfer of information from the teacher to the pupils, it is more like a constructive or “co-constructive” act between the pupil, the problem and the supportive teacher, and this may in some cases involve more than knowledge in the narrow sense, it may involve taking on a new role, a new position and in even a new identity. (Becoming literate in a largely non-literate society is taking on a new identity. See Hundeide 1991, Lave and Wenger 1991).

Brown and some collaborators (Brown and Palinscar,1988) have illustrated this through a new approach that they call "proleptic instruction" which combines both active construction and guided participation at the same time. Prolectic²³ instruction implies that the trainee has to reconstruct what is not explicitly stated in the "proleptic directive" that the teacher gives. "... in the context of instruction, it refers to situations where a novice is encouraged to participate in a group activity **before** she is able to perform unaided; the social context supports the individual efforts. In these teaching situations, a novice carries out simple aspects of the task while observing and learning from an expert who serves as a model for higher level of involvement. At first the novice participate more or less as a spectator responsible for very little of the actual work. But as she becomes more experienced and capable of performing at a higher level, the expert guides her to increasingly more competent performance. The teacher and the student come to share the cognitive load equally. Finally the adult fades herself out, as it were, leaving the student to take over, and the adult teacher to assume the role of a sympathetic coach." (Op. cit)

Brown used this approach combined with **reciprocal teaching** with disadvantaged seventh graders who had reading comprehension problems:"...the teacher and the student took turns leading a dialogue on sections of the text they were reading. The teacher assigned a segment of the passage to be read and either indicated that it was her turn to be teacher or assigned a student to teach that segment. The adult and the student then read the assigned segment silently. After reading, the teacher (student and adult) for that segment summarized the content, asked a question that a teacher or test might ask on that segment, discussed and clarified any difficulties, and finally made a prediction about

²³ Proleptic means in this context "in anticipation of comprehension".

future content. All of these activities were embedded in as natural a dialogue as possible, with the teacher and student giving feedback to each other."(Op.cit).

An important aspect of this is the reversal of roles and structure of control; instead of the asymmetric situation where the teacher is in charge and the pupils adjusting to the receiving role as pupils, leaving the initiative to the teacher, **in reciprocal teaching the pupils are trained both to share and cooperate, but also to take a new role as leader, being in charge and being responsible for the teaching process itself.** This is a new type of "meta-learning" which help developing their self confidence, resilience and ability to act on their own initiative (R).

In another study Brown and her collaborators instructed students in the use of four strategies for reading comprehension: **Summarizing, questioning, clarifying and predicting.** These points were supposed to be essential for comprehension fostering activities. In addition they used reciprocal teaching so that each student had his turn being teacher going through these four points with the others after having read a segment of the text silently. (Brown et al.1988)

This is an example of a new and promising approach that can be used in interaction with pupils in the class-room, but also as a method for sensitizing teachers.

5. Accountability and moral responsibility (A)

As already pointed out under the previous point, challenge and reversal of control and initiative from the teacher to the child may be important in order for the child to test and exercise his skills and ability to generate and act on his own initiatives ("agentivity" is an expression that has been used by Stern), which is an important component of self-reliance, and so is accountability and responsibility.²⁴

According to Shotter (1985) **the request for accountability** is the basis for the development of both intellect and morality in a child; by being compelled to account for his actions in a dialogical sense, that is, to give reasons for his actions, the child will learn first that one has to be able to give reasons for actions, they are accountable, and secondly, he will learn that if his account is not acceptable this may have consequences for himself. He learns that he lives in a society or in a class-room with norms and rules that are also applicable to him.²⁵

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²⁵ This is different from the automatic consequences in behavioural therapy where consequences follow actions. In this case actions are mediated by the child's account of his actions, not by his actions directly. This is a great difference because this creates the development of responsibility and an internalized system of norms and responsibility.

Therefore, discussion and exchange of opinions between teacher and pupils on what is allowed and not allowed, what is acceptable behaviour and what is not, what should be the rules that all should abide by and what would be appropriate consequences (or punishment) for breaking the rules, is an important preparation for children's accountability and participation in a moral community where all are responsible for order and for shared goals.

Piaget was a pioneer in this field by pointing out that the teacher's unilateral preaching of morality is not enough, what is needed in addition is practical exchange and confrontation between pupils and pupils and teachers as equal partners in a dialogical process (Piaget 1932). In this process pupils may get out of their self-centered orientation and develop a commitment and an autonomous responsibility for sustaining the collective rules that they have negotiated. (They become part-owners of the product!) This is like being socialized to become a responsible member of a normative a mini-society, where the child has to account for his actions in relation to others and to take the consequences of his account when it is not acceptable. (See Glaser 1980, Olweus 1994²⁶ and Kohlberg 1989).

Altruism and empathy are also part of this: Developing codes of loyalty between children so that they can share joy and happiness together, but also participate in each others suffering and sadness. Helping the child to see the other's child's experience and suffering/humiliation and taking responsibility for helping when needed, constitutes the basis for the development of the child as a moral subject, according to Bauman (1989) and Eisenberg (1992). This part should form the basis for a more action-oriented approach to the development of morality.

Summing up:

Altogether the guidelines suggested above summarize the interactive qualities that we assume are essential in a classroom where students are developing not only as individuals with cognitive competence in the academic field, but also as responsible human beings with concern and feelings for others.

The point that has been developed in this paper is that this ideal cannot be achieved through the child's own initiatives unassisted, but through the guided participation and cooperation both with peers and with more mature and knowledgeable persons, in this case the teacher.

The new pedagogy of assisted learning has a different emphasis from the more liberal and open pedagogies of the 60ies. Rather it emphasizes the need for guided interaction, order and cooperation inside a framework of reciprocal respect both for the teacher and for the

²⁶ Dan Olweus' programme against bullying in the school context is relevant here.

pupils. This implies not only freedom and self-initiated activity , but also the training in acting responsively and co-operatively .

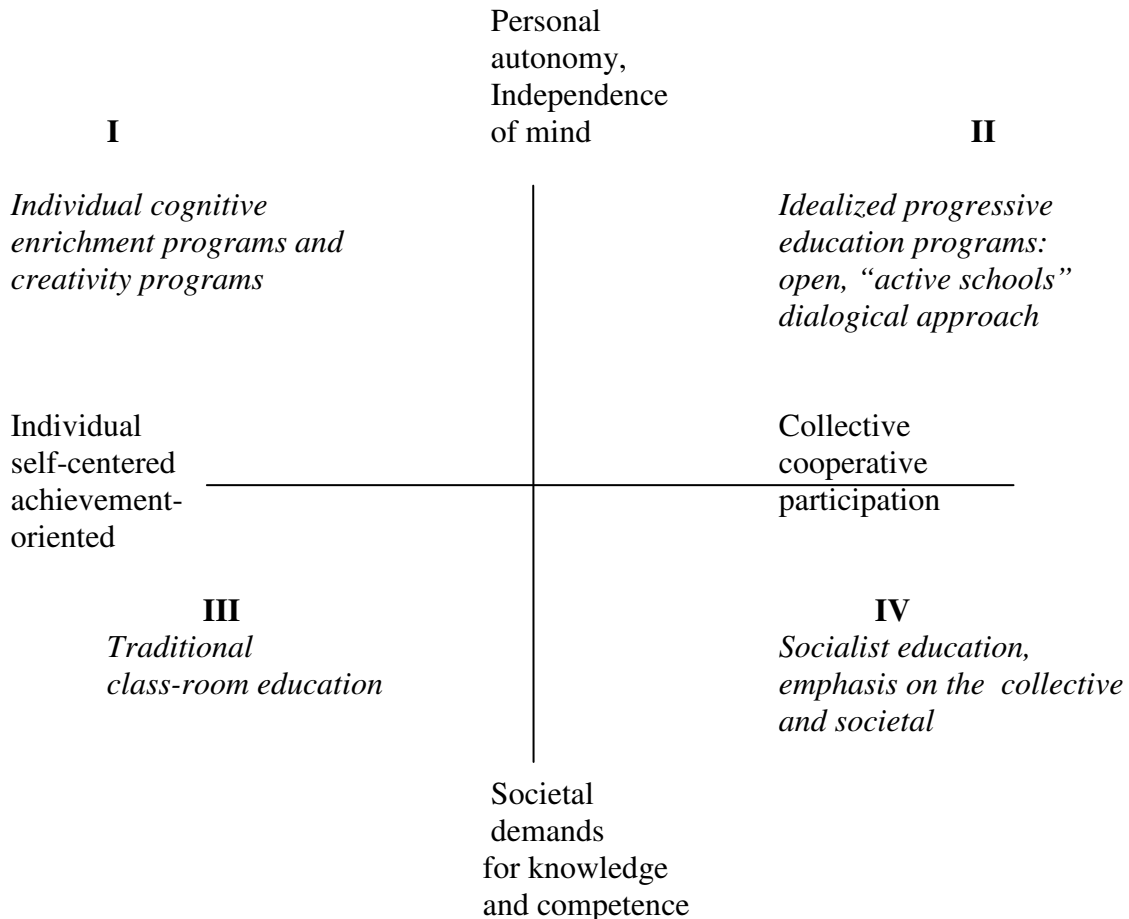
Dilemmas in education

Practical education will always represent a balancing between opposites; on the one side there is the need for freedom and exploration in order for children to develop a personal and autonomous understanding and motivation to learn. On the other hand, there is also the need for precise knowledge and criteria of competence that are adapted to the needs of society – freedom needs to be counterbalanced by specific demands and discipline if a child is to adapt to society.

Similarly there is the dilemma between individual achievement and competition inside a competitive school system that qualifies or disqualifies students for future life-careers. On the other hand there is the need for preparing students to cooperate and to participate with others, sharing collective values and developing loyalties, responsibility and altruism.

Although these values are generally accepted as important, one has also to face the fact that they are conflicting and not so easy to combine in practice. In the scheme below I have tried to illustrate how different education ideologies and practices have solved these dilemmas by localizing them in different positions inside a coordinating system of opposites:

A theoretical taxonomy of different approaches to school education.²⁷



Assisted learning is clearly within the 2nd quadrant because there is both the emphasis on the social dialogical and interactive aspect and on personal initiative and interest of the child.

The question is then how can this approach be combined with external pressure for exact knowledge and examinations and the pressure for individual achievement from ambitious parents who wish their children to become "successful" ? How do we balance personal development of children as human beings with moral orientations, with competitive individualism and achievement oriented egoism?

²⁷ The dimensions are taken from Harre's book "Personal Being" London: Blackwell 1983.

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Appendix: Checklist for teachers using the new ICDP guidelines for teachers.

1. How is the emotional climate in your class?
2. Do you have a positive attitude and express emotional warmth towards the pupils?
3. Do you praise pupils for what they do well?
4. Do you allow some time for the pupils to follow their own interest and to develop their own projects?
5. Do you ask the child to reconstruct and present his own version of what he has experienced or discussed?
6. Do you give time and space for the child to explore interesting subjects with other children?
7. Do you ask leading question that may guide the child to his own solution of the problem?
8. Do you go beyond the present experience and explain, compare and elaborate what you share with the child?
9. Do you sometimes tell stories about the topic you are discussing or present the subject in such a way that children's interest and involvement are aroused?
14. Do you help the child to get an overview of the situation so that he knows all the facts that are necessary to solve the problem?
15. If the child is stuck, do you try to understand what the child's problem is and proceed from there step by step so that the child is assisted to find his own solution without discouragement?
16. If the child is stuck, do you ask analytic questions that direct the child's attention to the crucial points, or do you give him hints as to how proceed to find a solution **without intruding too much**, so that the child has a feeling that he himself is able to solve the problem?
17. Do you sometimes help the child to sustain the goal of his «project»?
18. Do you discuss with your class why certain rule are necessary and do you agreed on what should be the consequences for breaking them?

19. When some rule is broken, do you correct the child by giving explanations for why certain actions are not allowed and why certain rules or prohibitions are necessary?
20. Do you correct a child in a positive way without humiliating him?
21. If a child misbehaves and follows a negative course of action, do you suggest positive alternatives for the child(ren) ?
22. Do you encourage and inspire the pupils to take on challenges that are at the limits of their capacity?
23. Do prepare situations so that all pupils, also the weakest, can have the possibility to have experiences of mastery and coping?
24. Do you use questioning as a technique to challenge and guide a child achieve his own understanding?
25. Do you sometimes put students in positions where they have to take on a new and more responsible role where they have to assume the consequences and account for their own actions in relation to other than the teacher?
26. Do you give students tasks of cooperation where they have to take on responsible roles in relation to each other and in relation to their collective achievements?
27. Do you give students tasks of caring where they personally may experience and see the problems and suffering of people less fortunate than themselves?
28. Do you give students exercises in taking the roles of experiencing the reality of persons with very different background from themselves (like different ethnic, cultural and social backgrounds)?
29. In your open and tacit discourse with students what kind of values do you convey or imply?

Altogether the guidelines suggested above constitutes the abridgement "EMRA", which summarizes the interactive qualities of positive emotionality (E), mediation and meaning (M), positive regulation and resilience (R), accountability and responsibility (A). These are the interactive qualities that we assume are essential in a classroom where students are also developing as human beings - moral subjects.

II: “The inter-subjective space”: The hidden mechanisms of inclusion and exclusion in the class-room.²⁸ Draft

Karsten Hundeide

1. Examples of inclusion/exclusion:

*a. How does a group receive a newcomer? At lunch
What are the reactions?*

At best:

Eye-contact and smiles – gestures of inclusion
Greetings and presentation
Adjustment of the conversation to some topic that is relevant for the newcomer
Asking him where he comes from ...background – without being too personal etc
He is positioned in the conversational centre – he is seen, accepted and welcome...
He can direct the conversation based on his own background and genre
A large part of this is non-verbal gestural confirmations

At worst:

The group ignores him, they just go on talking on the same topic as before without anybody registering the arrival of a newcomer
Nobody sees him – no eye-contact with anybody
Nobody smiles and invites reciprocal exchange of positive gestures
Nobody adjusts the topic of conversation to include him
When they talk they talk in an intimate genre with background references that only the insiders share
Indirectly he is excluded and positioned in the periphery of the group – which also where he is also physically positioned

The newcomer in a group-test

There is great difference in individual sensitivity to inter-subjective spaces. We can see this most clearly when a group of persons are communicating and a newcomer arrives - how is the response of the group? We can see groups where nobody responds to the newcomer, they continue as before and if he wants to communicate he has to join in on their premises or abruptly insert his own communicative initiative forcing the others to join him. Or there may be one or two sensitive persons in the group who invites him by either:

²⁸ Speech at conference in Lillehammer from 3-5th of June 2002 “The Resilient Child.” . This a draft and needs to be further elaborated.

- a) by smiling and inviting him through emotional confirmation and giving physical space,
- b) through introducing him to the topic that is being discussed, or
- c) adjusting or bridging to the topic of discourse so that it relates to his interests or competence as they know him.
- d) or intruding a new topic that is at the centre of his interest.
- e) Or a friend may stop the other conversation and greet him, asking him about something relating to his life etc. The latter strategy is usually only used with person with high status in relation to the group.

If there is nobody in the group who serves this bridging and inclusive function, the newcomer may feel like an outsider, excluded and maybe also rejected.

How newcomers are received in a group is therefore an interesting test of the groups sensitivity to include and create opportunities for participating in the inter-subjective space that has been created.

Different persons in a group may have different roles in the group, like:

- The topical director of conversations
- The obedient listeners and followers
- The person in charge of cohesion and inclusions – ceremony master
- The gestural and expressive supporter – silent but with high position
- The opponent and dissident
- The high status person to whom participants look to get confirmations for their conversational output or opinions
- The alliances between different persons relating to topic, attitudes, opinions etc.

2. What are the dimensions of inclusion and exclusion in a group or a classroom?

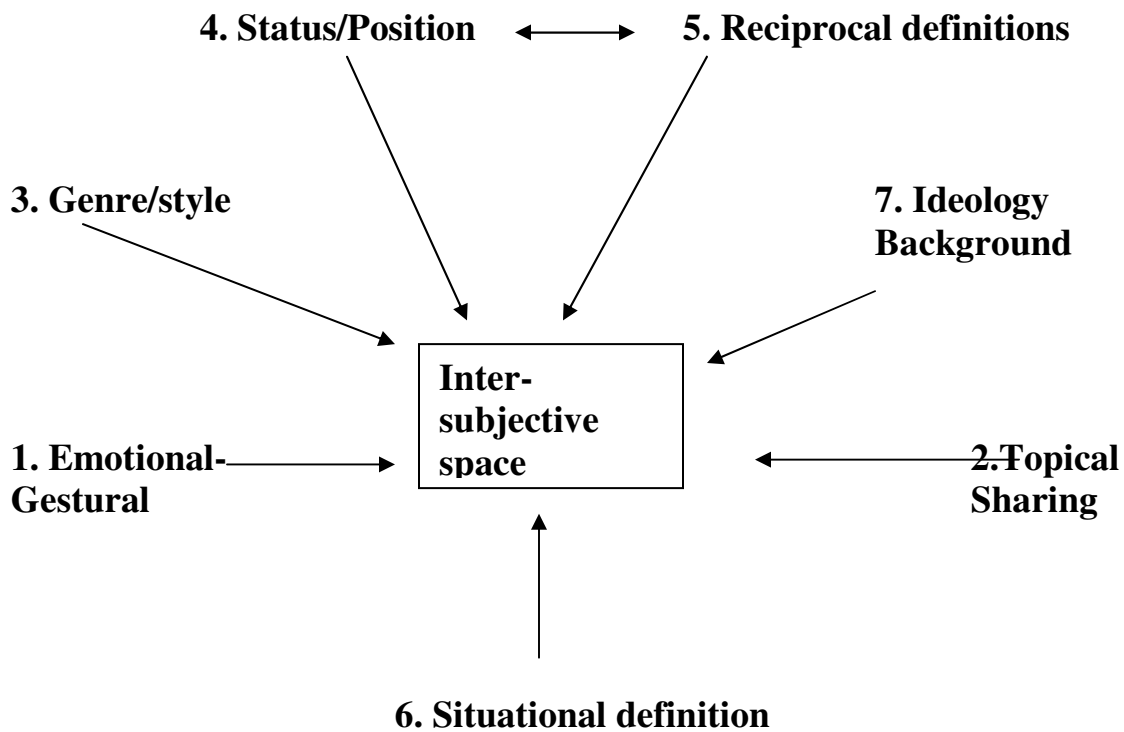
Dimensions of inclusion/rejection in inter-subjective space:

- 1. Emotional-gestural confirmation/rejection**
- 2. Topical inclusion/exclusion
(Topical focus/definition and narrative)**
- 3. Genre/communicative code – in/congruence**
- 4. Status-position - hierarchy**

(Dominance versus equal relations)

5. **Reciprocal definitions of participants – alliances and contracts**
6. **Situational definition – and goal**
7. **Background, attitudes, ideology and moral orientation** -

DIMENSIONS OF inter-subjective SPACE



3. About inter-subjective space – “the silent conductor”

What is going on in a class-room is therefore not only dependent upon the intentionality of the teacher but upon the interactive atmosphere or frame that is created between teacher and pupils. This frame or "metacontract", that I prefer to call "inter-subjective space", is in fact tacitly determining what is natural and plausible to express both from

teacher and pupil's point of view and position. It is like a silent conductor that directs the type of interaction that can and should naturally go on within that interactive frame.

Through reciprocal attunement and adjustment between teacher and pupil and through the interactive frame of the class-room setting, a common basis for inter-subjectivity - an "inter-subjective space" - is created *with its own "invitational structure"* which regulates what is fitting and appropriate (plausible) in the interaction within that situation. This space does not belong either to the teacher or the pupil(s), *but it is emerging between them as a "conversational reality" - a third voice beyond the voices of both teacher and pupils is created*, according to Shotter (1996). This common basis is like a tacit metacontract of participation that has been negotiated between them about what should be the appropriate style, genre and content of the interaction and who should play which role in the interaction.

At such moments of participation in an inter-subjective space interlocutors feel they are "on the same wave length" and the conversation or interaction between them flows naturally and pleasantly without any effort. At the same time they feel accountable to each other inside the tacit communicative contract that regulates what is appropriate response. This pressure towards interactive commitment and accountability is particularly strong in face to face interaction, according to Shotter: "... As soon as we come into the presence of another living person, we find it difficult not to act responsively towards them, even if it is just to exchange some greeting: "Hello... Hello" (plus eye contact). Indeed the refusal to acknowledge another person is always something of an ethical act shaped different in different cultures..." (Shotter 1996:166).

Just as there is flow and naturalness when we are participating in the inter-subjective space between interlocutors, there is clumsiness, awkwardness and the feeling of being left out when we are not inside the inter-subjective space that has been created; we are present but not participating. Bakhtin is also touching this problem when he describes a person who do not master the genre, as "clumsy, unproductive and silent..."²⁹

4. Opening and closing the inter-subjective space

The idea of an inter-subjective space may help analyze the tacit and subtle constraints which are operative in any human encounter and particularly in the class-room. From the inter-subjective perspective, a pupil's reply is therefore not only the reflection of his inner, individual competence, but the reflection of **what is plausible to express in the inter-subjective space between him, the other pupils and the teacher in a particular setting. In a different setting his production might be different...** As pointed out above, this perspective changes how we understand the whole process of assessment and attribution of responsibility - from the individual (the pupil) to the inter-subjective space that is created between them ... Also the diagnostic problem will change from an

²⁹ Moments of inter-subjectivity can come about through sharing a particular local genre, but it can also be more idiosyncratic in the sense that it springs out of a relationship based on the sharing of a particular background experiences which can serve as a referential frame for an intimate dialogue.

assessment of the pupil's individual mind to an assessment of the inter-subjective space that is created and **to what extent does that include some pupils and leave out others?** For example pupils with a slightly different cultural background (see Edwards 1987). To what extent is what we describe as "school competence" a question of mastering the tacit communicative code of the inter-subjective spaces that are dominant in the class-room; like genre and non-verbal confirmatory exchange through gaze and nodding in the submissive position/role in relation to a dominant teacher?

These are not only theoretical issues but very real problems that deal with the key-issues of commitment versus withdrawal, being active and creative versus being inactive, blocked and inhibited, feeling included and accepted or feeling inferior as an outsider, or more generally feeling accepted and productive versus feeling like a failure outside the inter-subjective space that the others are sharing.

Depending upon the nature of the encounter, the communicative leader, (in the class-room usually the teacher) plays an essential role in creating an inter-subjective space that may or may not include all. An essential aspect of inclusion beyond, gaze and body-language, is selection of genre and topic. It is easy to exclude a person by selecting a topic in which some participants have no background, or a local genre that includes only insiders. This is the more subtle aspect of inclusion/exclusion.

Communicative closing through selective use of body language and genre are tacit ways of domination through creating inter-subjective spaces that may exclude some persons from participating among insiders. For example, a dominating and insensitive teacher may lack the flexibility necessary to adjust and negotiate a style of interacting that includes most of his pupils, instead he imposes inflexibly his own personality and style of interacting that may (tacitly) expel most of his pupils from the inter-subjective space that he is creating. In this way, and very often without his own awareness, he is creating an atmosphere of anxiety and failure, nobody feels well and motivated because there is no space for the pupils' natural expressivity and creativity - an alienated communicative situation is created where neither pupils nor teacher feel at ease³⁰. These are some of the more subtle aspects of communicating in the class-room which have not been so much focused on (Mercer and Edwards 1987).

5. Inter-subjectivity and the exclusion of pupils

This type of analysis is particularly relevant for understanding the subtle inter-subjective aspects of the classroom. From the inter-subjective point of view, *a pupil's reply is not only a reflection of the competence (structure) of his individual mind, but also the reflection of what is plausible to express in the inter-subjective space between him, his*

³⁰ A good teacher is a teacher that sensitively creates an inter-subjective space that includes all his pupils so that they will feel at ease and can communicate in a way that is natural and easy...

teacher and the other pupils in the particular setting of the classroom. This point of view changes the whole process of assessment and attribution of responsibility - from the individual (the pupil) to the inter-subjective space that is created between him, the teachers and the other pupils in the typical class-room setting ... Also *the diagnostic problem will change from an assessment of the pupil's individual mind to an assessment of which inter-subjective space is created and to what extent does that include some pupils and expel or leave out others?* Or to what extent does it fit certain pupils and not other - for example pupils with a slightly different cultural background (see Edwards 1987). To what extent is what we describe as "school competence" a question of mastering the tacit communicative code of the inter-subjective space like genre and non-verbal confirmatory exchange through gaze and gestures in the submissive position/role in relation to a dominant teacher?

These are not only theoretical questions, but also very real problems that deal with key-issues of well-being and creativity of persons interacting and working together.³¹

Persons may differ with regard to how flexibly they can participate and join into different inter-subjective spaces. Some are very limited and need to have their ways otherwise they feel awkward and left out. In such cases, the other interlocutors may have to adjust themselves to include the person with a more limited inter-subjective repertoire. In other situations there can be a real power-fight about what should be the dominant topics or genres/style in the emerging inter-subjective space between them. This is a topic that also Bakhtin discussed.

Reciprocal definitions of participants – alliances and contracts

6. The didactic contract and "the correct reply".

A central aspect of the inter-subjective space of the class-room, is the didactic contract (Perret-Clermonet et al...). This is the more or less tacit agreement with the pupil from the point of view of both parents and teacher about why they are in the class-room, what they are going to do and learn, how they are going to learn and what is their and what is the teacher's role in this process. At face value this may seem trivial, but assuming there is a pupil with different cultural background who assumes that learning is rote memorisation and collective recitation of preset replies like what they do in Koranic schools, then there is conflict of expectations and disagreement with regard to didactic contract.

When a pupil with this expectation is requested by the teacher to answer question not based on "the book" but by independent reasoning, he may feel helpless, confused and inferior, because he has misunderstood the ground rules of this class-room (Edwards 199..) and what learning in a modern class-room is about. In other words he has not endorsed the didactic contract of the class-room, but is stuck in expectations from a different cultural situation... We very often see that students with such background face

³¹ Anne-Nelly Perret-Clermont and her collaborators have been exploring the problems of inter-subjectivity both in a test/experimental and in the school situation.

problems in a class-room where independence and autonomous problemsolving is encouraged.

In general one can say that the "correct" or appropriate reply as expected by the teacher and the school community, presuppose that the pupil has endorsed the didactic contract of that class-room or that teacher. From this point of view one of the most important tasks of a teacher is to prepare the students in such a way that they can endorse the appropriate didactic contract that applies in a particular educational situation.³²

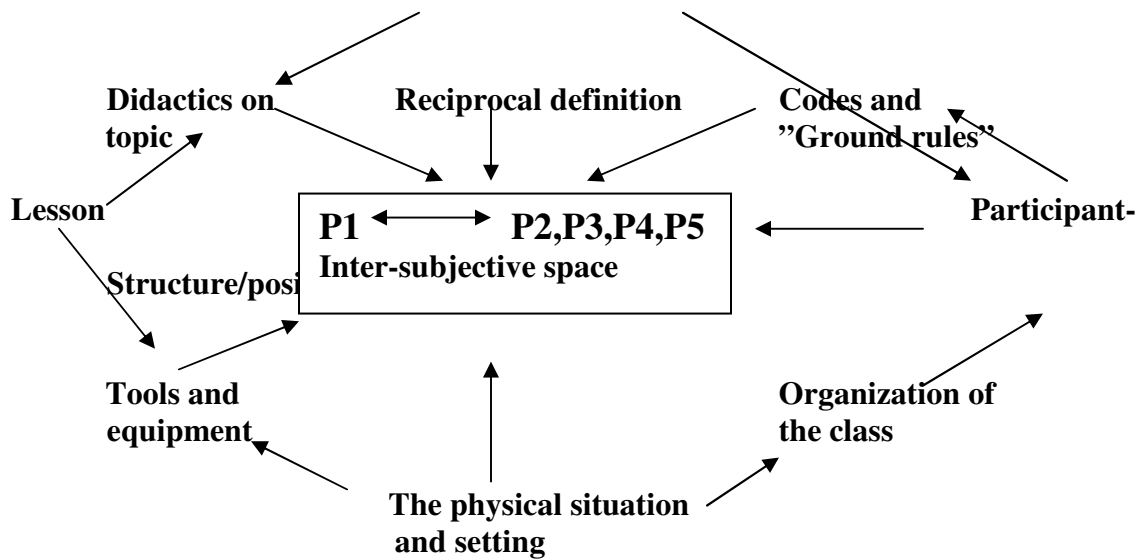
As an example when I interact with my grandson, we tend to interact in a joking humouristic way, this has become a more or less fixed way of interacting - in other words it has become a contract between us. But this style of interacting that invites certain contents and certain ways of talking and not others. For example, it does not invite confessions about personal problems like the problems he faces at school, in relations to other pupils and the teacher... This would require *a different contract with a different genre has an invitational structure for more sincere and personal exchange*. When I on one occasion changed the style and told him about a child who had great problems with his teacher, he changed completely and started to confess in a very personal and intimate manner about his problems with his teacher etc. In other words, *by changing the genre or style of talking, a new inter-subjective space opened up between us that invited sharing of more personal experiences and problems*. That was not possible in the other genre... This is an extremely important point to be aware of - communicating appropriately is not only a personal quality - it is more *a competence in mastering the appropriate genre for the occasion*.

In other words, what is possible and appropriate to say or inform between interlocutors, in this case teacher and pupil, depends upon the metacontract relating to style and genre (as part of inter-subjective space), and similarly; what is an appropriate and correct reply according to the standards of the school culture depends upon the communicative metacontract (didactic contract as an example) and particularly upon the type of genre that is endorsed between a child and the teacher. Consequently an incorrect reply should not only be attributed to some failure in the child's mind, but to the way the child has understood the metacontract in the concrete communicative situation.

Inter-subjective space in the class-room context

Curriculum and school culture

³² Only by endorsing the appropriate contract can the pupil participate in the intersubjective spaces that are created, from moment to moment in the the class-room and give appropriate replies. The didactic contract thus constitutes the contextual meta-frame that regulates the intersubjective spaces that are created within the class-room. Agreement on genre can be very important in this respect.



7. Implications for intervention

This inter-subjective perspective on the educational process has far reaching implications as it transfers the traditional tendency to attribute the locus of failure and responsibility in the individual mind, usually of the pupil. Rather the locus of failure should be sought in the dialogical and collective process of the class-room. This means concretely that school failure (and success) should be diagnosed and analysed in the context where it appears, namely in the class-room; not only in the isolated consultancy rooms of the school-psychologist and psychiatrist. But this requires new methods both of observation and analysis (Holt 1980³³, Casden 1980, Edwards 1990).

Although there are different approaches to teaching in the class-room, generally this is an asymmetrical process where the teacher is dominant. It is he who sets the premises for how interaction and communication can take place in the class-room. For this reason recommendations with regard to teaching should focus on how to create conditions or "space" for positive dialogue and co-construction inside the limits that are set...

8. The sensitisation of teachers

The extent to which teachers are aware of both their own and their pupils' positioning inside the class-rooms inter-subjective space, will be further discussed by referring to a research project that was carried out in some rural schools at the west-coast of Norway. Results from this project indicate new means of analysis and intervention in teacher-

³³ After having written the books "How children fail" and "How children learn", John Holt wrote the book "The underachieving school" where the locus of failure is transferred from the individual child to the class-room and the school.

pupils interactions in the classroom based on the teachers' own application of certain "tools of reflection" like exercises in redefinition of the pupils, video-feedback etc that are reported to a colleague group – a reflective forum. Instead of imposing corrective guidelines from the outside, the teachers themselves, through their application of these reflective tools and through participation in colleague groups, become able to achieve a new inspiration and insight and into their own interactive practice with pupils in the classroom – without being threatened. This methodology will be reported as an extension of the ICDP Program.

9. Forum for self-reflection:

The objective was:

1. To create a self-sustaining, non-threatening, reflective group where teachers could bring out their own practical experience of teaching, relating and communicating with their pupils thus raising their awareness of their own performance as a teacher
2. To raise their awareness of each student's strengths and positive sides, not only deficiencies, and also how they related and communicated with the pupils, including correcting their tacit negative prejudgements and contracts with each pupil – through discussion and assistance from colleagues.
3. Finally to test out new and improved ways of communicating and organising teaching – and sharing these experiences with colleagues
4. The idea was to create a forum where the teacher should be in control and bring out and share their own experience and knowledge, share and analyse it through some analytic tools (like the ICDP guidelines) and find their own ways of improvement – instead of being instructed by experts from the outside.

The initial stage of training/sensitisation:

- a) 6 days training/sensitisation course in the ICDP Program split into two periods with practical exercises in between.
- b) Stages in implementation of intervention in the school-project in Ålesund. The meetings in the reflective forum were held every week or fortnight over 4-5 months altogether 12 meetings.
- c) There was a strict agenda preset for the meetings which included:
 - Rotational leadership of the meetings – all participants had to take a leader-role.
 - On each meeting there was a video-presentation of their own performance in the class-room – analysed and presented by themselves as introduction to the discussion.
 - The format for analysis and discussion of the video was the ICDP criteria

- Redefinition of each pupil in the class was also a recurrent topic in addition to video-feedback: (1. Each teacher is requested to characterise each pupils with two adjectives and discuss this with the colleagues. 2. After two weeks the same exercise but in addition the teacher should use adjectives indicating the pupils “zone of possible development”, that is the strengths the positive qualities and developmental educational potential of each pupil.
- In addition come testing out new improved ways of relating and communicating with the pupils
- New ways of organising the class-room and thus also class-room’s ”participant structure”
- The ethical code for communicating in these groups was to be positive and constructive in commenting on the videos or performance of each participant and never to criticise a colleague in such a way that he felt insulted and loosing face in front of his colleagues...

This agenda was organised into the following temporal sequence:

First stage (3-4 times):

1. ***Definitiontraining*** - each teacher is requested to characterize each pupil in his class plus redefining him or her by indicating "zones of possible development". Each pupil is discussed in the group in order to identify positive possibilities and positive ways to relate to each pupil.
2. Each teacher presents ***a self-analysed video to the colleague group***. The presentation is discussed with the group and afterwards written down and presented to the projectleaders. All participants have to present one video for analysis. The tacit code in these meetings is to give constructive (During the project each participant should be video-filmede four times).

Second phase (3-4 times)

3. ***Testing out new and improved ways of interaction*** either through a) role-playing, b) testing out directly methods in the class and report back to the group - also by video-demonstrations of own interaction where possibilities for improvement can be identified.

Third phase (3 times)

4. ***Analyse different class-room organizations*** - which situations invite which type of interaction/communication? How is it possible to improve and enrich interaction with

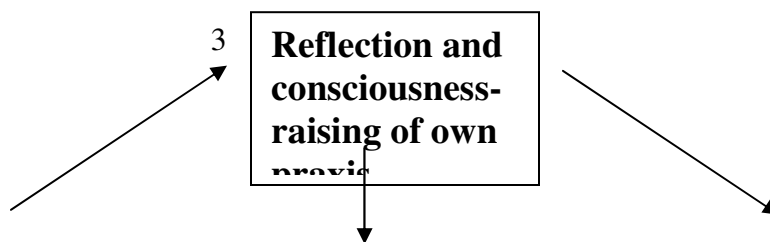
pupils by regulating the situations and the classroom organisation? Which situations do invite conflict? Which situations/organisations invite cooperations? What is my way/style of organising the class-room and selecting situations? How could it be improved? How could it be done alternatively?

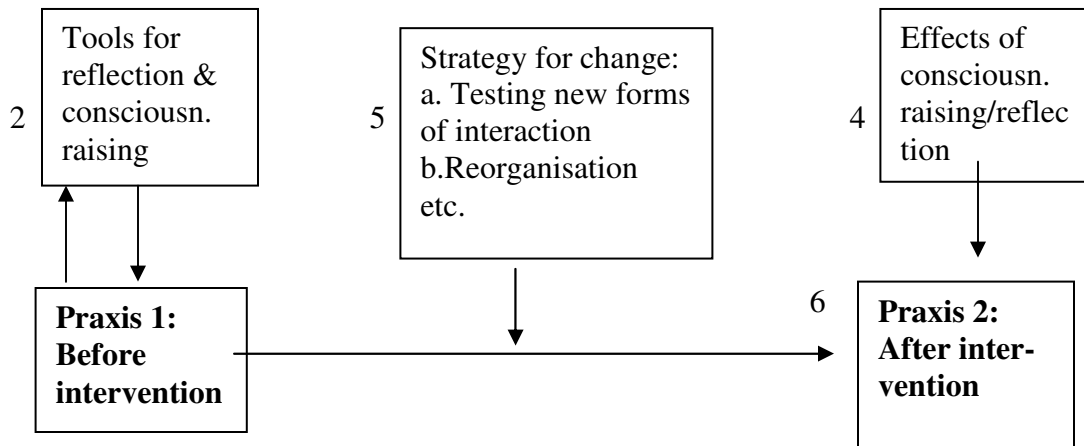
5. ***Design/agenda for change of routines***, selection of situations and organisation of the class-room. Each teacher is supposed to suggest, implement and report back their agenda to the colleague group.
6. Further ***plans for how to organise the teaching*** education in order to sustain the positive experiences and effects that achieved during the project.

Even if this is described in phases, both video-analysis and redefinition of pupils will be recurrent topics in most meetings. The participants are encouraged to read the Paper "Guided interaction in the class-room" focussing particularly on the questions at the end of the paper. Also reading the book "Guided Interaction from infancy to school age" is a prerequisite for participation.

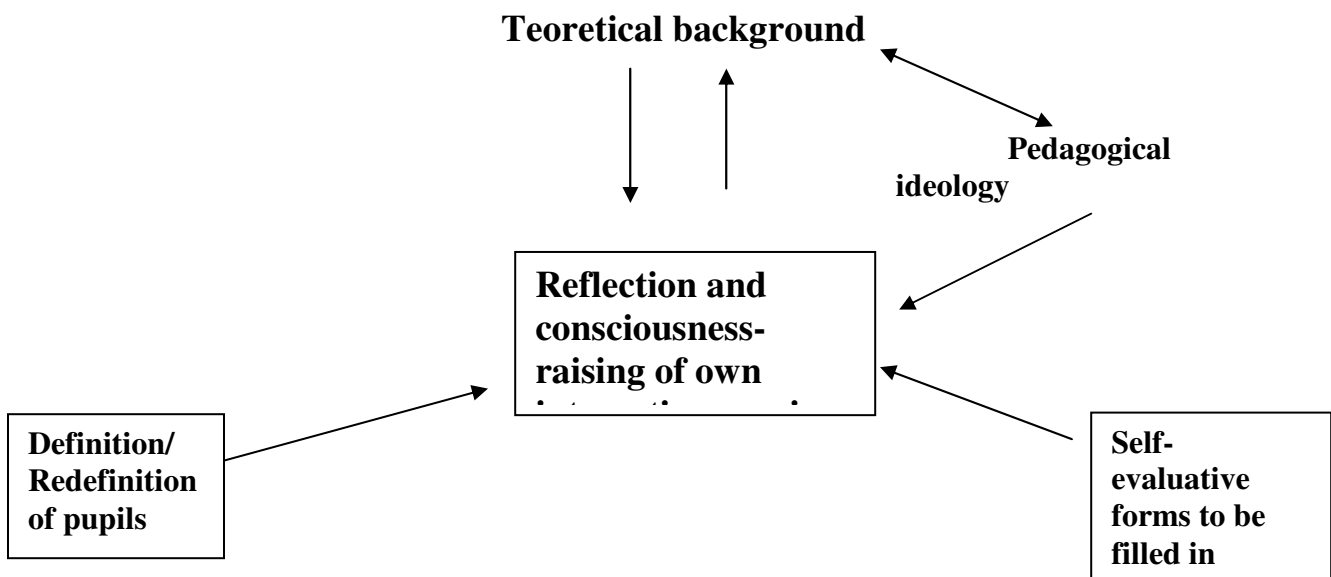
10: The rationale and models: The reflective group method

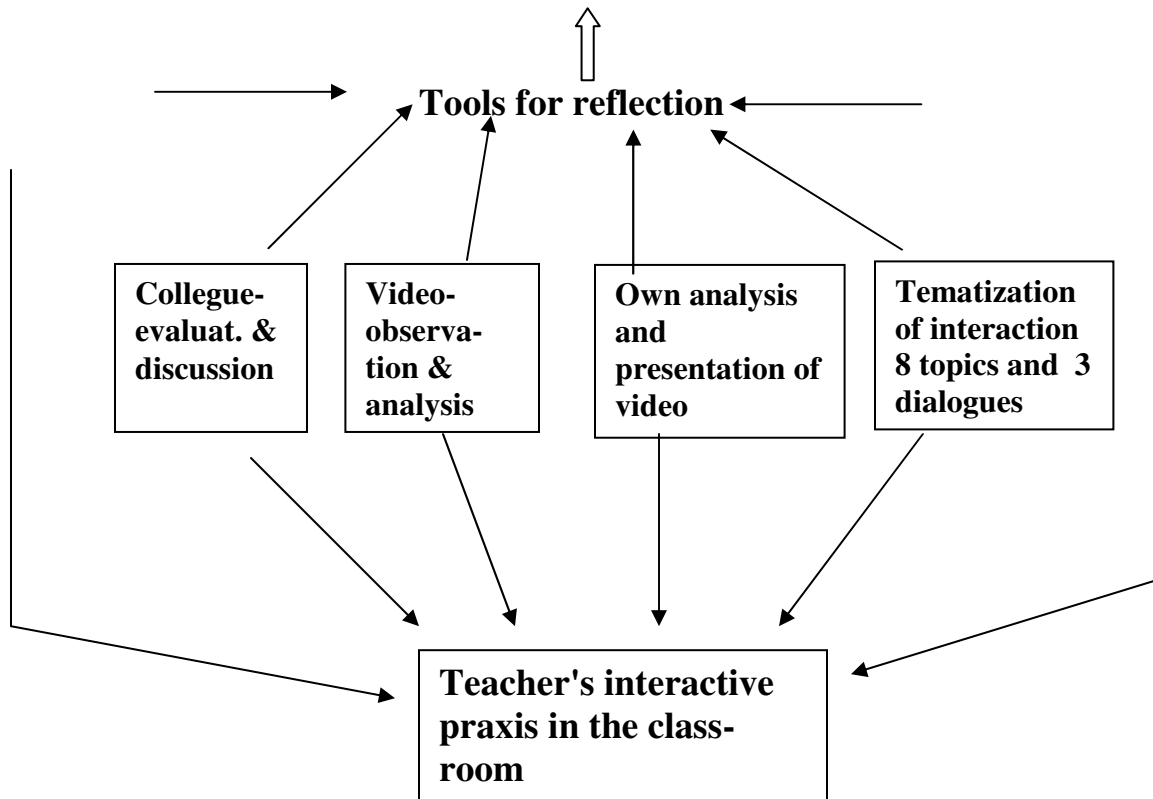
Model of change:





Reflection and evaluation of teachers' own interactive and co-operative praxis in the class-room.





11. Results

The outcome of this intervention was surprisingly positive as judged from the teachers own evaluations and comments through interviews and questionnaires. In short, the results were the following:

1. All the teachers reported that they had benefited much or very much from participating in this project.
2. The component of intervention that they reported had made the strongest impact on them was definition and positive redefinition of pupils. They all emphasised how useful it was to focus on each pupil and to get feedback and corrections from the other teachers, and also how relieving it was to look for positive qualities not only deficits what is part of their daily practice.
3. Video-analysis – particularly analysis and presentation of own video– had also a strong impact both on consciousness-raising and practice
4. ICDP guidelines for good interaction, which were used as a tool for analysis, was also considered important
5. Also lectures and study of relevant literature was considered important

6. The same applies to colleague-discussions
7. The items which were not so positively recorded, were reorganisation of the class and testing out new strategies. This may partly be due to limited timing and opportunity – as only a few groups were able to implement this within the time-limits of the project.
8. An important comment from many was that this created a new openness and warmth among the participants – they felt support from the others and felt secure and not threatened when they opened up and presented themselves to the others.
9. A critical point was the problem of logistics and fitting this pilot study into their daily routines and curriculum. Also clarification seemed to be needed in connection with filling self-reflective forms and in general more information could have been given with regard to what was involved in participating in the project.

12. Conclusions: We have to go beyond individual attributions

- **There is a danger in the extreme individualism that we traditionally find in clinical psychology and pedagogy. We tend to attribute all deficits and failures in school children's success and failures to some inner deficits in the pupils – to some personality or neurological deficit: The cause and the guilt remains always with the pupils.**
- **An alternative to this individualistic attribution is to look for dialogical and inter-subjective causes for the failure. This is why the conceptualisation of the inter-subjective space is so important, because this creates a conceptual vehicle to analyse failures as deficient subjective agreement, as misunderstands, as different genres, as stigmatisations and negative positionings of pupils and teachers, with self-fulfilling consequences, etc.**
- **This inter-subjective approach opens up to a new way of diagnosing and understanding school success and failure where the inter-subjective space and climate of the class-room is in the centre. It is inside this space with its specific organisation of participant structures – who are allowed to say and do what when - which genres, styles, voices and topics are dominant, how different pupils are predefined into specific roles and positions etc. All this creates an inter-subjective space that includes some pupils and leaves out others – and this creates a new approach to school success and failure where the focus is on the interactions, on the relationships, the genres and the predefinition by others, not only on the focus of the individual child and his inner failures.**

- **It is in this context that a reflective forum becomes important because it creates a forum where teachers themselves can meet, exchange experiences, analyse their performance through video, discuss their conceptions and positioning of individual pupils and the test out alternative ways of improving the inter-subjective climate in the class-room.**
- **But in order to this, there is a need for *a new conceptual framework and new way of understanding success and failure that goes beyond individual attribution* linked to inner deficits of traditional clinical psychology. There is a need for a new conceptual framework that looks both at *the positive potentials of each pupils*, and at *the inter-subjective climate between teacher and pupils that create the communicative preconditions for successful performance* also among those who fail. This paper is hopefully a contribution in this direction.**

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III: The ICDP programme in the kindergarten (2000).

Karsten Hundeide

In this paper I will first be looking at how interaction between kindergarten teachers and children can be improved and enriched, then I will go on to show how a kindergarten programme aiming to prevent violence and inconsiderate behaviour and to promote co-

operation and altruism, can be set up. Both are based on the principles described in the first part of the manual.

Guided interaction with small children.

Mediation and mediated learning (Feuerstein and Klein 1986) are concepts which have entered into psychological and pedagogic usage. Mediated learning means that the child's experience or learning is mediated, supported and guided by another person who has greater insight and experience. Hence mediated learning has also been called guided participation (Rogoff 1990) or learning in the zone of possible development (Vygotsky 1978). Supporters of this point of view maintain that if the child is left to itself without assistance from others, its development will be very limited. The decisive element in a child's development, according to this theory, is the quality of the mediation taking place between the child and the person taking care of it. (Klein 1990).

On the other hand, supporters of a more child oriented pedagogy maintain that the child's own initiatives and activities are decisive factors in the process whereby the child's learning becomes personalized and authentic. It is the child's own experiences which should be extended. Anything thrust on the child which is out of line with the child's own experience and initiative, can be absorbed in an external way, but the long term consequences can be alienated, superficial knowledge which does not relate to the child's own form of understanding and motivation (Hundeiede 1973).

Now it is important to point out that the tradition of mediation as formulated by Feuerstein and Klein, has always emphasised that there must be reciprocity of purpose between the child and the person taking care of it in order for good mediation to take place. Having said this, it is also clear that this tradition, to a far greater degree than Piaget or Montessorri, for example, emphasises the guiding, didactic role the person taking care of the child has in the child's development.

There will always be a difficult balancing act between letting the child follow its own initiative on the one side and the didactic "thrusting" of the parents' initiative on the other.

The majority in our culture would be of the opinion that it is decisive for healthy and independent development that a child's positive initiative is respected. Therefore mediation, or mediated learning should first and foremost consist of supporting, challenging and leading the child's initiative and interests towards what is necessary for the development of the accomplishments and knowledge needed to adapt to a community with others. See also the introductory chapter which deals with this subject (p.).

In practice this means that we are **sensitive to the child's initiatives and activities, and that we take the time to share experiences, communicate meaning and extend the themes the child brings up. When we take part in the child's activity in this way, we guide and help the child to carry out its projects, describe and explain the child's perceptions and enrich its register of experience.** This is a normal social process.

It has been shown that this type of didactic interaction with one or more of the people taking care of the child has a decisive influence on the child's cognitive and social development (Carew 1980, Klein 1994).

So the question is whether there is any cause to intervene in this interactive process. Is, for example, the quality of interaction practiced in kindergartens not already sufficient?

There are several studies which show that this is not the case. In England Sylvia () has made, together with Bruner, a fairly large study of the quality of interaction and contact between kindergarten staff and the children in a number of English kindergartens and day-care institutions. They found to their surprise that there was much less interaction than expected, and that much of the interaction was of poor quality. Equivalent studies were later done in the USA (Edwards 1995) and Sweden (Karrby 1989) with the same conclusion; the quality of interaction and contact in the Swedish day-care centres was much poorer than had been presumed. Similar findings have also been made in Norway (Amlid 1993). This type of research has possibly led to increased attention being directed to the qualitative aspects of kindergarten care. Let us take a look at which qualities would be emphasised when working from the ICDP programme in a kindergarten setting. I will attempt to summarize

below some of the recommendations which arise from an extended interpretation of mediation (Hundeide 1995). In contrast to the first part of the manual which is particularly directed towards infants, this part is dealing first and foremost with young children of kindergarten age.

1. Creating a positive and accepting atmosphere.

As has already been pointed out in the first chapter, it is known that children can shortly after birth already perceive the emotional quality of their contact with their parents. This sensitivity is also present in the years of young childhood and it is therefore important to spend time establishing positive emotional contact before the didactic interaction starts. The best way to achieve this is to show interest in the child's initiatives and activities by adjusting to what the child is doing, participating without taking over, following and commenting positively on what the child does. In this way a trusting relationship is established - a contract of trust - which can be important for later interaction when more demanding tasks are going to be explored together.

2. Reciprocity, contact and collective attentiveness are decisive.

However a well lead interaction does not only require reciprocity of feelings, reciprocity of intention and attention are also necessary. The question then is: What attracts the child's attention? What is it most interested in and what does it talk about most? What are the typical experiences a child has in its everyday life? Is there reciprocity and collective attentiveness among children when they play together? Or are there lots of distractions in the situation so that they are really talking at cross-purposes and are absorbed in different things? Is the person taking care of these children in a physical position to enable natural contact with them?

How does the person taking care of the child get the child's attention? Does s/he adjust to the child's initiative and activity or does s/he force his or her own will on the child in an insensitive way? Does s/he suggest something within the child's field of interest and attention? Can the child express its own initiative?

Is there emotional contact between them? Do they look at each other from time to time and confirm each others activity through non-lingual gestures, like nods and smiles?

3. Seeing and following the child's initiative and activity.

Another important question is whether the person taking care of the child sees the child's initiative? Furthermore, does s/he follow and extend these initiatives?

This cannot be taken for granted, for it takes patience to see and confirm a child's initiatives, to extend and enrich them. It is like telling the child it is significant, that it is an important person who can act independently and that it deserves the attention of the person taking care of it.

Following the child's initiative does not, however, mean that its own initiatives and activities shall predominate in every situation (see page and point 5. below). Meanwhile the key to the child's world, to contact and hence the potential for influence lies in confirmation and participation in the activities the child has initiated. You must start where the child is.

4. Positive nomination and description of what the adult and child are doing and experiencing together.

When a person taking care of the child gives a name to what the child is involved with in a positive way, the child's self confidence is strengthened and at the same time, it is helped to understand and create meaning in its experience of the outside world. Both these aspects are important for positive development.

Many children receive only negative comments from those taking care of it, they are constantly hearing what is wrong and what they are not allowed to do. This can create defiance and resignation - no matter what they do, it is wrong. Where this kind of attitude exists, the person taking care of the child gradually loses his or her influence over the child, the relationship of trust is broken and the child feels it is no longer appreciated. After a while the motivation to co-operate is also weakened, and in its place appear defiance and aggression, or resignation and passivity. These are the emotional consequences of being disregarded and undervalued (for both children and adults).

However positive nomination has another important function¹, to create meaning and understanding of what the child experiences. When the person taking care of the child describes in an enthusiastic manner what s/he and the child see and experience together, this leads to different aspects of the child's experience being highlighted, differentiated and made comprehensible (see page about the 6th. interaction theme). In this way the child is gradually lead into our common world of meaning by the people taking care of it giving committed descriptions and comments about their common experiences.

I have mentioned here committed descriptions and enthusiasm because the communication of meaning is not just a matter of communicating cognitive concepts and distinctions, but also to a high degree communicating emotional meaning, commitment and interest. In this connection Pnina Klein talks about arousing the child's appetite for understanding its environment. And this happens when a committed father or mother talks to their child about something that is really important to them; then it is not just concepts which are communicated, but also enthusiasm and interest.

5. Two forms of extension of a child's range of experience

As the child approaches the age of two, it no longer lives just in the world of here-and-now with regard to people and things, it also lives in a world which transgresses the immediate experience, ie. ; an imaginary world which is acted out in the child's symbolic play. A symbolic world of fairy tales and stories (Bettelheim Lamer). Likewise, when parents take part in the child's imaginary world, they are not just communicating meaning and enthusiasm about what they are experiencing at the time, they are also creating stories about what they are experiencing at that moment. And that is something quite different; for then they transgress the immediate experience and place it in a fairy tale setting with princesses and monsters, which give it a completely new dimension. The elk seen in the forest becomes the magic elk about which innumerable stories have been created, or the doll in the game becomes a princess, etc.. This symbolic transgression of what is experienced here and

¹ The positive encouraging function is particularly emphasised in the Marte Meo method. They have, however stressed to a lesser degree the other aspect of nomination, namely the communication of meaning which is also important for the child's development.

now naturally engages and fascinates children, especially when it takes place in the form of stories, plays and fairy tales which they can act out themselves. This is what Bruner calls the narrative mode which he considers as the most fundamental means of creating understanding in man. (Bruner 1989, Pramling, Carlson and Klerfelt 1993, Engel 1995).

However there is also another form of transgression which Pnina Klein and Feuersten have particularly emphasized. It is **the logical transgression and extension of concepts** where one compares more analytically what one experiences with something one has learned earlier:

What is this? (Focussing with question about meaning)

It is a dog (Meaning through nomination)

Have you seen a dog like this before? (Question about transgression)

Do you remember when we were at Grandma's, what did she have?

(Transgression through comparison with earlier experience)

Or one looks for similarities and differences:

What is the difference between the dog Grandma had and this?

Or nomination with classification:

Do you know what dogs that look like this are called?

What sort of dog does Grandma have?

Do they look the same?

Or the theme can be extended with causes and explanations.

Why do some dogs bite? Why are other dogs gentle?

Does the dog understand what we say when we talk to it? Why? etc. (see the seventh interaction theme, page).

It has been shown that this logic form of extension seems to have a direct connection with the development of the child's intelligence as is measured in intelligence tests (Klein 1994). It has also been shown that it is particularly people living in modern educated society who use this kind of form of communication with their children (Laosa 1980). In traditional societies the story-telling tradition still dominates as the natural means of expression.

6. Helping the child plan and control its actions.

As I have pointed out earlier, self control is developed through co-operation with others in the context of a purposeful project. It is when the child is going to build a tower of bricks by itself that it must be careful and plan the next step so that the tower does not fall down. And it is when the child is playing with other children that it has to adjust its behaviour and and show consideration to the others, in order to avoid negative consequences for itself. This is the reality of life which children sooner or later must adapt to and learn to respect (Piaget 1932). But this requires self control, the ability to plan and consider the consequences before acting.

The Vygotsky tradition has in particular indicated that the ability to control oneself arises from an interaction with the people who take care of the child supporting and helping it in its purposeful activity. An important point in this connection is that the child receives support but maintains the initiative (Wood). The point is that the child must be independent, therefore it is decisive that the child's own initiative is tried out and then guided. It is this personal creativity which must always be respected in all guided learning (Hundeide 1973)²

Let us imagine a child about to build a house out of building blocks. The house keeps falling down and the child becomes more and more impatient and finally gives up. It is in situations like this that the child, with a little assistance from an experienced guide, can manage to achieve what it could not have done alone. This is what is called the zone of potential development. The guidance itself can be carried out in an indirect way by making

the blocks the child needs particularly accessible, giving small hints; asking the child where one should begin, why. Sometimes it may be necessary to remind the child of its aim, or warn the child what will happen with different actions, for example if it puts the largest block on last, etc.. In some cases it may be necessary to suggest alternative solutions, or as a last resort point out directly what should be done, if the child loses patience. The point is to give only the guidance and encouragement the child needs to master the task. When the child does begin to master the task, the advisor can gradually withdraw so that the child eventually feels it has mastered the task alone.

When a child learns to master projects with a purpose like this, it also learns something about learning in general. It is this meta-learning or meta-cognition which means that the child develops the ability to see alternatives, to plan and see the consequences of its actions, amongst other things. These are essential prerequisites for the development of self control. (Brown and DeLoache 1983, Pramling 1988)³.

In the next chapter I will look more closely and the setting of limits in a social setting, which is an important part of the regulation and development of self control.

7. Giving children challenges which develop their self confidence and ability to act.

In addition to care, protection and guidance, which I have described in the previous point, the child also needs to be exposed to challenges which test its ability to master, keep at and solve single handedly the problems it meets. It needs to develop a degree of robustness and the ability to act. If the child is constantly protected, it does not develop

² Anne Brown and her associates have developed a variation off participatory learning which they call proleptic teaching where the pupil must complete and partly guess the solutions to the practical problems they are confronted with.

³ Another essential aspect of meta-learning is that the child learns something about itself. It learns that it is able to act and to influence the circumstances in its surroundings and it learns to look at itself in the light of how others react to its actions. This is of course a fundamental aspect of children's socialisation, which will be looked at in the next section.

the skills needed to master and withstand the challenges and stresses children normally meet (Piaget 1932). Neither do they develop the self confidence and faith in their own ability to act which is an essential part of mastery.

This does not mean that small children should be left to themselves and their own devices to try out their own skills and ability to act. Here there must also be guidance and evaluation of what individual children can manage. Some sensitive children must be protected to a greater degree and then gradually be confronted with the challenges which interaction with more robust children will demand. Other children are more robust and will be able to stand up for themselves without experiencing too much defeat. Here there will always be a balance between challenge and protection which the individual kindergaten teacher must consider. In any case the aim must be to give the child realistic experiences which can boost its ability to act, its courage and self confidence with regard to the challenges it will meet both in and outside of the kindergaten. These will often be experiences where the child is the main participant.

In practice this means that in addition to the exchange which aims to enrich and extend the child's experience (Klein 1994), **another kind of guidance is also necessary whereby a situation is arranged and manipulated so that the child acquires appropriately challenging experiences.** Stimulate children to dare to accept such challenges, help them to get started and encourage them as they go along, communicate competency (see page) and praise them when they achieve the aims they have set themselves. Another aspect of this is to ask challenging questions and make suggestions which stretch the child's abilities to a maximum. According to Kohlberg and his associates, it was these questions and explanations on the outer limits of the child's capacity for understanding and expression that had the strongest effect on the development of moral understanding (see also Blank 1983, Meadows 1988, ch. 3).

Feuerstein has also described this in a slightly different way. He emphasises that one of the most important qualities parents can pass on to their children, is an attitude of optimism, the belief that there will always be a solution no matter how difficult things seem to be.

Through our attitudes and behaviour, we are, whether we like it or not, models for our children, so that we often indirectly lay the basis for optimistic and hopeful attitudes to life, or pessimism and helplessness. It has been shown that these attitudes are fundamental to a person's mastery and capacity for social adjustment (Seligman 1991). According to Feuerstein, it is possible to influence this passive transference of attitudes to life by taking this up as a subject for mediation, where the pedagogue or person taking care of the child consciously tries to promote an optimistic and successful attitude to life in the daily interaction with the child⁴.

Mediation in the kindergarten.

It is not always so easy to carry out these guide-lines when working with groups of children in a kindergarten situation. It is advantageous to prepare in advance certain subjects which you know the child is interested in and which lend themselves to mediation. This is what is normally called theme oriented projects in the kindergarten. What is meant by this is that you start with the child's general experience of certain areas and through activity and interaction you follow, deepen and further develop the child's understanding of these themes over a longer period of time (Doverberg and Pramling 1988).

When you have localised certain themes which are suitable for mediation, it can be particularly helpful for those who do not have experience with mediation to make a **mediation chart** of the individual themes. This is a chart with drawings, arrows and words which shows the subjects you can focus on, themes which can be taken up and commented on, the extensions that can be made in the form of comparisons, associations and explanations. For example, you can talk about how things have been made, where they come from, what they can be used for, what experiences the child has had with the theme/subject being focussed on, stories which can be told about it, etc.. The better prepared and enthusiastic the kindergarten teacher is about the theme being taken up, the more interesting it is for the children.

⁴ Together with the Dutch Van Leer Foundation, Grothberg (1995) has followed this idea further and developed a pre-school project which aims to promote resilience (ie.

In Sweden, Palmerus and Pramling (1991) carried out an experiment in several kindergartens in the Gothenburg area where Pnina Klein's mediation criteria were being used (see p.). First they gave the kindergarten staff from three departments for young children a week's course before the project actually started. From then on their interaction with the children was video-filmed once a month over a period of 1 1/2 years. In addition they analysed their own videos each month according to the mediation criteria together with an adviser. Therefore the actual training or sensitivisation consisted of each participant having to analyse his or her own film and find examples of the mediation criteria she had used. Then s/he was to forward suggestions for improvement herself. The result of this study and intervention, showed that particularly interaction theme 7, extension, was lacking in the interaction between kindergarten teachers and children, and it was this area that changed the most during the course of the experiment. Extension has been shown to be the interaction theme which has the greatest significance for a child's development, however extension with explanations is one of the themes least used in kindergartens (Klein 1990). This is not surprising as the prerequisite for extension is that you have time to enter into a dialogue and develop ideas with the child. Otherwise the study shows a general increase in the child-orientation of kindergarten teachers, ie. they had become more sensitive to the children's intentions and initiatives and seemed to show more respect for their world (Pramling 1993). Similar studies have also been made in kindergartens in Sri Lanka in collaboration with Save the Children Fund and in Israel (Klein 1990).

Analysis of a child's interaction with the kindergarten staff.

In connection with the trial of the ICDP programme in some kindergartens, a number of methods (not based on videos) have been developed with the aim of raising the kindergarten staff's awareness of their interactions. All eight interaction themes were used as a basis for the participants' self-evaluation of interaction in typical everyday situations in the kindergarten⁵. Simple charts were drawn up and filled in by the individual participants, which were later discussed in regular group meetings.

endurance, mastery and self confidence) in children.

⁵ It has been shown that general recommendations about interaction have often had little effect because the situations that arise do not invite the qualities of interaction that have been recommended. I have therefore used a more situational approach where

To get an impression of the typical pattern of interaction which characterizes the kindergarten as a whole, we let the individual kindergarten employees evaluate which themes were most predominant in their interaction with the children in number of normal situations. After discussion, these were compiled, so that one could see a general profile of typical interaction in routine situations in the child's everyday life. The point was not to arrive at a correct profile, but to establish a concrete basis for the discussion and evaluation of the participants' interaction with the children in the everyday life of the kindergarten.

each interaction in ordinary everyday situations is analysed separately. This has been shown to give more practical meaning to the participants in the experiment.

Below is the chart which was used for this purpose:

Interaction in typical everyday situations

	Interaction themes							
Examples of routine situations	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Arrival								
Play: Construction Reading a book								
Group activity								
Toilet visit								
Assembly								
Meal								
Rest time								
Dressing								
Outdoor play swinging								
Departure								

Each participant in the experiment filled in a score of from 0 to 2 according to their own evaluation of the interaction they normally have in these situations. Following a discussion and exchange of experiences about their evaluation of the different interaction situations, the scores were compiled so that an overall picture was formed of the kinds of interaction which seemed to be most prevalent in the different situations. Finally there was a discussion about how one could improve certain aspects of interaction in the different situations, based on the experiences and examples which the individual participants had themselves suggested.

Analysis of the individual interaction situations

According to the information gathered in the previous analysis, an impression was gained of the individual kindergarten teachers' self evaluation in each situation.

Analysis of the individual interaction situation.

Interaction situation: eg. meal

	Interaction themes							
Pre-school teacher	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
a								
b								
c								
d								
e								

This chart proved itself to be useful as a basis for a more detailed analysis of the individual routine situations. One can look at each interaction situation separately and, emphasising the positive aspects of the interaction, discuss the way the individual participants respond in this situation. In this way new opportunities for enriching the interaction with children in this and other situations can be discovered together. This is a detailed way of increasing awareness, where both the different interaction situations and each participant's interaction can be analysed.

Analysis of the participants interaction with the individual child.

It can be difficult to give a general evaluation of ones own typical style of interaction with each individual child. The interaction will, of course, vary according to context and situation. All the same, it can be useful for discussion and for increasing awareness, to

use the same themes for the analysis of the individual participants' interaction with the individual children.

Analysis of the interaction with each individual child

Child: ..(Pia)

Interaction themes

Employee:

(Björg)

1

2

3

4

5

6

7

8

a

b

c

d

e

Here each kindergarten teacher or participant is able through self evaluation to take up and become aware of their typical interaction with each individual child in the kindergarten. One will, of course, also have certain typical situations as the basis for this kind of evaluation. This may be provocative, but if it takes place in a positive atmosphere, with emphasis on positive interaction qualities, it will contribute to an improvement in the personal relationships between the employees and the individual children.

An even clearer picture of the individual children's situation will be acquired if you combine the individual participants' evaluations from the previous chart, so that you get a compiled evaluation of the interaction qualities which characterise each child's interaction with the kindergarten teachers as a whole:

Total Impression of the kindergarten teachers' interaction with the individual children in the kindergarten

Child:	Interaction themes							
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Pia								
Ola								
Grete								
Hans								
Marie								
Liv								

This chart can be important for highlighting children who are, for example, overlooked, unpopular or receive one-sided treatment from the kindergarten staff. In this way you can become more aware of these children, and the potential arises for correcting any inequalities which may exist. In this connection it is important to realise that in any interaction there are at least two parties contributing to the outcome. As we have pointed out many times, the child contributes to a large degree to the interaction and quality of care it receives.

These are examples of how the interaction themes combined with situation analysis can be used to increase awareness of the quality of interaction in the kindergarten.

Experiences gained from the experiment.

The experiences gained from this developmental work have on the whole been positive. When the analysis is used as an instrument in group work sessions, it seems to have led to a greater degree of awareness of and interest in interaction generally⁶.

⁶ Rapports from Klopperdalveien Kindergarten in Bergen and Eilert sundt's kindergarten in Oslo, where this experiment was carried out.

Otherwise the general experience from this experiment has been that it is important to be concrete and to constantly use examples from normal situations. Several of the participants emphasise that it takes time to enter into the thought process. The themes of interaction seem so obvious, but all the same, they are practiced far less than most people realise.

It was also highlighted that this method of analysis should be carried out in a sensitive and positive way, without drawing attention to weak points in the individual participants. Instead, emphasis must be made on the positive aspects and the new possibilities for improving each person's interaction skills. This is what the ICDP programme is really about.

Situation analysis and interaction.

When this programme was being tested, it gradually became clear that the dominant themes in an interaction reflect not only the participant's interaction skills, but also the situations chosen. If one looks closely at the different situations, one can see that they "lead to" different forms of interaction.

Let us look at five typical interaction situations with small children which each lead to different types of interaction where different themes predominate.

1. **Cosy situation** where the child is in close physical contact with the person taking care of it and where the main function is a positive emotional exchange for mutual pleasure. In this situation it is natural that the emotional/expressive themes (1 to 4) dominate. The same applies to "consoling" situations, where it is natural for focussing and possibly regulation to become appropriate in order to distract the child's attention.

2. **Consoling situation** where the child has experienced a form of frustration, misfortune or injury. The aim is then to console and perhaps cheer the child up (1) and (4), as well as possibly focussing its attention on something new and interesting (5) and (8).

3. Observation situation: the child and the adult observe something together, eg. looking at a picture book together, with the child sitting on the adult's lap, or going for a walk in new surroundings. Here it is natural to give the child information, give a meaning to what it sees and shows interest in, ie. mediation themes (5, 6, and 7). At the same time it is natural for the person taking care of the child to follow the child's initiatives and interests (2), have a dialogue (3), and give confirmation (4).

4. Project situation: this can be different construction and building activities, for example, or the child is learning something, how to eat with a spoon or to ski. In these situations it is often the child who is active and has a project it wishes to carry out . The person taking care of the child comes in here as a co-worker, supporting and supplementing the child's initiative and plans. These situations lead first and foremost to the adult following the child's initiatives and plans (2), helping the child to keep the aim in focus (5), and to regulate and plan the activity (8). When the project gives results, the child receives confirmation and praise (4).

5. Situations with violence and the need to set limits: the child is corrected and reprimanded because it has broken the rules for co-operation and has upset or hurt someone else. These situations can be regarded as special examples of the project situation. The difference is that the child has overstepped the accepted limits. First and foremost here are regulation (8) and focussing (5), and quite possibly also distraction (8).

Choice of situation as a method of intervention.

It can be useful to look at children's activities and interactions from this perspective. Even if the indications I have made in relation to situations and interaction rules may not necessarily take place just as I have suggested, this shows all the same that **a decisive factor in the development of an interaction profile, is the situation chosen for the interaction. If this is the case, it may mean that it would be easier to improve interaction by influencing the choice of situation made by the person taking care of the child, rather than by using the themes themselves as a basis for change.** It is

difficult to influence the interaction profile of the person taking care of the child if s/he does not also have a suitable repertoire of play activities and a suitable choice of situations.

Let us, for example, consider a person taking care of a child who constantly has a predominance of focussing and regulation in his or her interaction with children.

According to what has been described above, it would be natural to think that this is a person who particularly makes use of the project/construction situations and the setting of limits situations in his or her interactions with children. How can one get a person like this to use the other mediation themes, communication of meaning and extension (6 and 7), and the positive emotional themes (1, 2, 3, 4)? One can of course point out the importance of these, and use the usual sensitivisation strategies (see page) with a positive indication of these themes when they arise. However it can be easier to draw attention to the person's repertoire of situations and play activities, and try to get him or her to extend the repertoire and to a greater extent make use of a combination of cosiness, consoling and joint observation situations in their interactions. Then the other interaction themes will probably follow on from these by themselves.

A suggested programme for the improvement of interaction in the kindergarten.

In line with the account given above, a sensitization programme for improving interaction in the kindergarten, could include the following items:

1. *A general introduction course in the IDCP programme* for the participants in the project, especially with small children and the kindergarten as arena for interaction.

(See introduction to ICDPI).

2. *Video-filming of the individual participants, for example every fortnight* or once a month. As in the Swedish project, each participant is requested to find the positive sequences of his or her own interactions which illustrate the different guidelines of good interaction, with recommendations on how the interactions could be improved. This is then discussed in regular group meetings (for example every fortnight) with an adviser

and the other participants in the experiment. The adviser is responsible for ensuring that the positive aspects are emphasised and the individual participants' integrity is maintained. (See general principles for sensitization page).

3. Increasing awareness of interaction through the analysis of situations from the child's everyday life and of typical interaction situations in the kindergarten.

4. Exercises in positive definition of the children in their care or in their class. Working in groups, each preschool teacher is first assigned the task to characterize each child with two adjectives or labels that catches their impression of the child. These characterizations are then discussed in the colleague group which meets regularly. Here they may discover that there are different opinions amongst about each child. When this is done, the next exercise is to give two labels to each child that characterizes his most positive qualities or potential. This raises their awareness of the positive feature, the child's "zone of possible development". In our experience this is a very important exercise that most participants appreciate highly – finally they have been given space to look for the positive features of the children, not only failures and deficits!

In addition to video analysis of the individual participant (kindergarten teacher), it can be worthwhile to look at interaction in typical everyday situations in the kindergarten and the individual kindergarten teacher's repertoire of play activities and choice of situations, in line with the approach described earlier in this chapter.

Role play and transgression of "here-and-now".

It can be seen that from the age of two, children transgress and extend their experience of reality by imagining things which are not there. If one looks closer at the contents of this "pretend" play, one discovers that it is typical situations from the child's everyday life which are acted out, "making dinner", "changing baby's nappy", "going to the office", "doctor and patient", etc.. It seems that children have a need to learn and master typical

routines and roles from everyday life through role play and symbolism. They recreate for themselves a symbolic variation of the reality they experience each day.

If role play is looked at from the perspective of communication, it will be discovered that interaction is a little different from the more direct here-and-now interaction which characterizes adults' interaction with infants. The actual framework for the interaction is already an extension and transgression of the child's here-and-now situation (theme 7), in other words children who take part in "pretend play" must be able to differentiate between what takes place inside the frame of the game ("in frame") and what takes place outside in the real world ("out of frame"). Within this extended frame of fantasy a new reality is enacted where meaning is indicated (theme 6), for example through the identification of a role: "He is called.....", "I want to be....." or through questions: "What is it?" "Who are you?" Or through descriptions: "Look how beautiful I am!" (a girl who has dressed up and is looking in the mirror), or "He is bad".

Furthermore, focussing (theme 5) takes place, not only on physical objects in the surroundings, as is seen in infancy, but also on common symbolic themes. One can see how three or four year olds follow with fascination as a story unfolds where the hero and the villain fight to win, and how they recreate these themes in their role play afterwards. Children seem to be fascinated by these fantasy episodes, particularly if they do not create the story themselves. Therefore focussing is not normally a problem. However one often sees that children can negotiate together about "what is going to happen" or which "part" is to be played and who has symbolic control (Garvey 1984)

Likewise with regulation. Within the framework of the story or plot which is being enacted, there are certain things which are allowed and correct and other things which are wrong. Children seem to follow the same moral code in their role play as they experience in their everyday life: "No, you are not allowed to....", "mummies don't do that....." etc.. In this kind of role play one can detect an incipient moral order gradually being created ("appropriated" as Rogoff (1990) calls it) and formed into the child's own moral understanding.

These games often only take place between children, but it is also possible for an adult person to take part and indirectly lead the play through what Wood calls "scaffolding", ie. give hints, make adjustments, prevent violence, ensure that everyone gets a chance ("taking turns"), help develop the story by asking questions about "what happened next?", or asking questions directly related to the story "did they take him prisoner?". These are examples of positive regulation (theme 8), where the person taking care of the child helps it to develop the story in a harmonious way where everyone can take part. At the same time, this is taking place in a positive atmosphere of recognition (themes 1 and 4) where the person taking care of the child follows the child's initiatives and suggestions (theme 2), and extends these further without taking the initiative from the child.

In other words we see within the field of symbolic play the same rules of interaction as in the direct here-and-now play with infants. The difference is that now it takes place within a "pretend", created reality where the different participants play roles from adult life.

IV: Evaluation of the quality and the effect of the ICDP program in schools in Angola.

Ingeborg Egeberg³⁴

During the six years the program has been working in Angola, a major concern has been to promote the quality of the work done by the staff members. The program has a clear and functional structure with follow-up on the quality of the work. The different teams working in the provinces evaluate their work, both written and orally and the national co-ordinators and external supervisors visit the teams to monitor their activities on a regular basis. This chapter will present how this internal control is structured and carried out in part 5.1.

This chapter describes a evaluation study carried out in Angola during the year 2000 on the effects on the ICDP program. Up till then, monitoring effect of the program had been mainly through observations in the field, and reports on the work with individual children. A more structured assessment had been difficult to implement in the Angolan project for several reasons. First the emphasis was on setting up a functional organisation, educating staff and working in the field, where the needs of psychosocial support proved to be overwhelming. Secondly, the question of evaluation of the effects of a program of this kind evoked a lot of questions about how to do this, the format and the methods. Finding means to evaluate the outcome of this kind of work in a country like Angola has not been easy. A high number of the caregivers in the project are either illiterate or have only very limited education. Asking them to answer a questionnaire may be difficult. Lack of infrastructure, the socio-economic situation and the war causes many of the participants in the training to move around and thus they are difficult to follow-up. The direct effect on the children is difficult to monitor because the standardised tests not are adjusted to the Angolan context. Despite these difficulties a effect evaluation was initiated to get a more organised and structured pictures of the effects related to the work in schools. Part 5.2 will present the responses from 373 Angolan teachers.

5.1 Internal evaluation procedures.

The internal evaluation structures consist of a number of different schemes basically with the intentions to monitor the work of the team. As mentioned in chapter four, the teams always assess the institution before they start interventions. This is done in accordance to the implementations principles. During the sensitization course the teams keep records of the progress and how to proceed. They discuss the training on a weekly meeting where they share with the hole provincial team, what they have worked with in the previous week, and how they intend to proceed. These meetings are very important not only in

³⁴ This chapter was written by Ingeborg Egeberg who also directed the evaluation project. The design and questionnaire was developed by Karsten Hundeide. Pedro Mendes played an important role in preparing and discussing this project.

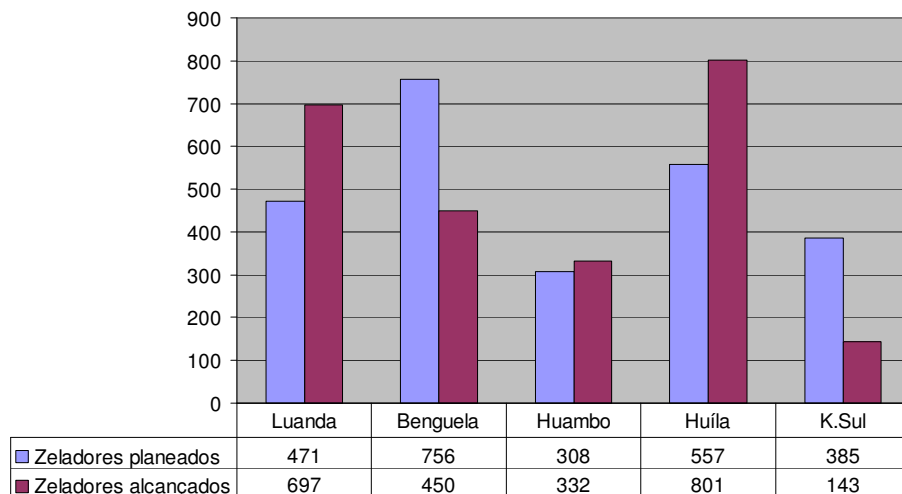
regard to keeping track of what is happening in the field, but also as a forum where the team members can support and help each other when they experience difficulties either at the specific institution or with interpretations of concepts in the program.



Weekly meeting, the Luanda team 2000

On a more general level the coordinator of each province has the task, once every trimester, to report all activities to the national administration. The trimester report contain information on how many institutions and caregivers the team has been working with as well as the number of children who potentially has been effected through the interventions in the period. The information in the trimester report also describes what kind of institutions that has been approached, and the main reasons for why the specific institution was sensitised. They report the main phases of the interventions and the obstacles in the work. Twice a year the information are presented graphically and commented. Partly as documentation to donors and partly as the base for further planning.

As an example let's look at one of the figures of the year report, based on the trimester reports, from 2001:



This table shows the number of caregivers worked with during the year. All the provinces estimate a number that they plan to sensitise (the blue block) and the purple describe the number actually achieved. Two things are striking looking at this figure: first of all the numbers: it is evident that the program do reach a large number of caregivers. As the figure tell us: in 2001 about 2400 caregivers were trained. Another thing is the differences between the planned and achieved numbers. In Angola it is difficult to plan ahead – this year Benguela for example had a strike among the school teachers for three months, and thus they could not do as they planned. In Huila on the other hand they achieved more than expected because of interventions in refugee camps with more caregivers than expected. ????? These reports helps the coordinators of the project to keep track of the actual activities, and to do alternations when necessary.

5.1.1 Evaluation done by national coordinators twice a year.

Two years ago the management of the program decided to implement a structure for evaluating the work in the provinces by the use of the national coordinators and trainers who work for the program on a consultancy basis. Twice a year these trainers visit the teams and make observations in the field as well as interviews. All the information gathered are feed back to the team.

The procedure are as follows:

- I. Observations and video filming.
- II. Focus interview with the whole team.
- III Master scheme.

1. Observations and video filming:

When the teams are observed preferably the observations are done when typical interventions in typical institutions worked on for the time being is done. The trainers try to video film the interventions when possible. Afterwards the session is assessed related to three main areas:

1. The relationship between the caregivers and the ICDP- staff,
2. The interactions taking place between the caregivers and the ICDP-staff,
3. The content of the session.

The assessment is graduated along a Likert scale. The grading of the session is always discussed in the assessment team, and there are a common understanding that the "average" indicate the level the ICDP- Angola in general expect the teams to have. The assessment team always observe the same sessions, and grade them independently of one another. After the session the team discuss and agree on a shared grading.

After each observation in the field the assessment team give individual feedback to the team who has been working. This has proven to be very important, because the team then get the opportunity to discuss and improve their way of working with the program.

2. Group interview.

The national trainers also uses time to group interview the team via a semi-structured interview. The following areas are discussed :

- How are they getting in touch with new institutions and how are they deciding the need for the ICDP program ?
- The structuring of the sensibilisation training:
- How are they using the work time before and after visiting giving the training ?
- The follow-ups: preparations, observations, interventions
- Do they work with children individually ? How is the progression of the individual work - and the obstacles ?
- What are the parts of the program implementation that they feel they are doing well ?
- What are the parts that they are not doing well ?

3. Master scheme.

After all the information has been gathered it is analysed and summed-up, categorised and evaluated. The quality of the work of the province is then shown in a table. On a final meeting whit the team this estimate is shown and discussed, and the idea is that this feedback is used as focus points on how to improve and develop the work further.

Master scheme	Very small extent	Small extent	Average	Great extent	Very great extent
Do they prepare the work in new institutions ?					
Do they prepare properly before each session ?					
Which guidelines is being emphasised in the sensitisation training ?					
1. Love					
2. Following the initiative					
3. Emotional dialogue					
4. Praising					
5. Focusing					
6. Conveying meaning					
7. Expanding by explanations					
8. Regulation					
Which sensitisation principles are emphasised during the sensitisation training ?					
1. Creating an alliance or contract					

2. Redefining the child - three methods					
3. Activation of the caregiver through observational and other tasks, exemplification etc.					
4. Pointing out positive feature in the caregiver's present interaction with the child (also video-feedback)					
5. Verbalisation and guided consciousness raising of good care by using the pamphlet on guidelines for good interaction					
6. Sharing of experiences in group					
7. Personalised and interactive way of speaking and explaining, using "I" and personal examples, describing the child's feelings etc.					
Do they use different activities during the sensibilisationsprocess ?					
Do they use the process of facilitation in the sessions ?					
How is the preparation for the follow-ups ?					
Do they use the three fazes in the follow-up ?					
How do they report the work to the local team ?					
How do they report the work to the national team?					

As a way of working with the sustainability of the program, the project has now begun to use coordinators from other provinces as evaluators. The general impression from implementing this structure is that it gives very important information, not only to the teams on how to proceed, but also to the leaders of the project. They now know the general level of each of the staff members and also within each of the different provincial teams.

5.2 Monitoring of the effect of the program

- **a study on the effect of the program based on responses from 373 teachers in primary school.**

As mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, the task of evaluating the effects of the ICDP program in Angola, has not been easy to undertake. The main question has been on the methodological issue: how is it possible to structure a valid evaluation on how this program effects the children in question? Advanced psychological instruments, like tests directed towards every child in a pre/post investigation, are not possible. Neither is there culturally standarized tests avariable, nor do the project have personell trained to test. And for most kids and adults around them, more profound investigations of emotional and cognitive functioning will not be understood. Obersvertional studies has been done in a less structured way since the beginning of the program, both by staff and external evaluators. In spite of these challenges the ICDP Board Angola, during the autumn of 2000, decided that it would be appropriate to start assessing the effects in a more structured way. The first step should be to evaluate the effects of the program on teachers from schools in Luanda and Lubango. The method was decided to be questionnaire.

5.2.1 The method:

This evaluation was a large-scale investigation, and therefore the questionnaire had to be easy to administer and analyse. The final questionnaire was the result of a three-step process. Initially six focus group interviews were done with teachers, with the aim of collecting impressions on how they perceived the program. From their responses a questionnaire were constructed which was handed out to a group of 18 teachers. After having analysed their responses and comments, the final questionnaire was produced. It contains 23 statements about the program.

The statements relate to different aspects of the ICDP program. Some are focused directly on the school context, other relates adapts to any context where the program is used. The three groups of guidelines in the program: emotional contact and communication, mediation and positive regulation are all addressed each in several questions.

For further details on how the questionnaire was conducted, see appendix 1.

Demographic characteristics:

The questionnaire was administered to altogether 373 teachers who had been sensitised through the program of ICDP, Angola. 173 questionnaires were collected from 14 schools in Luanda, and 200 questionnaires were gathered from 5 schools in Lubango. The only selection criteria were participation in the ICDP program no less than half a year prior to the assessment.

A total of 373 teachers participated in the research, their ages the ranging from 14 to 70 years. The mean age was 32 years for men and 33 years for women. 141 of the teachers were men (38,5%) and 225 were women (61.5%). Seven teachers did not fill out the question about sex.

The 19 schools had concluded their ICDP training within at different timed before participating in this effect evaluation, ranging from half a year to three years back. The dispersal is shown in Table 1:

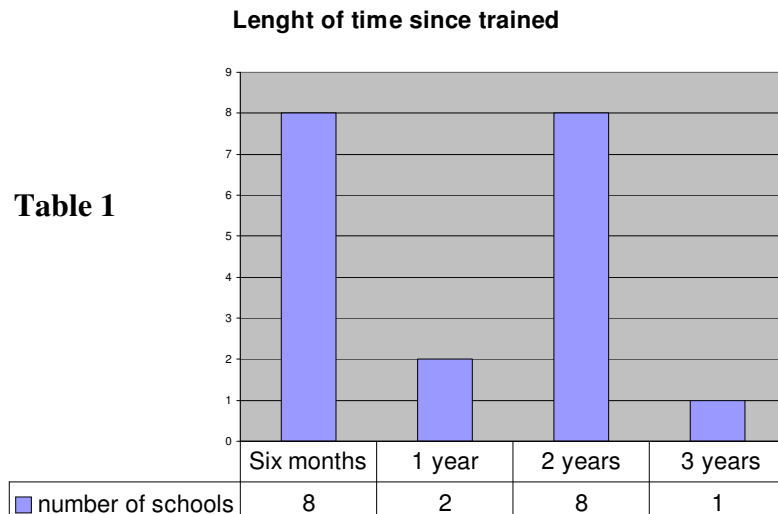


Table 1

In terms of actual numbers of teachers in the different schools, 155 teachers are represented in the 8 schools trained 1/2 year ago, 39 teachers in those trained 1 year ago, 176 teachers trained 2 years ago and only 3 teachers in those trained 3 years ago.

The number of responding teachers in each school varied, for different reasons. Partly because the schools are of different size, and there is a big turn over of teachers. Partly because it turned out to be difficult to get in touch with all sensitised teachers due to the fact that they were not at work because of transport problems, lack of salary or illness. All teachers who were sensitised and available at the location the day the evaluation took place, responded.

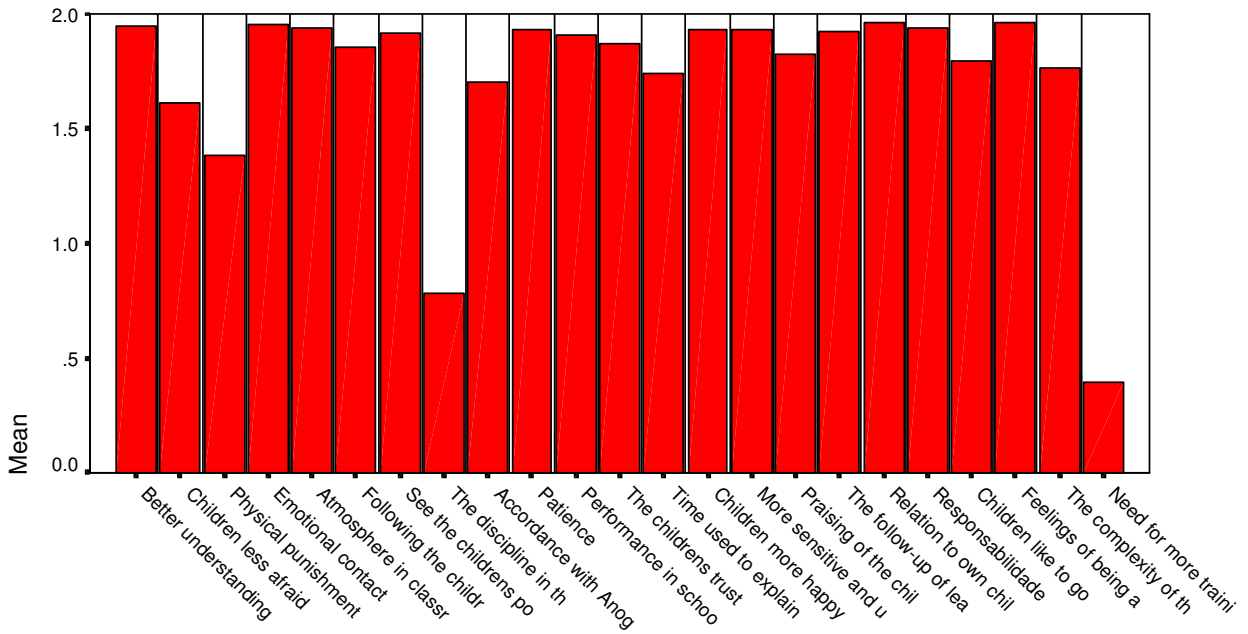
5.2.2 Results:

The question of whether age, sex and length of time since training have any significance to the responses about how the program was perceived. No significant correlations were found and a high degree of uniformity was present in the responses.

To introduce a general picture of the teachers' perceptions of the program, the mean score for all the responses are presented in Table 2. The score 0 was coded as the non supportive response to the statement; the score 1 meant that the respondent was ambiguous and 2 was the supportive score in favour of the program.

As shown in the Table 2 the general responses to the statements were very positive.

Table 2



In the following the responses will be analysed and commented on separately, when trying to investigate the questions we had about the perception of the program;

1. Does the ICDP program has any perceived impact on the school context ?
- 2 Does the ICDP program has an effect on the emotional contact and communication between the teachers and the children ?
- 3 Does the ICDP program has any effect on the teachers way of guiding, sharing, describing and explaining things to the child ?
- 4 Does the ICDP program has any effect on the way the teachers regulates the child, when the child is behaving in an unwanted manner ?
- 5 Does the program's adapt to Angolan culture ?
- 6 Is the ICDP program perceived to be easy to understand, and is the format of training schedule appropriate ?

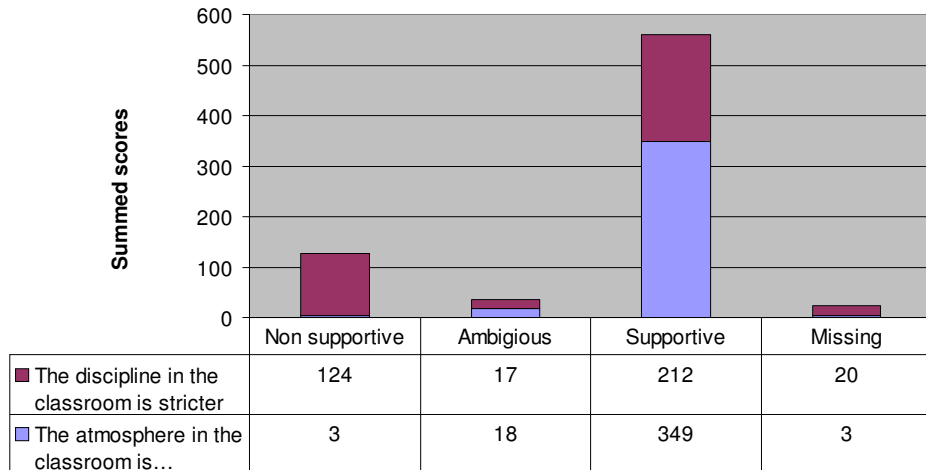
Ad.1 The perceived impact of the program on the school context.

From the nine statements concerning the school context directly, two addressed the climate in the class room, three focused on the program's impact on the teachers' performance and four statements asked about any effects of the program on the children.

Table 3 shows the responses on the statements regarding the environment in the class. In the statement “The atmosphere/climate in the classroom is...”, response categories include: better, the same as before, worse:

Influence on the environment in the classroom

Table 3



It would have been expected that these two statements would correlate, but as the table shows, the findings are not consistent. A clear majority of teachers, 93,4%, finds that the atmosphere has become better. The discipline in the classroom is reported by 212 (57%) to be less strict. It seems that although a majority reports a better atmosphere, there is no consensus to how this relates to the discipline. From a cultural perspective the question about discipline could be ambiguous. With classes with 50 pupils or more, the teacher may regard discipline to be a positive element, synonymous with order.

The question about the program’s direct impact on the teachers’ performance were monitored in three statements ;“As a teacher you are now more interested in following up the children’s learning and progress”, “As a teacher you feel you have become...” and “As a teacher you feel more responsible for the children.”. (The last statement had the response categories; worse, the same as before, better.) The two first statements allowed for the response categories: agree, not sure, disagree.

The perceived impact on teachers performance, related to school issues:

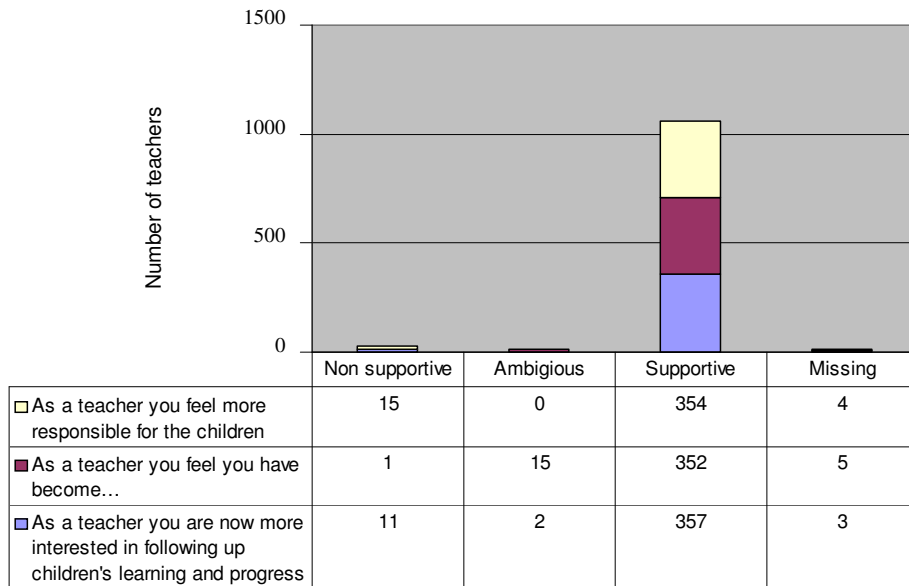
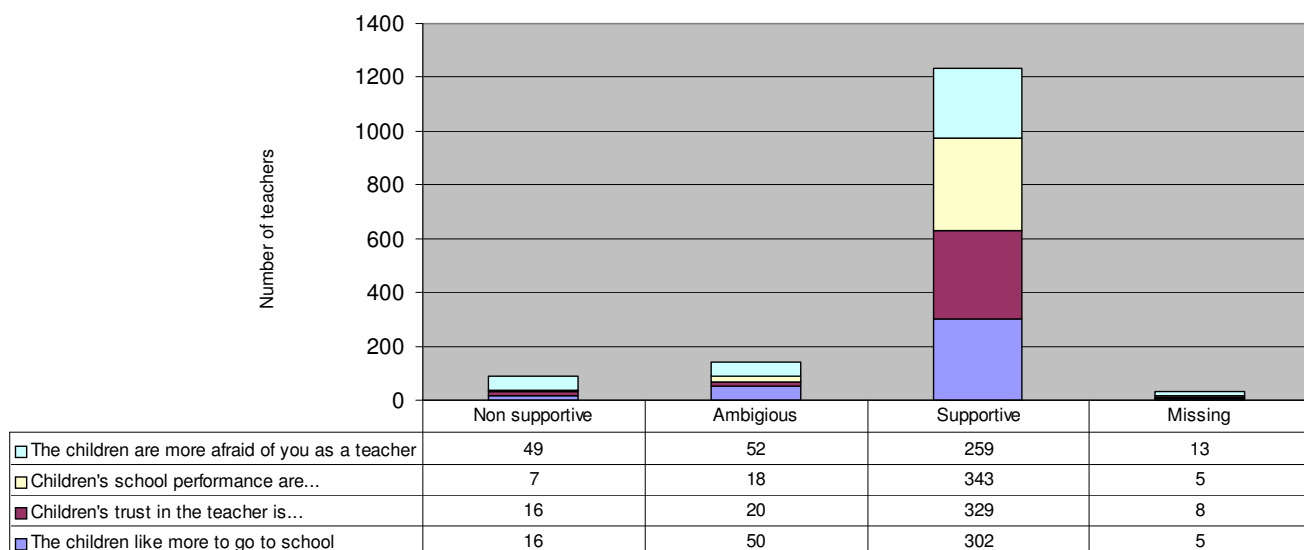


Table 4 shows a high degree of reported changes. 95% of the answers report an improvement in how the teachers perceive themselves professionally.

The last category in the statements relating directly to the school context, is the teacher's perception of the impact on children. Four statements look at this issue: "Children's school performance are..." and "Children's trust in the teacher is....", with the possible responses of ; better, the same as before and worse. "The children are more afraid of you as a teacher" and "The children like to go to school more", where agree, not sure and disagree are choices of answers.

Table 5

The perceived impact on children on issues related to the school



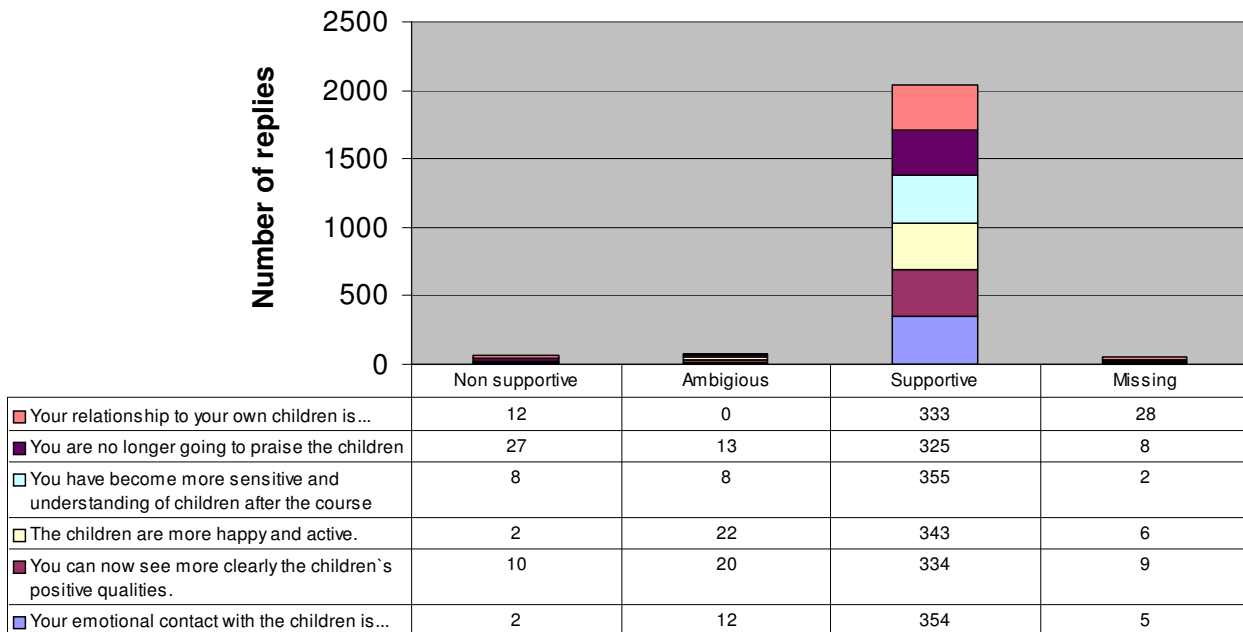
The assessment shows that a majority of the teachers think that the program has had a positive impact on the children. 93.2 % find that the childrens’ school performance are better and 90 % think that the childrens’ trust in the teacher has improved. 82 % report that the children like to come to school more, and 71,9 % regard the children to be less afraid of them as teachers. One has to notice that the statement about being afraid of the teacher is reversed, and that the high score on "the disagree" signify responses in favour for the program.

Ad. 2 The programs effect on the teachers and the children in regard to emotional contact and communication.

The ICDP program defines eight basic guidelines for good interaction. The first four of these guidelines relate to the emotional-expressive dialogue between caregiver and the child and focus on showing feelings and love to the child, looking for and following the child’s signals/initiatives, talking to the child: establishing non-verbal emotional communication and praising and confirming the child’s initiatives. In the questionnaire eleven statements dealt with the teachers assessment of the effects of the guidelines. Five of these questions which addresses both emotional contact and communication and school issues directly, were presented in the previous section, and thus will be excluded here.

The following statements all relate to the emotional interaction, and are presented in Table 6: “Your emotional contact with the children is..”, “You can now see more clearly the children's positive qualities.”, “The children are more happy and active.”, “You have become more sensitive and understanding of children after the course.”, “You are no longer going to praise the children” and “Your relationship to your own children is...”

The effects of the program on emotional and communicative interaction



The total of these responses show that 92 % perceived the program to have improved the emotional interactions between caregiver and child, 3,4% were not sure or regarded it to be on the same level as before, 1,9% did not agree and 2,6% were missing. The majority of the missing responses were connected to the statement regarding own children. Many teachers are young, and might not have children of their own.

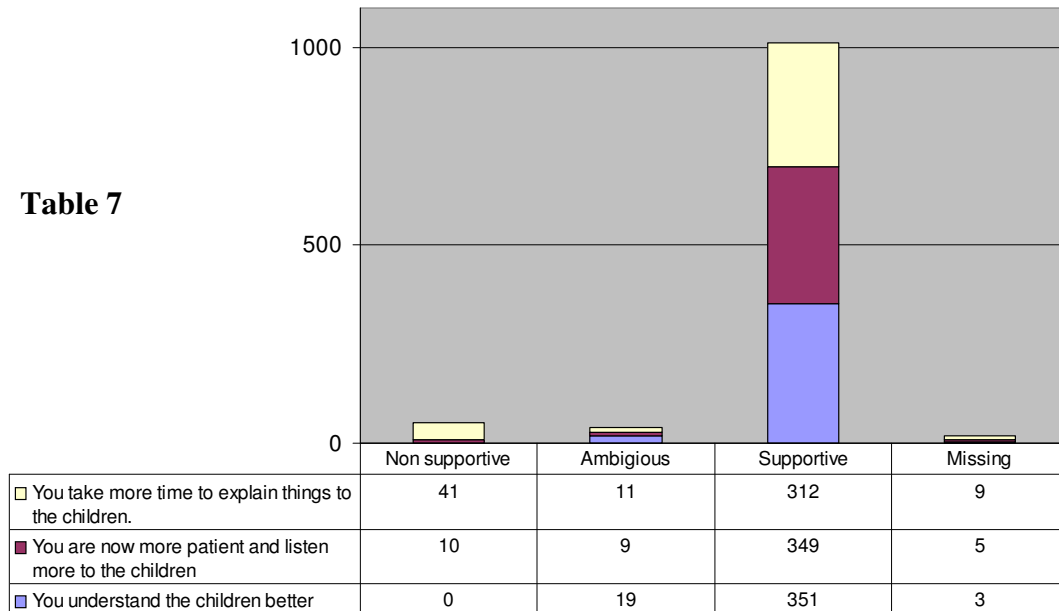
Ad.3 The perceived effects of mediational processes.

When the adult participates in the child’s activities, guides and helps the child to carry out his/her projects, shares, describes and explain what they are experiencing together, what they are doing and what they are going to do, then the adult mediates to the child. (

Hundeide, ICDP programme for early facilitation). This assessment included five statements about this interactional aspect: “You understand the children better”, “You are now more patient and listen more to the children”, “Children's school performance are..”, “You take more time to explain things to the children”, “As a teacher you are now more interested in following up children's learning and progress”.

Mediational communication.

Table 7



Two of these have already been presented in the section on the program effect on the school. The other three are graphically represented below, in Table 7.

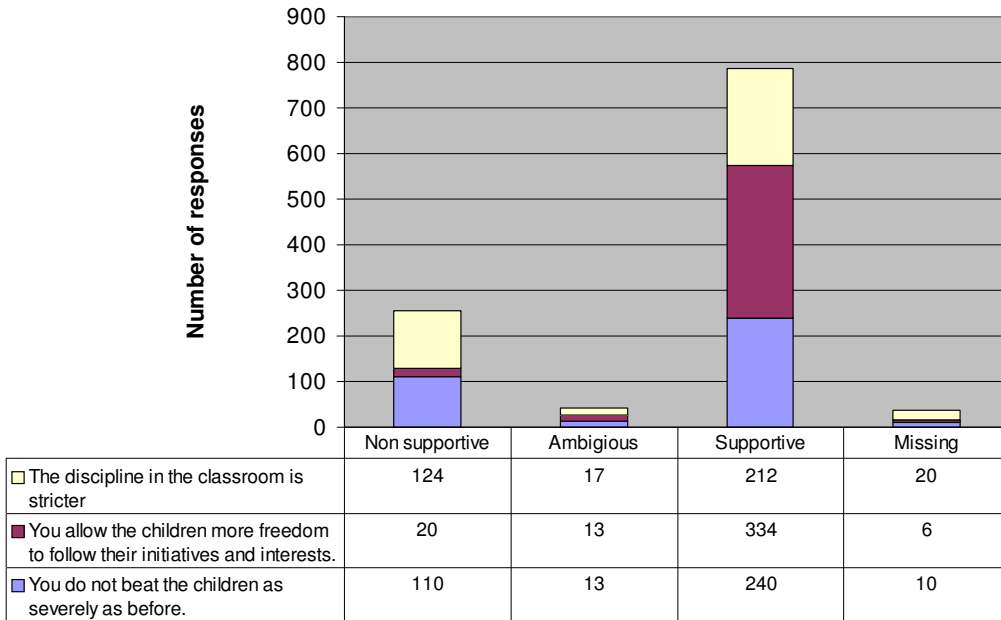
Also in the aspect of mediation, the teachers replies that the training has had a positive impact on their interactions with the children: 90,5% agree, 3,5 % are not sure and 4,5% disagree. 1,5% did not reply.

Ad.4 The perceived effects on regulational aspects.

In relation to regulating and controlling the child’s behaviour, the ICDP program offers help to caregivers to regulate the child in a positive way by means of support, explanation, setting limits in a positive way and helping the child to find positive alternatives. This assessment focused on this issue in four statements: “You do not beat your child as severely as before”, “You allow the children more freedom to follow their initiatives and interests”, and “The discipline in the classroom is stricter”. The replies to the three statements are shown in Table 8 below:

Table 8

Regulation



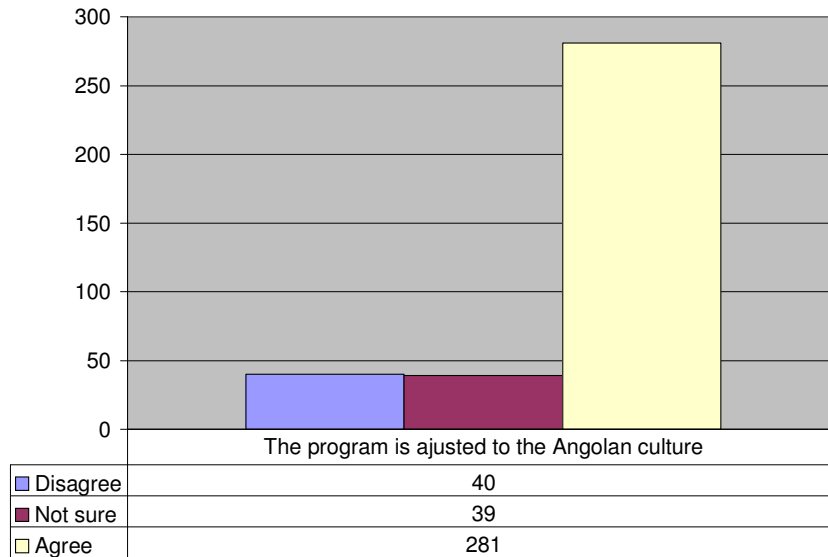
The graph shows the majority of teachers allow the children to follow their initiatives and interests to a higher degree. 89,5% agree only 5% disagree. The statement about an eventual reduction of physical punishment tells us that 64,4% now beat the children less than before, 29,5% disagree, which means that they do not regard there to be any difference where as 3,5% are not sure and 2,6% did not respond. The question about discipline was presented in section 3.1.

Ad.5 The programs adaptation to Angolan culture.

The ICDP program is an international program, developed to be implemented wherever there is a need and request for it. This approach requires a high degree of cultural flexibility, something kept in focus both in the initial phase when the program is introduced in a new country, and also throughout the facilitation process. This investigation addressed this question of cultural relevance through the statement: “In your opinion the program is in accordance with the Angolan culture”.

Table 9 on the next side illustrates the replies in this category:

Adaption to the Angolan culture



A majority of 75,3% find that the program is well adapted to the Angola culture, 10,7% disagree, 10,5% are not sure and 3,5% did not reply.

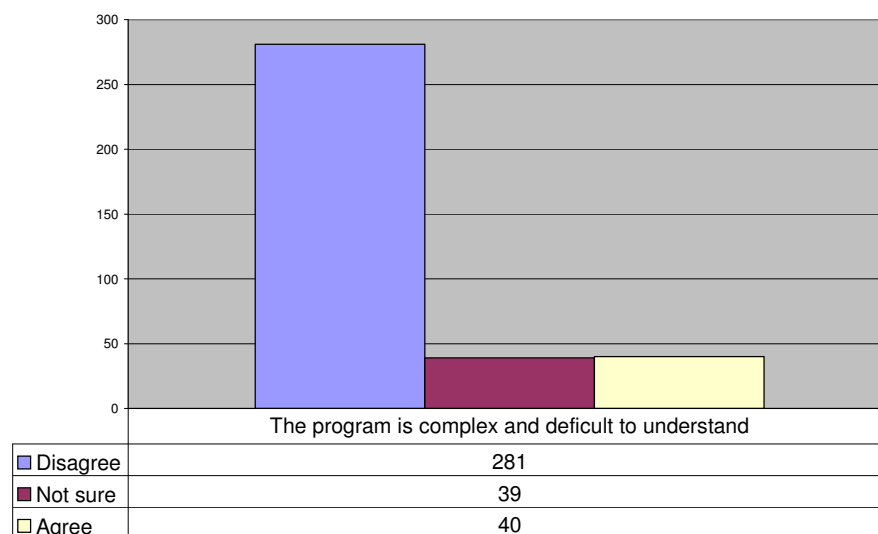
Ad.6 The perceived format of the training schedule and the degree of complexity.

The ICDP program is meant to be applicable for a wide variety of caregivers, both professionals and parents. In Angola the ICDP teams often work in very vulnerable communities where the caregivers are illiterate and thus require a program that is fairly easy to understand.

The teachers were asked the following question: “The program is complex and difficult to understand”, and the replies are shown in table 10:

Complexity of the program

Table 10

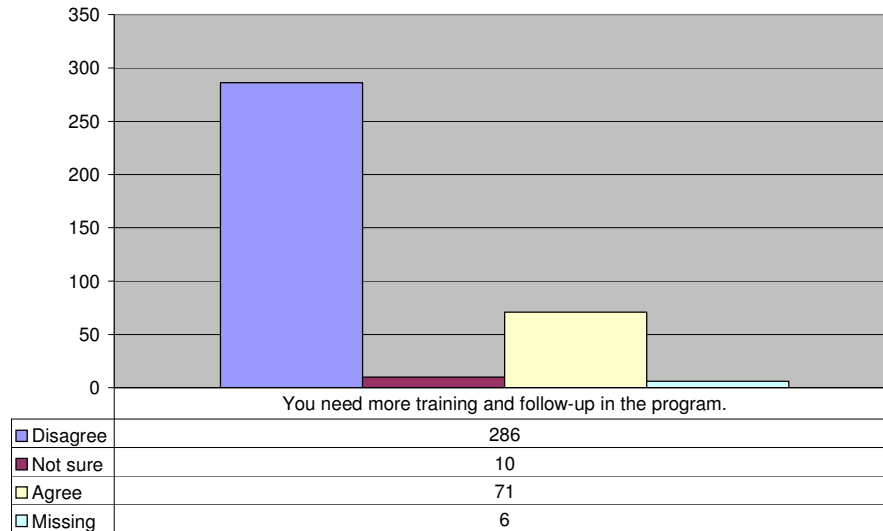


75% of the teachers replied that they did not find the program complex and difficult to understand, 10,5% were not sure, 11% found it complex and 3,5 % did not answer.

The teachers were also asked to assess whether they found the time used to implement the program sufficient. The statement on this issue was “You need more training and follow-up program”. Results are shown in table 11.

Lenght of training and follow-up.

Table 11



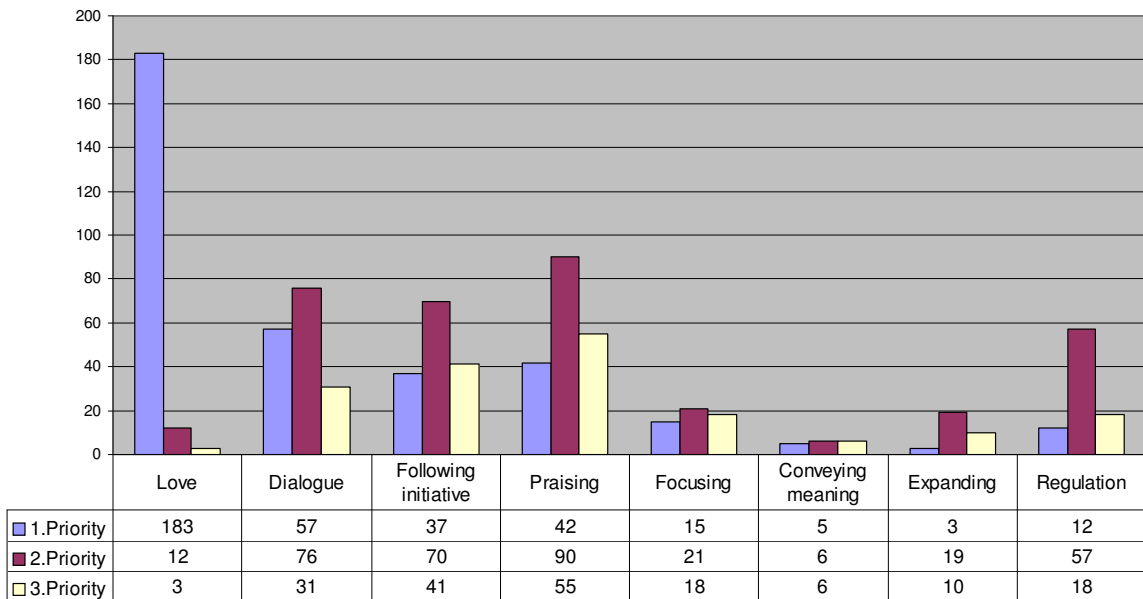
A majority of the teachers found the program to be sufficient in terms of the time dedicated to training and follow up. 77% responded that they did not need more time, 2,5 % were not sure, 19% indicated that they would like more training and follow-up and 1,5 % did not reply.

Ad.7 The respondent’s prioritisation of the most important guidelines within the content of the ICDP program.

The teachers were, as the last request on the questionnaire, asked to prioritise between the eight different guidelines in the program. This was done in order to get an expression of

where the teachers felt they benefited the most from the program. Responses are shown in table 12.

Prioritisation of guidelines by teachers



Concerning the guidelines in the program, the first of these; expressing positive feelings towards the children “LOVE”, is by far the most significant from the teachers point of view. The second priority seems to focus mainly on the block of the emotional guidelines, and the third priority has a focus on praising the child and positive regulation. The responses in this category show, in total, a strong emphasis on the first four guidelines, the emotional guidelines, and a much less emphasis on the mediational aspects.

5.2.3 Discussion.

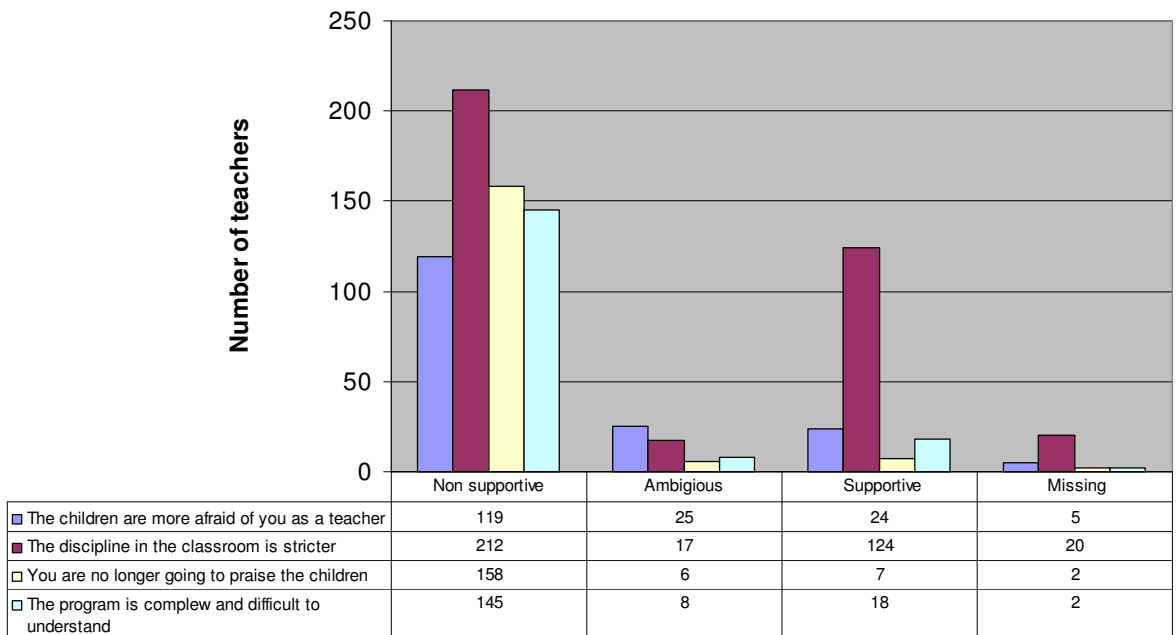
Consistency of the responses.

The overall responses were in support of the programme. The general impression from the questionnaires is that the teachers seemed to benefit from the program in a number of ways.

Having said that, it is appropriate to look into the consistency of the responses. As mentioned in the paragraph on the construction of the questionnaire, some of the statements were reversed and the possible responses were randomised. The intention of these negative statements was to monitor whether the respondents replied automatically. If participants had answered automatically, one would expect the reversed questions to reflect the responses of the others.

Looking at the dispersion in the answers from the reversed questions (“ The children are more afraid of you as a teacher”, “The discipline in the classroom is stricter”, “You are no longer going to praise the children” and “ The program is complex and difficult to understand.”) one can say that the answers do not suggest any habitual responses. The table 13 below shows the replies from the reversed questions.

Table 13 **Reversed questions**



As mentioned in the previous chapter the question about the discipline in the classroom requires some analysis. This is the only statement of the reversed questions that was responded to with a significant number (33%) against the program, and may relate to aspects other than habitual marking. Thus the findings in this evaluation may be regarded as reliable in terms of excluding automatic responses.

In an assessment like this the question about validity is complex: in terms of the face-validity one can say that the construction was meant to ensure that the statements actually were relevant and helped to track the effects of the program. Looking at the aims of the program and asking teachers what they found most important was the basis of the structure of the questionnaire. But in terms of concurrent validity we are left with only the data from the questionnaire. The question is whether we get a picture of the actual situation through this questionnaire. It would have been useful to examine other sources as well. In relation to the perceived increase in the children's school performance, comparisons with the tests of the children's schoolwork would have been interesting. Assessing the perceived changes according to the parents' points of view and cross-examining the results with schools who had not been sensitised through the program would also have contributed to the findings.

Another issue to be addressed here is the limitations in the response categories as each statement allowed for only three possible answers. These categories were chosen to make the questionnaire easy to administer. Many of the respondents do not have sufficient education and the idea was not to make the response categories too complicated. On the other hand this limits the range of the replies.

The reliability of this assessment needs also to be commented on. As illustrated in the section on the results, the very positive feedback is striking. Can one have confidence in these findings. The objective of this assessment was to evaluate teachers' perceptions about the impact of the ICDP program. Assessing 19 different schools, and not finding any significant differences between them, indicates that the answers are trustworthy. But it has to be stressed that the results only count for the perceived impact as experienced by the teachers. The force of the findings are that a high number of teachers agree that the program has had a significant impact in different areas. Further assessment, using alternative measures, is necessary to discover if these subjective replies can be considered as objective findings.

It is relevant to ask whether the generally positive response can be understood differently; in the Angolan culture there is a strong hierarchical structure in the society, and in general the Angolans are very polite people who make a great effort to make others feel welcome. Therefore one would be specially concerned about the "willingness to please". As previously described in the paragraph on structuring the questionnaire, the participants were informed that this evaluation is based on anonymous responses, and they were encouraged to be as honest as possible. From the current material we are not able to

detect whether the responses reflect such a tendency. During the rest of this analysis, the findings will be treated as reliable in terms of understanding the teacher's perception of the program.

5.2.4 Discussion of results:

The overall impression of the assessment is very positive in favour of the program. As mentioned in the previous chapter, the duration of time since the training took place was not reported to have any effect on the outcome. This apparent sustainability may be understood as a result of follow-up visits. After accomplishing training, the ICDP teams continue to support the institutions through regular visits where the ideas of the ICDP training are enforced.

The previous section showed that the program was perceived positively in relation to the following aspects:

1. In the school context the program was credited for promoting a better atmosphere in the classroom. The teachers responded that they now regarded themselves to be more interested in the pupils' learning and progress, they felt more responsible and they viewed themselves as better teachers. From the teachers perception the children benefited from the program in terms of better school performance and in terms of a better interaction with the teachers, because they are reported to have more confidence and to be less afraid of teachers. The children also liked to go to school more now.
2. With regard to the specific effects of some of the important principles of the program, the teachers reported changes in the area of emotional interactions. They reported that they now had a better emotional contact with the children, and that they have been more focused on the children's positive qualities. In terms of understanding and being more sensitive about the children they also described an improvement. They understand the necessity of praising children and feel that their relation to own children has improved. Their perception of the children is that they have become more active and happy.
3. The sensitisation around the importance of mediational processes has also caused a change: a significant number of the teacher's report that they are now more efficient listeners and focus on understanding the children. They use more time to explain things and are more concerned about the children's learning and progress. They describe the children's school performance as better than before.
4. The question about regulation was answered ambiguous. This will be discussed below. But one of the aspects connected to positive regulation, allowing the children to have more freedom to follow their initiatives and interests, was regarded by a majority to have increased.

5. The program seems to adapt well to the Angolan culture, and is regarded as easy to understand.

In spite of these positive findings, it is relevant to discuss some of the questions that emerge from the responses: The priority of the guidelines shows that there is a strong emphasis on the guidelines related to emotional processes. This corresponds well to the reported changes in the field of interaction as well. But surprisingly there is no strong emphasis on the mediational processes, especially taking into account that the assessment was done in the school context where learning children to focus, giving meaning and expanding it, is of great importance. The teachers report that they do use the principles, but it seems that they do not consider them as important as the emotional interactions with the children. One way of understanding this is that up till now the educational system in Angola has been quite authoritarian; the teachers give lessons orally or on the blackboard, and the pupils respond, when requested, often in chorus. There have not previously been many possibilities for interactions and focusing on the pupils as individuals. Through the program the teachers might have found a way to do this. Another aspect is that understanding and using the mediational principles require a profound understanding of how important the process of learning is. In the authoritarian teaching there may have been a focus on the content to be learned, whereas the ICDP program also tries to promote an understanding of the process by which the children learn. Although the program tries to facilitate the importance of the mediational aspects, one might ask if these aspects have been poorly received or overlooked by the teachers. Their emphasis on the emotional processes shows us that the teachers have paid attention to these, and others they may not have noticed to the same degree. This again raises some important questions related to the structure of the program. Does the program need to focus more on mediational aspects: on developing ways to make these principles understood, or should the program rather focus mainly on the emotional aspects, since they seem to be of major importance for the participants ?

Regulation is an important issue, especially for teachers dealing with average size classes with often above 50 pupils. Traditionally regulating unwanted behaviour has been connected with physical punishment in many of the Angolan schools. The ICDP program tries to sensitise teachers to use other ways of regulating: dialog, explanations; understanding different perspectives and allowing more freedom for children to comment, ask questions and clarify when approached with things they do not know how to handle. The findings in this assessment tell us that the teachers feel that the program has developed changes in the class that would be associated with positive regulation. The atmosphere is better, the teachers are listening and understanding more and there is more freedom and activity. At the same time 29,5% reports that they do not experience any changes in the use of physical punishment. One could ask why these teachers still are using physical punishment? Have the ideas of positive regulation not been received, or is the method of physical punishment so strong a principle of the culture, that many teachers do not experience the need to use alternatives?

Discipline is also an ambiguous matter. As mentioned earlier, more than one third of the respondents say that the discipline has become stricter. We are not sure what that means, in the Angolan context. Maybe the teachers find discipline valuable since they are dealing with many children at a time. But from the prioritising of the guidelines, we know that

regulation was prioritised higher than the mediational guidelines. This indicates that regulation is of relevance to many, even though not all agree that it influences their ways of handling the children. It seems that discipline and physical punishment are areas where the teachers find it more difficult to change. And the results give the impression that they might not even reflect on this as an inconsistency to the ideas of the program.

Although a majority of the teachers indicate that the program is easy to understand, the above discussion about the mediational and regulational aspects could suggest that not all was sufficiently understood and used in practice.

A last issue to be commented on is the perceived format of the training. The question of sustainability is of great importance in the program, and therefore the answers to the statement about time scheduled for the training was important. A majority of 77% found the time dedicated to the training and follow-up to be sufficient, but 19% would have liked more time on the training. The assessment does not tell us whether this need for more time is related to follow-ups or the actual training sequence.

Final comments.

This evaluation is meant to be the initial step in collecting documentation of the work of the ICDP project in Angola. 373 teachers were asked to respond to a questionnaire as honestly and freely as possible. A majority responded that overall the ICDP program has helped them to cope differently not only with their pupils but also their own children. They report that they have found new ways to create better relations to children. In spite of the limitations of this evaluation; that the questionnaire reflects subjective reports about changes mainly in the respondent themselves, the results are important. Only further assessment can verify the findings, but this sample of teachers from 19 different schools in Luanda and Lubango, perceive the ICDP program to have had a significant effect on their patterns of psychosocial interaction with children.

V: Summing up the ICDP approach

The basic principles of the ICDP approach to education can be summarized in the following principles:

1. Pupils as persons – empathic identification as the basis of care.

Seeing children/pupils as persons means seeing them as sensitive beings like ourselves with the same need for love, inclusion, recognition, self esteem as ourselves. This means that we try to understand their deviations from normality, not only as types of failure in line with popular labels, but as a human response to their special life-conditions, to their losses, fears and humiliations – how would I have reacted if I had been exposed to the same conditions? What is the story behind his failure and misery – or success? That is *the inside narrative truth* that he or she can tell, not only *the external normative truth* based on comparisons with others through diagnostic standard instruments.

As human beings we have the unique capacity for *empathic identification* with others (Hundeide 2007) which means the ability to feel and sense the feelings, intentions and state of others and to identify with, join in and participate in this experience. This concept has some similarity both to what Bråten (2000, 2007) describes as “altercentric participation” and to what Fonagy (2006) describes as “mentalizing”. Both refer to the unique capacity of human beings a) to join in and participate in the experience of the other and b) to interpret understand the other from the point of view of her or his intentions, states and feelings – not only from the outside or from an egocentric point of view.

It is this capacity for empathic identification that constitutes the basis for human caring, and it is the reactivation of this capacity that is the key to the ICDP Program – to sensitize and reactivate the caregiver’s capacity to see their children or pupils from an empathic point of view – from the point of view of their assumed experiences – their inside story.

It is important to be aware that this may be a quite different story from the one being told from an external normative-diagnostic point of view (Shotter 2000, Hundeide 2003).

2. *Seeing the child/pupil and recognizing his potential – the role of positive definitions.*

Most diagnostic systems are preoccupied with mapping the client's deviations from the normal as failures and deficits. This is not only a widespread professional practice of psychologists or doctors, it is also a normal social practice that we all tend to entertain when we are faced with persons that deviate slightly from our expectations; we tend to label such persons into simple reductive categories usually with negative connotations that makes our lives simpler – “he is like his father, he was also difficult – you know that family”, “she is quite stupid, she will face problems in school”, “he has behavior problems”... These are negative folk-diagnostic categories or prejudices that we use to stabilize and create predictable expectations towards others.

The problem arises when these labels become public and reflected back on the child as attributions or accusations from caregivers and teachers. They may then be appropriated by the child and accepted as a standard and directive for how he should behave. In other words, he may dramatize and implement the stigmas that others attribute to him...(Bannister and Francella 1979, Hundeide 2007).

When we face pupils with educational problems, they are usually burdened both with a primary educational problem like reading-difficulty, but also with a secondary problem of being labeled as a school failure, as a persons with reading problem with consequent low self-esteem and aspirations, which again facilitate further failures in school.

For this reason we (ICDP) try to counteract such stigmatizations and negative labeling with positive definitions and redefinitions. This is line with the Vygotskian perspective of mapping “zones of proximal development” instead of focusing on deficits: What are the strengths and the positive competencies of the child, what are the potentials of the child/pupil, yet to be realized? How should we proceed to facilitate this potential?

In the ICDP Program we have developed practical techniques for how this can be exercised.

3. *Emotional support and encouragement in order to stimulate the child's motivation and will to learn*

As Piaget appointed out; emotions represent the energetic aspect of cognition – the aspect that we call interest, enthusiasm, engagement or commitment. When this is present, learning or acquisition of knowledge and skills come easily. The focus is then on the enjoyment of the activity itself, not only on the outcome... This is the way babies explore the world, but it is also the way our most creative researchers and artists function, problem-solving becomes a passion, it runs by itself day and night... This is the engaged and passionate mind that Confucius indicated in his famous saying:

*“The mind is not a box to be filled,
But a fire to be ignited”*

How is it possible to “ignite fires” and release enthusiasm in children’s learning?

Here are some suggestions:

- Joining in enthusiastically with the child, as described in the previous point, supporting and enlarging his emerging interest through exchange and dialogue
- Confirmation and approval of his initiatives – although in the beginning...
- Expanding and creating a fascinating context through stories that are adjusted to the child’s world
- Praising the child and expanding the possibilities of what he has achieved thus supporting his self-confidence as a learner³⁵
- Teaching in a committed and personalized way based on the child existing interests with examples and stories

When these qualities are present, the will to learn will be sustained and an atmosphere of positive interest, commitment and inclusion may emerge. Learning and exploring then becomes a joyful thing, as

³⁵ In addition to these positive recommendations one could also include avoiding fear and humiliating loss of face in front of the other pupils and avoiding being ignored and not included into the “intersubjective space” of the class-room., as mentioned in some of the essay in this collection.

it should be. This is an ideal that most of us cherish, but it is not always easy to achieve because the positive outcome, like the atmosphere of the class, is not only the sole responsibility of the teacher, it is also a joint, dialogical responsibility where both teacher and pupils contribute.

4. *“Intersubjective space” as the context for the three dialogues and the eight guidelines of good interaction*

The nature of care whether in the family or in the classroom is dialogical and relational, this means that a teacher may respond differently and show different teaching qualities depending upon the nature of the audience or the pupils – what is it they invite in the teacher through their attitude and their conduct? And opposite; what is it the teacher invites in the pupils through his attitude and conduct? In other words, these are dialogical qualities emerging between them as, what I have called, an “intersubjective space”.

Through reciprocal attunement and adjustment between teacher and pupil in the class-room setting, a common basis for interaction, or “an intersubjective space” - is created *with its own "invitational structure"* and atmosphere. This regulates what is fitting and appropriate (plausible) to say and do (by whom) within that situation. This space does not belong neither to the teacher nor the pupil(s), but is emerging between them as a third voice beyond the voices of both teacher and pupils, according to Shotter (1996).

Inside this space *the three dialogues* of good interaction find its form and expression. This means that the way the three dialogues and the eight guidelines of good interaction are expressed depends upon the context or intersubjective space within which they are embedded.³⁶

The three dialogues of good interaction which form the basis of the ICDP approach to interaction both with children/pupils and caregivers are the following:

- *The emotional expressive dialogue* with its four guidelines; 1) expressing love and positive feelings, 2) seeing and following

³⁶ This also include the topic being discussed between whom.

the initiatives of the child, 3) intimate sharing 4) approval and confirmation

- *The meaning oriented and expansive dialogue* with its three guidelines; 1) focusing and joint attention, 2) creating meaning and 3) expansion, transcending the situation by explanations and stories
- *The regulative dialogue* with 1) helping the child/pupil to act orderly, 2) plan and reflect step by step 3) positive limit-setting

These dialogues are important because they prepare and provide the basis for:

1. *Emotional security and attachment* (emotional expressive dialogue),
2. *Understanding and realistic expectations and knowledge of the world* (meaning and expansive dialogue) and
3. *Self-control and direction in the world* (regulative dialogue).

All of these are prerequisites for a successful adaptation and mastery in a modern world ...

5. *Facilitation: Reactivating and supporting the learner's positive skills and initiatives – sensitive support and “scaffolding”.*

As pointed out in the introduction, the ICDP approach is to a large extent based on reactivation of the learner's existing practices and positive skills. This means that we do not impose new and alien skills or practices out of style with their existing repertoire of skills, rather we try to localize what are the existing positive skills and support these through a selective confirming approach. In some cases this can be done through reflective video-feedback (see later, also p.), or through direct confirming comments after observation.

For this reason, the recurrent criticism that ICDP (or “intervention programs”) are imposing modern alien elements into traditional practices, is not valid.³⁷ Instead, in the ICDP approach we are trying to reactivate and bring to awareness the positive skills they already possess and thus

³⁷ For this reason we would prefer to call our program not an “intervention program” but a facilitative or “sensitization program” – helping the learner to trust his own positive skills and competence.

strengthen their confidence as caregivers in line with their cultural background. In any case, imposing new incongruent elements out of style with their existing practices, would not be sustainable in the long run and such a strategy might also create uncertainty and reduce their *caring confidence* (or teaching confidence) which is a key aspect in the ICDP approach.

We call this a facilitative approach which means that we support the learner's positive activities and initiatives in a non-intrusive way, by approving comments and by hints on how a difficult problem or situation can be solved, requesting alternative solutions etc.³⁸

This is also called *scaffolding* (Wood 1995), which means that the support should be sensitively adjusted to the learner's existing level of competence, if the task is difficult (or competence low), the support is increased, if it is easy, it is reduced. The point is that the "ownership of the activity" and the outcome should be with the learner, not with the supporter.

6. *Self-initiation and activation through practical exercises – doing, observing and communicating.*

Even if development and acquisition of knowledge and skills are assisted or supported through a facilitative approach, there is also a need for self-initiated activity on the part of the learner for the knowledge to become personalized and his own possession³⁹ As Piaget pointed out "to understand is to invent", that is, to explore and to reformulate and develop ones' own solutions or versions based on one's own activities, experiences and background. This is an important part of the ICDP program.

We have therefore developed a series of practical exercises in order to help the learner to find his own practical solutions and variants in tune with his experience and cultural background.

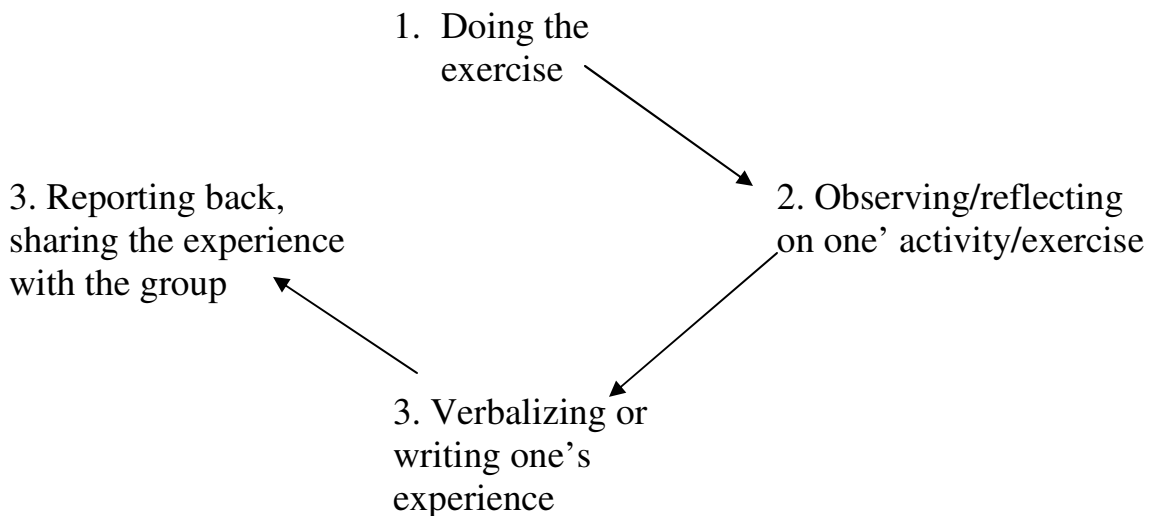
These exercises are in three different categories or domains, namely:

³⁸ The learner can be a child or pupil or it can be a teacher or caregiver who is supported in their teaching or interacting through an ICDP facilitator.

³⁹ This is also called "appropriation" – making it your own property, becoming "owner" of the knowledge..

1. *Observational exercises*, like training in reading a child's expressions or identifying the eight guidelines in pictures or in video sequences,
2. *Acting or doing*, like testing out the guidelines in practice at home (or in the class-room) and reporting back, exemplification and role-playing, making your own manual or version of what is being learned through personal pictures and examples.
3. *Communication*, telling others what you have experienced, explaining to others the eight guidelines and the three dialogues, presenting to your colleagues the basic principles of ICDP, teaching ICDP etc.

In practice this is usually implemented in regular group meetings which are part of the training. In these meetings each participant is obliged to carry out one or more exercises which he or she has to report back and share with the rest of the group. In this way a *practical cycle of learning* is established which has the following elements:



Changing from passive receptive role to active controlling role – ownership of knowledge

Positive self-reflective exercises with video-filming of own performance

7. Working in groups and sharing with equals

8. *Internal monitoring and corrective feedback – checklists and evaluative meetings.*

In sum; Humanization is what we are involved in.

9. *Guidance through structuring of the setting – providing a facilitative setting and environment – a structured agenda with freedom inside*