

Values in Student Teachers' Educational Practice

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Abstract

A qualitative, quasi-experimental study is described that had the aim to illuminate, by focussing the classroom dialogue, the relation between student teachers' explicit and implicit values. Two groups of students participated in inquiries about the character of the classroom dialogue. The experimental group also participated in an intervention. The intervention implied that the students were taught to pay a lot of attention to those parts of the Swedish National Curriculum in which teachers' explicit and implicit democratic values are focused. The result was that during the intervention, the students changed their values, but not only in a direction desired by the project. A conclusion is that, besides the intervention, also the practical work at schools affected the students' understanding of the character of a desired classroom dialogue.

Key words: fundamental values; Goals to be attained; goals to aim for; teacher education



Introduction

The aim of this article is to report a study which illuminated student teachers' explicit values regarding the desired teacher-pupil communication in the classroom. By 'desired teacher-pupil communication' is meant that the students (in the experiment group) of the study were influenced to embrace, both explicitly and implicitly, democratic values in their classroom teacher-pupil communication. Of course, the students in the control group were also taught to pay attention to the democratic values, but the students in the experimental group were influenced more specifically. 'Fundamental values' is an area of outspoken priority to the school in Sweden. However, fundamental values are not a new phenomenon; there has always been an expressed relation between knowledge and value in Swedish national curricula. Since the school goals involve certain aspects of learning how to live with others, the question of education cannot be reduced to *e. g.* learning how to read and write. It is through the educational system a human being learns, acquires and communicates the norms, values, attitudes, skills, and knowledge necessary to work and function in a social context (Lindensjö & Lundgren, 2000).

There are three main reasons why the questions of fundamental values were so highlighted in the educational debate during the last years of the 20th century: Sweden developed into a multicultural society, the Swedish society experienced a higher level of moral pluralism than ever before, and in the wake of this development there has been an increasing individuality (see for example SOU, 1992:94). The debate about the importance of fundamental values must be understood in the light of the social changes that the Swedish society has experienced the last three or four decades.

Empirical and theoretical studies carried out since the end of the 1970's show that a gradual cultural shift has taken place in the Occidental world, where religious and moral values have shifted in a direction towards individualism. Inglehart (1977, 1990) understands this change as a 'silent revolution', through which the basic value priorities of Western publics have shifted from materialistic values (where priority is given to physical sustenance, safety, and higher priorities to traditional religious and moral norms) to post-materialistic values. In comparison with older generations, post-Second World War generations that have never felt material insecurity tend to put heavier emphasis on values such as freedom, belonging, self-expression and the quality of life. And, as long as prosperity continues, each new generation will, much likely, be more post-materialistic than the generation before them.

In an article about this kind of cultural shift, Pettersson (1994), argues, that since Inglehart finds that there is a higher emphasis on traditional Christian values among the materialistic tradition, than among post-materialistic folks, the theory about a silent revolution can be viewed also as a theory of individualisation and secularisation. With the findings from The European Value Study it is possible for Pettersson to conclude that "both the European and the Scandinavian value systems are affected by a growing individualism, a decreasing commitment to Christian values, and a lessened support for civic virtues". (p. 205)

Studies about value changes in The United States of America, Europe, and the Scandinavian countries support the common assumptions that a kind of moral plurality permeates the Occidental world view, and a lack of a common conceptual scheme that can guide our actions. This common conceptual scheme that was once carried by the nation-state and the Christian church has been fragmented and diversified due to immigration, secularisation, globalisation and individualisation. A post-materialistic society is characterised by its wide range of different groups, with different conceptual schemes expressing different moral beliefs about how we ought to live, and why.

This development that has affected Sweden, together with its Scandinavian and European neighbours, is important not only for the society, but also for the school in general and teacher training specifically. This means that such matters are central to teacher training, not only from the student's personal standpoint and reflections on their future profession, but also from the perspective of the society and the official guiding documents. Besides, the matter is probably of interest in teacher education all over the world. Since it has been concluded that a change in values between generations is going on all over the world, the teacher-pupil relation as regards values seems not only interesting but also highly important to study. The students will, eventually as teachers, confront a classroom, characterised by its plurality of beliefs embedded in different religious and secular ethical traditions. For some teachers this environment will be looked upon as dynamic and enriched, to the school and to the society as a whole, some will connect the plurality with conflict or confusion, and hence see the problems rather than its possibilities.

Eurydice (2005) uses the term 'Responsible Citizenship' and concludes that the term 'citizenship' is mentioned in all the guiding documents for the school all over Europe. The term may have different connotations; in some countries it may merely indicate a judicial relationship between the citizen and the State, whereas other countries may refer to the term as the social role of coexisting in society. This study (Eurydice, 2005) examines *e. g.* how 'citizenship' is approached in official school curricula and if/how teachers may be supported on citizenship. It also gives example of how teachers themselves describe their practice in this respect. However, it does not go into details about how the citizenship is observed to be put into practice in the teacher-pupil relation in the classroom. On the other hand, it does conclude that the matter needs to be studied further.

The goals for the school in Sweden

In Sweden there are two types of school goals defined in the National Curriculum, Lpo 94: Goals to be attained Goals to strive towards (Swedish National Agency for Education, 2006). In the Swedish National Curriculum the foundation for the Goals to strive towards is the set of 'fundamental values' outlined in the curriculum. These goals are intended to be the base for all work in Swedish schools and they denote the main goal for the school, to educate democratic citizens. The question is which type of dialogue the teacher offers the students in the classroom in order to reach these goals, *i. e.* if the teacher is able to reward all 'sorts' of students, both explicitly and implicitly. The Swedish National Agency for Education (2006) denotes that the teacher shall "openly present and discuss different values, ideas and problems" (p.11). To make this possible it seems necessary that the teacher has, to her/himself, made visible her/his own values and reflected over them. If the teacher has not made this reflection there seems to be a risk that the teacher in the instruction focuses on the Goals to be attained, and that the instruction, by that, stays on a far too basic level. The question is if the mentioned reflection is a prerequisite for the teacher's ability to talk about, to value and to reflect in a dialogue with the students so that the necessary conditions are created for them to work towards the Goals to strive towards.

Purpose of the reported study and research questions

The aim of the study was, by focussing the classroom dialogue, to find out if student teachers' explicit and implicit values coincided with the Swedish National Curriculum, and what influenced their values apprehension. Specific research questions were:

1. To what degree did student teachers' explicit values agree with the 'fundamental values' expressed in the National Curriculum in student teachers who did/did not receive an intervention specifically aimed at illuminating this matter?
2. Was it possible to influence student teachers' explicit and implicit values in an intervention during a short period of time?

Theoretical frame

Values

It can be said that our values guide our actions. Certain actions, thoughts and views are regarded as self-evident and are not questioned; they are grounded in a central/fundamental value and these can be very hard, or even impossible to change. However, it seems possible to bring a person to the insight that values are not general, but cultural.

Hence, a theoretical point of departure for this project is that a person's values, that guide his or her actions, are culturally inherited to one generation by the influences of the former generation. The most significant, and perhaps most effective, social institution that influences a human being to act in a certain way seems to be the educational system of a given society, since it works as a "methodological socialization of the younger generation" (Durkheim 1956, p. 71). This theoretical standpoint expresses two things. Firstly, even if certain actions, thoughts and views are regarded as self-evident and grounded so deeply in our culture that our conduct seems impossible to change, man is destined to experience changes. Secondly, since teachers will in their profession pass on and communicate their own values (consciously or subconsciously) to their pupils, it is important to find out which values student teachers embrace and if the students' values may change or develop during the course of their studies.

Ödman (1998) points to the fact that teachers' values are reflected in their attitude towards different pupils. Ödman calls this different 'mentalities'. Many researchers touch upon this phenomenon in different terms. Bourdieu (1993) uses the concept 'habitus' and refers to similar phenomena when discussing that, as humans, we have different opinions of moral, sense of responsibility, duty *etc.* Heath (1983) claims that, when accounting for school success, we have to pay regard to the interaction pattern between teacher and student and that these patterns vary with the social class that the child belongs to; if the teacher and the child belong to the same social class, the interaction pattern is favourable to the student and vice versa. Not only social class, but also different ethnical culture may complicate the teacher-pupil interaction. Ogbu (1997) uses the concept 'speech community', and means that people who share a common language also share a common theory of how we speak and follow cultural rules for speaking. Ogbu points out that, in order to succeed academically at school, it is important to participate in the speech community. A speech community is characterized by both verbal and non-verbal communicative codes, such as *e. g.* gestures, facial expressions, intonation, distance to others, deodorants and odours. This is an example that unconscious values guide one's actions and thoughts. The same argument goes for the moral language that a group of people speaks (Stout 1988). Since people live in a plural and multi-cultural society, many moral languages are used at the same time, each with its own assumptions about the world, expressed in a distinctive way of life. Since all people do not speak the same moral language there will be moral disagreement, and since moral disagreement might be painful or difficult to handle, they will lead to confusion about how the members of a given society are supposed to live together. But people's capacity of living together peacefully depends upon their ability to converse in an understandable and reasonably coherent way with other human

beings, even if, as Stout (1988) puts it, “this ability is weakened by the very difference that make it necessary” (p. 3). It is not an easy task for a teacher to face all the moral languages that might be articulated in a multi-cultural class-room, but in order to be able to talk to, and to understand, the inhabitants of a certain classroom she must be aware of the plurality of moral languages and the power of her own moral language, since her language will most certainly be connected with the authority of a certain social institution. Therefore, it seems important to make teachers aware of the power of values.

Learning as internalization or learning as appropriation

Vygotsky (1978) claimed that the interaction between the teacher and the student is of fundamental importance for the student’s linguistic and cognitive development. His theory of the zone of proximal development, ZPD, is applicable to all students; the teacher must be able to stimulate the child within his/her ZPD and not only on a level already reached by the child. Vygotsky maintained that in that way learning is internalized in the child; it is transformed from the socio-cultural environment to the child. However, Aukrust (2003) means that Bakhtin’s notions of ‘appropriation’ and ‘previous voices’ offer better explanations of the individual’s learning related selectivity than Vygotsky’s notion of internalization.

Bakhtin (1986) meant that in all utterances it is possible to ‘hear’ previous social and cultural connections; this implies that your own voice is immersed by the voices you hear around you. The child, for instance, makes a choice between the voices he/she hears and appropriates new knowledge by selectively rendering other voices his/her own. In the classroom two qualitatively different ways of learning can be discerned: either by internalization or appropriation.

The ‘Goals to be attained’ in the Swedish school system for the subject Swedish are, to a large extent described as if they can be reached by activities that promote learning by internalization, since these goals mainly describe fundamental reading and writing skills (which can be assumed, to some extent, to be transferred from one person to another). The ‘goals to aim for’ are, on the other hand, described as if they can be reached through appropriation, since they describe for example the ability to “use experiences, thinking and language skills to form and maintain their knowledge” (Skolverket, 2001, p. 82); these skills can not be easily transferred from one person to another. In order to reach such a goal you must appropriate, since you must make a choice between the voices you hear/have heard and then formulate your own knowledge. For a teacher to be able to take into consideration a child’s ‘previous voices’ (Bakhtin, 1986) it is demanded that the dialogue that is offered in the classroom is, at least to some extent, horizontal.

Vertical and/or horizontal communication

Frønes (1995) uses the concepts ‘horizontal’ and ‘vertical’ communication; by horizontal communication he means that the two parties are equal, and by vertical communication he means that one party is above the other. An adult-child relation is by necessity to some extent vertical. However, Janson (2002) has the opinion that it is possible to make a distinction as regards horizontality in certain respects and distinguish between structure, relation, perception and interaction. Janson defines ‘structure’ by saying that the institutional role is implicit, and that ‘relation’ is a lengthy phenomenon. ‘Perception’ has to do with what can be apprehended with the senses, and ‘interaction’ means a mutual exchange of what happens here and now, both verbally and non-verbally. Janson thinks that communication between an adult and a child is always vertical as regards the structure and the relation, but the adult may be horizontal towards the child as regards the perception and

interaction. In such a vertical-horizontal communication the child's experience of the world is just as interesting as the adult's and this can be expressed both verbally and nonverbally in the communication. Such communication could be described as promoting work towards Goals to strive towards.

The focus in this project of the school's 'fundamental values'

The meaning, and the practical use, of new concepts can be hard to comprehend. "Fundamental value" seems to be such a concept. Ever since it came into being, at least in an educational setting, in the work of the new curriculum for Swedish schools in 1992 (SOU 1992:94), there has been a discussion about its different or possible meanings and intentions, and its practical use. The 'fundamental values' are described as "the inviolability of human life, individual freedom and integrity, the equal value of all people, equality between women and men and solidarity with the weak and vulnerable are all values that the school should represent and impart" (Ministry of Education and Science in Sweden, 2002, p. 5). In practice 'fundamental values' is interpreted either as a social community of values or value pluralism (by emphasizing the right to express one's points of view) (Lindgren, 2003). 'Fundamental values' has by some researchers been interpreted as a 'community of values' and, thus, problematic in a world of plurality (Månsson, 1999). Other researchers have interpreted 'fundamental values' as offering different alternatives of action, and, thus, a prerequisite for pluralism (Liljestrand, 1999). Due to this confusion as regards the implication of 'fundamental values' it is interesting to find out student teachers' interpretation of the notion. In this project both the student teachers' initial interpretation of the concept (as regards the character of the classroom dialogue), will be studied and also if their interpretation changes during the teacher training.

In Sweden the curriculum goals are to permeate the syllabus goals. Fundamental values should permeate "all teaching in each subject" (National Agency for Education, 2001, p. 6). However, since the syllabus goals have not been precisely defined for different subjects there is an obvious risk that teachers find it easier to work towards the Goals to be attained than towards the Goals to strive towards. Thus, it is not only a matter of educating democratic citizens; the link between fundamental values and the two kinds of goals and the grades makes it even more interesting to find out more about student teachers' attitude in this respect.

It is stated that the teacher should "together with the pupils develop rules for working and participating in the group" and also "openly present and discuss different values, ideas and problems" (Ministry of Education and Science in Sweden, 2002, p.11). According to Frånberg (2004) student teachers have not, during their teacher training, been made aware of the necessity for a teacher to be able to talk about, to value and to reflect in a dialogue with the students so that the necessary conditions are created for them to *e. g.* be able to deal with ethical dilemmas; this fact makes it interesting also to find out student teachers' attitude towards the desired character of the teacher-pupil dialogue.

In this project the focus of the 'fundamental values' is on the dialogue in the classroom. The standpoint is taken that it is not possible to educate without mediating values. Also Lindgren (2003) expresses that discontinued or implicit values mediation is also values mediation. The question is to what extent the student teachers are able to deal with this in the manner expected by the Ministry of Education in the wordings of Lpo 94 (Ministry of Education and Science in Sweden, 2002, p.11). Fjellström (2005) emphasizes that future teachers "will have to act as moral subjects, who will have to take responsibility in situations that are often ethically unclear and problematic, where for example students' interest are contrary to parents', where parents' interests are contrary to the school's, or where there is a

conflict between individual interest and what the class or the Board of Education would claim” (p. 77, my translation).

Practice-based evaluation at school

It seems indisputable that teachers/student teachers mediate values. In this project the focus is on how student teachers reflect upon their own practice as regards ‘fundamental values’; their reflection of this can be performed in three ways, according to Alexandersson (in Karlsson, 2003): by self-reflection (you ransack yourself), by dialogue (you ask for other people’s opinions and adopt them) and by research (you examine systematically and structure observations). The student teachers in this study reflect upon their practice by ransacking themselves and by dialogue, and the researchers examine their practice systematically and structure observations.

Method

The study is a qualitative, quasi-experimental study. Two groups of altogether 107 student teachers, attending a regular course in teacher training at a university in Sweden, were offered to participate in the study. 50 of them agreed to participate; 21 of them constitute an intervention group, group A, and 29 serve as a comparison group, group B. The intervention aimed at delivering the message that it is not possible to educate without mediating values and that the classroom dialogue needs to be rather horizontal or else the curricular goals of educating democratic citizen will not be accomplished.

Procedure

The study started with all 50 student teachers answering an inquiry (inquiry I) where they were to consider statements from the National Curriculum as regards the classroom dialogue. This was performed during the first week of the course. Then group A took part in the intervention described below.

(1) Group A were asked to perform an instructional situation in which they were to pay regard to what they had concluded about the realization of ‘fundamental values’ as regards the teacher-pupil communication in the classroom. The instructional situation was observed by two fellow students. The observations were guided by a form in which the dialogue between the teacher and the students was classified as being horizontal or vertical (The observers classified if the children were allowed to start conversations and if their retorts were paid attention to, or not).

(2) After the observations, the student teachers in group A who had observed the lesson made a short interview with the teacher student performing the observed lesson; the aim of this interview was mainly to validate if the observations made by the two fellow students was in accordance with the teacher student’s own apprehension of the lesson. The observations and interviews were carried out during week 5-10 of their course.

(3) Group A also performed other activities aimed at affecting their values in the desired direction, such as discussions and self-reflections. The results of all these activities are not reported as results in this study, since it would make it badly arranged.

At the end of the course both groups A and B answered the same inquiry as they answered initially (inquiry II); this was carried out after 18 weeks of the course.

Data analysis and trustworthiness

By comparing the student teachers' answers in the two inquiries, their awareness of their implicit values in relation to their explicit values is judged. It is also judged if their values agree with the 'fundamental values' expressed in the National Curriculum. The students were asked if they agreed with the statement that a teacher should develop rules for the work and the time together in the classroom in cooperation with the children and that a teacher should openly present and discuss his/her opinions openly in the classroom. Inquiry I and II were analysed quantitatively.

As regards the intervention, in the observations a categorization was made of the character of the observed activities, *i.e.* if the dialogue between the teacher and the students was horizontal or vertical. A sign of horizontality was marked if the teacher took an interest in a pupil's answer instead of simply stating a pupil's answer as 'correct' or 'wrong'; another sign of horizontality was if the pupils started a conversation at least as often as the teacher; inversely, a sign of verticality was marked if the teacher simply stated that a pupil's answer was 'correct' or 'wrong'. The correspondence between the two observers was estimated; it was not possible to indicate with a figure the inter-rater-reliability between the two students performing the observations, since all of the students had not followed the instructions completely about how to do this. For this reason only those results are reported, of which there was complete agreement between the two students coding these data.

The interviews that were made in connection with the observations serve as validation of the observations, since the observed teachers were asked if the observed phenomena were in accordance with the student teachers' own experience of the observed lesson. The interviews were analyzed qualitatively by two researchers.

Ethical aspects

Informed consent was collected from the student teachers. They were informed that the participation was voluntary and could be terminated at any time. It was made clear that the gathered information would not be used for any other purpose than research. A risk-benefit analysis revealed that the benefit, both for research and for the student teachers, is that the study illuminates an area that is essential in their education. In the inquiries the student teachers were known (as a number) by the researchers; this was necessary, since the intention was to compare if the teacher student developed as regards their awareness of 'fundamental values'; they were informed about this fact. The observations were made anonymously, which minimizes the risk of stigmatization the student teachers may experience from participating in the study.

Results

First inquiry I is accounted for, and then the intervention (the observations plus the interviews connected to the observations). Finally the result of inquiry II is reported.

Pre-test. Inquiry I

50 students answered inquiry I. As regards the question about *rules for the time together in the classroom*, the two groups' answers were very similar. In group A, the intervention group, 77 % of the students agreed with the opinion that 'The teacher should

develop rules for the work and the time together in the classroom in cooperation with the pupils'. In group B 76% agreed with this statement.

As regards the question about *values discussions in the classroom*, 30% of the students in group A agreed with the opinion that 'The teacher should declare and discuss her/his opinions openly in the classroom'. In group B 24,5 % agreed.

Intervention. Observations of lessons and interviews with student teachers performing lessons

15 of the 21 students in group A performed lessons that were observed by two fellow students. (Six students in group A did not want to perform this part). Four of the fifteen groups of children that were observed consisted of pre-school children; eleven of the groups consisted of children aged 7-10 years. The result was that 73 % of the observed lessons displayed horizontal teacher-pupil dialogue. A respondent validation (made in the interview) showed that 87 % of the observed students verified that the observations were in complete accordance with their own experience of the observed lesson, and 13 % verified that the observations were 'at large' in accordance with their own experience of the observed lesson. Additionally, the interview revealed that 87 % of the observed students thought that the observed lessons had turned out as they had planned; 93 % of the students thought that they had learnt something from the exercise.

Post-test. Inquiry II

All 50 students answered inquiry II. As regards the question about *rules for the time together in the classroom*, In group A, the intervention group, 86 % of the students agreed with the opinion that 'The teacher should develop rules for the work and the time together in the classroom in cooperation with the pupils'. In group B 76 % agreed with this statement. This means that in group A the number of students agreeing with the statement increased. This was a desired effect of the intervention. In group B the number of students agreeing with the statement did not increase.

As regards the question about *values discussions in the classroom*, 19 % of the students in group A agreed with the opinion that 'The teacher should declare and discuss her/his opinions openly in the classroom'. In group B 17,5 % agreed. This means that in both groups the number of students agreeing with the statement decreased. This was *not* a desired effect of the intervention.

More detailed comparison of the results from inquiry I and inquiry II

The results from the two inquiries were compared more in detail. 67 % of the students in the intervention group held on to the answer they gave in inquiry I, and in the comparison group 76 % of them did. This means that the intervention group changed their view to a higher extent than the comparison group.

Discussion

The student teachers' explicit values in relation to the Swedish National Curriculum

The explicit values of group A, as measured by their willingness to discuss rules for the work in the classroom, agreed more with the National Curriculum in the end of the course than in the beginning of the course. The explicit values in group B did not change during the

course. This means that the intervention was successful as regards the student teachers' willingness to discuss rules for the work and the time together in the classroom with the children.

The explicit values of both groups, as measured by their willingness to discuss their own opinions openly in the classroom, decreased from the beginning of the course to the end. This was not a desired effect of the project and it leads to the conclusion that something else, outside of the project affected the students. During discussions in class the explanation given by the students was that, during their teacher education, they had not been taught about the practical implications of 'fundamental values'; they had only been taught how to "give the correct answer in theory". This raises the suspicion that the students had not got the kind of education, expressed as 'schooling of the heart' by Fjellström (2005).

Consequently, those who changed their answers from inquiry I to II, changed both in accordance with the intentions of the project and *not* in accordance with the project. Some desired changes were shown more clearly in group A, the intervention group; this is an expected result, but some undesired changes were also shown. How should this be understood? Is it a question of a reluctance from the representatives from the practice (the teachers they met during their school practice) to adapt to the curriculum? In that case it can be understood as 'hidden fundamental values' (Lindgren, 2003), and it can be assumed that the student teachers in this study may have been influenced by this during their practice. If this is the case, such 'hidden fundamental values' may, in the long run, imply that the dialogue in the classroom is more vertical than horizontal (Frønes, 1995; Janson, 2002); this may imply that the work in the classroom is more oriented towards the Goals to be attained (since they concern the mastering of basic skills) than towards the Goals to strive towards. This is not surprising, but it points towards a dilemma situation; the teachers are supposed to make all pupils achieve the Goals to be attained. But with a vertical classroom dialogue, the Goals to strive towards (which postulate a horizontal, democratic classroom dialogue) can not be approached; the Goals to be attained can still be reached without a democratic classroom dialogue.

Influence on the student teachers' implicit values

It proved possible to influence the implicit values of the students in group A. The task of performing a lesson with a horizontal dialogue was successful, since a majority of the students in group A performed a lesson with a completely horizontal dialogue and the rest of them performed a lesson that was at least partly horizontal. This was of course an 'artificial example' of living up to the wording in the curriculum as regards a horizontal classroom dialogue, but the aim was to see if this was possible, and it proved to be so. However, not all students in group A chose to take part in this intervention. All of those who did participate were future teachers for younger children; all of the student teachers who were being educated to become teachers for older children chose not to participate.

Overall discussion

The result showed that the student teachers had the opinion that they were taught about their fundamental values in theory, but not in practice. This could also be expressed by saying that, during their education their explicit values were more affected than their implicit values.

The dilemma situation for teachers consists in the fact that they have to see to it that all pupils reach the Goals to be attained, but at the same time they are to promote a horizontal classroom dialogue and that all pupils approach the Goals to strive towards. Vygotsky's

theory of ZPD (Vygotsky, 1978) implies that knowledge is transformed from the socio-cultural environment and internalized in the individual; this can be fulfilled with the pattern that appeared in this study: that the teacher always lets the children influence rules in the classroom, but is more restricted when it comes to discussion of values.

Bakhtin's notion of 'appropriation' (Bakhtin, 1986), on the other hand, presupposes a horizontal classroom dialogue; if you do not offer this kind of dialogue you will not be able to pay attention to 'previous voices' (Bakhtin, 1986) and the knowledge that the pupils appropriate will not be founded in a concern with the pupil's previous voices. Following this philosophy involves teachers' allowing and promoting values discussion in the classroom. It is natural that a reluctance to allow and encourage values discussion will affect those students more, who are not from the same social class as the teacher, the ones with a similar 'habitus' (Bourdieu, 1993) or with similar 'mentality' (Ödman, 1998) or belonging to the same social class as the teacher (Heath, 1983) or the same 'speech community' (Ogbu, 1997) or speak the same moral language (Stout, 1988).

The result points towards a necessity to provide space in the teacher training for a proficiency that can be expressed in different ways: a schooling in vertical-horizontal communication, as expressed by Janson (2002), a new role for the teacher, a "schooling of the heart", as expressed by Fjellström (2005, p. 77).

The National curriculum (Ministry of Education and Science in Sweden, 2002) expects teachers both to discuss rules in the classroom and to "openly present and discuss different values, ideas and problems" (Lpo 94, 2002, p. 11); the result in this study points in a direction that the future teachers are not ready to follow the theory in practice. The results do indicate the need of integrating democratic, social and ethical aspects of teaching and learning in the teacher programme. Without taking value-ridden questions about the teacher's role in the classroom seriously it will be, if not impossible, at least hard for students to embrace and, eventually embody the virtues of the good teacher, who understands the importance of horizontal communication.

Considering what has been said above about the relationship between student teachers' and the school's fundamental values, it goes without saying that democratic, social and ethical aspects of teaching and learning must be integrated in the teacher programme. Since teaching methods are not neutral, and a teacher's conduct in the classroom is not neutral, there is no choice but to make a serious effort to introduce values in teacher education in order for the student to make sense of her own values that are transmitted by her own educational praxis, even if such an agenda might challenge the view of the traditional teacher, and the traditional view of the making of the teacher.

Limitations

It is not possible to draw conclusions from this study, due to the restricted number of participants, but the tendency that appears in the study is worth paying attention to and studied further: is there a 'hidden curriculum' in schools as regards teachers' 'fundamental values' and, if so, does this apply more to upper/secondary school teachers than to primary school teachers?

Suggestions for future research and conclusions from similar studies

A suggestion for future studies is to continue the study on a more qualitative basis (or conduct a new, more qualitative study), *e.g.* to interview teachers, student teachers and pupils (individually or in focus groups) about values mediation in the classroom. Studies have been performed, using focus group dialogues in teacher teams, showing that the method was useful

for identifying a school's developmental needs and since it allowed teachers to participate without being singled out (Sandström Kjellin, 2008). Case studies have been performed in five European countries, showing that in the cases where the classroom dialogue was horizontal the pupils seemed more for the duration of the lesson than in those in the 'vertical' classrooms (Sandström Kjellin & Stier, 2008a). However, one study (Sandström Kjellin, 2008b) revealed that even in a European collaborative group of teacher educators with the explicit focus to develop classroom dialogue to become more horizontal, the dialogue among the project group was not at all altogether horizontal. Probably it is important to remember the truth in the old finding made by Argyris & Schön (1974) that we do in practice does not always coincide with what we think that we do. This is worth studying more closely. At this it seems fruitful to bring in theories of intercultural communication. Thus, specifications of mechanisms that work when we communicate, interculturally as well as intraculturally, can probably add to explanations of *why* our theories-in-use do not coincide with espoused theories (Argyris & Schön, 1974).

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