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Students' Values Versus Their Academic Growth. A Theoretical Overview of How To Solve Misconceptions About the Pedagogic Relation

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Students' Values Versus Their Academic Growth. A Theoretical Overview of How To Solve Misconceptions About the Pedagogic Relation

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Abstract: The aim of this article is to provide a critical overview and interpretation of pedagogic modalities and their characteristics. It describes the construction and specification of pedagogic modalities and relates various practical implementations of different educational approaches to distinct ideological starting points. By doing so, it offers an elaborated understanding of the often dualistically presented dilemma between students' identity growth and their academic progress. An element of Bernstein's theory is brought together with a four-field model from the same theorist and analytically sorted in terms of their relationship to one-another. This makes it possible to establish coherent understandings of phenomena that have not previously been identified or well understood and to draw conclusions in the perspective of equity.

Keywords: instructional discourse, regulative discourse, pedagogic modalities, equity

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Introduction

When issues of equity are discussed by educational actors a variety of convictions appear. These reflect both a timeless and a contemporary dilemma, no doubt faced by both researchers and practitioners. The dilemma has to do with the twofold target of education; i.e. to take into consideration both the purpose of changes in students' identities and the purpose of their academic progress. The timelessness refers to the ever-going discussion on the balance between these two aspects and the contemporariness partially to the confusion derived from a secularised society where education implicitly is the object of taking over the responsibility of character building from church or other religious institutions. The approach taken in this article offers a refined way and an elaborated understanding of the often dualistically presented dilemma of fostering both students' attitudes and their academic progress. A turning to Basil Bernstein's often referred four-field model (see for instance Martin, 2001; Bourne, 2004) provides, it can be argued, an understanding.

Two examples of convictions on how to best reach equity and improved student achievement will be given initially. The first refers to a widening social gap:

The income achievement gap is a formidable societal problem, but little is known about either neurocognitive or biological mechanisms that might account for income-related deficits in academic achievement. We show that childhood poverty is inversely related to working memory in young adults. Furthermore, this prospective relationship is mediated by elevated chronic stress during childhood. Chronic stress is measured by allostatic load, a biological marker of cumulative wear and tear on the body that is caused by the mobilization of multiple physiological systems in response to chronic environmental demands. (Evans & Schamberg, 2009, p. 6545).

The other example is concerned about assessment and equity:

Emotional competencies, such as self-awareness, self-control, compassion, co-operation, flexibility, and the ability to make judgments on the value of information serve students well in school and throughout their lives (OECD, 2002, p. 58). Emotions also affect the student's self-esteem, motivation and ability to regulate his or her own learning. (OECD, 2005, p. 47).

Together, the two examples represent two differing convictions on how to best secure equity regarding students' academic success; the first puts cultural value to the neurological and biological, whereas the second emphasises the emotional and motivational. In line with a Bernsteinian perspective the two convictions should be seen as problematic (hybrids of) pedagogic modalities. The aim of this article is to provide a critical overview and interpretation of pedagogic modalities, and their characteristics. From this, conclusions will be drawn on how convictions like the above can be understood in relation to equity.

Theoretical starting points

In order to present an overview of features of current pedagogic modalities, two specific phenomena from Bernstein's vast conceptual repository and pedagogic discourse theory will be taken into account; first a selection of a conceptual pair and, second, a four-field model. Both are needed to reveal (often hidden hybrid) characteristics of pedagogic modalities.

Regulative and instructional discourse

The conceptual pair taken into use consists of the concepts of regulative and instructional discourse (Bernstein 1990, 2000). Regulative discourse concerns moral values, behaviour, orderliness, character, identity and attitude. It has to do with what students exhibit in the classroom or are encouraged to contribute. On the other hand, instructional discourse refers to what is usually described as content area matter. Broadly speaking, it encompasses facts, specialised texts, and theories relating to a specific academic subject.

Bernstein (1990, 2000) argues that the two discourses are intertwined and should not be analysed separately. This implies that the instructional discourse should always be considered to be embedded within the regulative discourse. Therefore, the relationship between the regulative and instructional discourse is important in order to understand what shapes the overarching pedagogic discourse. Bernstein notes that the two are often separated as the 'moral and instructional' but that in fact there is only one discourse: a single pedagogic discourse. (Buzzelli & Johnston, 2001, p. 877).

There is a need for some further comments on the common definitions and interpretation. First, the concept of regulative discourse requires some refinement; moral beliefs are both personal and cultural, and play out on the boundaries between the private (and individual) and the social (Buzzelli & Johnston, 2001, p. 876). This matter will be faced in the overview to come. It could be claimed that there is also a need to reconsider the concept of instructional discourse. This is because when this concept is used, certain aspects seem to be unduly side-lined – notably, academic content that is not clearly tied to a particular school subject. This primarily affects cognitive, general and interdisciplinary processes such as “justifying”, “analysing” and “evaluating”. General phenomena were contested by Bernstein (2000, p. 59) who considered them to belong to a market sub-form pedagogy. Still, they will be included in the exposition to come; the reason is that it could be disputed that it is the motive for emphasising general competences that matters, rather than the competences themselves.

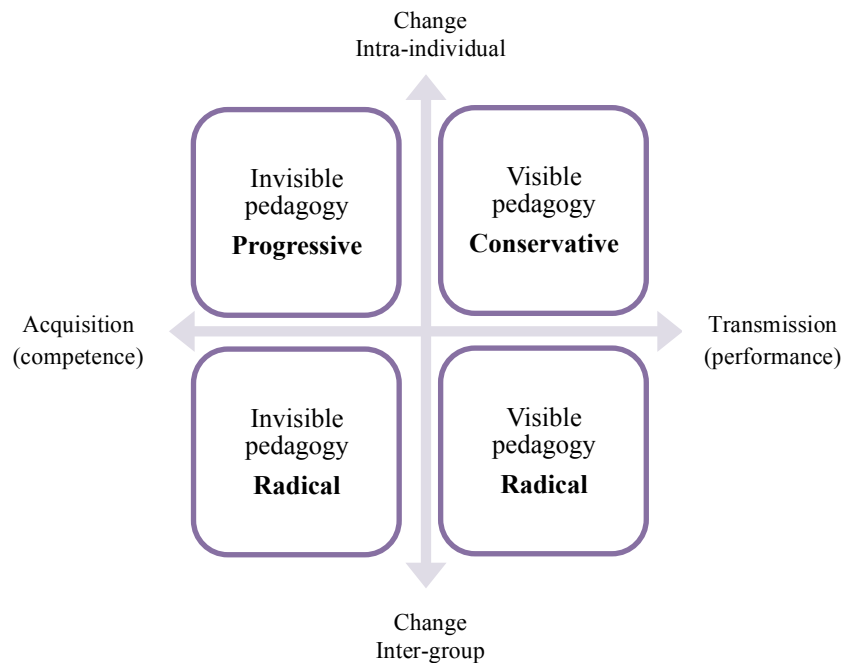
The relation between the two discourses can be expressed in various ways, for instance that the regulative discourse controls the instructional (see Woodside- Jiron, 2004). The phenomenon of control refers to various aspects of framing, which in turn is defined as “the locus of control over the selection, sequencing, pacing and criteria of the knowledge to be acquired” (Bernstein, 2000, p. 99). The phenomenon also refers to various aspects of classification, i.e. “relations between categories, these relations being given their degree of insulation from each other” (Bernstein, 2000, p. 99). Thus, it would have been possible to also explicitly involve the concepts of classification and framing in the exposition to come. However, these will be down-sized in order to avoid the risk of playing along with too many concepts.

Pedagogic modalities

In order to shed light on the variety of possible relationships between the regulative and instructional discourse, and on the fact that these depend on pedagogical convictions, Bernstein’s (1990, p. 72) four-field model of pedagogic modalities of pedagogic practice will be focused. In this context, a pedagogic discourse/modality should be understood as a practice, a view, a priority or an ideal, which is sometimes referred to as a pedagogic identity. The model shows three modalities that had been identified in practice by Bernstein (1990) and a fourth, the radical visible modality that

he had not seen in practice when the model was introduced. In other words, this fourth modality should only be regarded as a potential modality. In his later works, Bernstein dealt with other modalities such as neo-liberalism. Although he did not incorporate these into the model, he did note that it is amenable to extension.

Figure 1. Bernstein's four-field model of different pedagogical modalities



Source: Bernstein, 1990, p. 72.

The four-field model has two axes. The lying axis describes two teaching approaches: the one on the left-hand side is more implicit and informal while the one on the right is more explicit and formal. Teachers who adopt left-hand side approaches can be seen as 'facilitators', while those who adopt right-hand side approaches are more aptly regarded as 'transmitters'. The lying axis also describes different attitudes towards assessment; on the left-hand side, there is no or only little emphasis on assessment whereas on the right it is more explicitly emphasised.

The standing axis describes change and the type of change that the educational process aims to induce. The uppermost approaches aim to achieve intra- individual changes, i.e. they aim to promote change within the individual student. The lower two modalities aim towards inter-group change, i.e. the promotion of change between groups. Here, 'group' should be understood in sociological terms, not least in the sense of social class. The model is constructed in such a way as to make it possible to draw conclusions that are informed by the concept of equity.

In this article, links between the instructional and regulative discourses and their contemporary mixed-up connections, will only consider three modalities; the conservative and the radical visible with an interpretation of the neo-liberal/ neo-conservative as an extension. One of the two modalities that will be ignored is radical pedagogy which seems to hold a sleeping position in today's discussions or realisations. For a description of the radical, see Freire (1972) and for a criticism of it see Ellsworth (1989). The other left out pedagogic modality is invisible, progressive (or: liberal-progressive, progressivist or radical progressive) pedagogy. It has its roots in Piagetan psychology (Bernstein, 1990, p. 213) and favours arrangements where the teacher takes on the role as facilitator and relies on the student's inner development based primarily on in-born maturity stages, curiosity and need for self-expression. It is a present ideal, not least in kindergarten or in so-called alternative pedagogies but will be left out since it has previously been the object of critical discussions based on the conceptual pair of regulative and instructional discourse (see Chouliaraki, 1998; Koustourakis, 2007).

Different aspects of Bernstein's theoretical framework have been examined in multiple studies. Also the central concepts used in this article have been analysed previously. For example, the concepts of instructional and regulative discourse have been discussed extensively (see Jacklin, 2004; Neves & Morais, 2005; Evans, Davies & Rich, 2008; Ivinson, 2012) just as the pedagogical modalities (see Martin, 2001; Bourne, 2004; Ivinson & Duveen, 2005). However, although the influence of Bernstein seems to be readily apparent in these contributions, there is a lack of theoretical contributions that systematically analyse the relationship between the two conceptual phenomena discussed herein. Thus, this previous lack should be challenged both for a better understanding in general and for better understanding of contemporary hybrid modalities.

Interpretation

Here, a series of elaborations that deal with pedagogic modalities and their characteristics will be presented. The interpretation is based on a synthesis of the author's and others' research both following in Bernstein's footsteps. It will be referred to specific studies when these can be considered particularly relevant.

The presentation relies on a structure in which the respective pedagogic modalities are first discussed individually. Each presentation includes an interpretation of what should be seen as a consistent approach to teaching and assessment issues in relation to the pedagogic modality at hand. Also factors that are accordingly prioritised in the instructional discourse (both in terms of the definition of general skills and the definition of content-area knowledge) will be identified. Moreover, the presentation includes descriptions of how each pedagogic modality can be interpreted in the context of the regulative discourse. It will also be demonstrated how the different modalities can be juxtaposed with the others to illustrate crucial similarities and differences. Each of the first passages will be concluded by respective presentations of the critique that sociologists of education have directed towards the modality at hand.

The exposition starts with the pedagogies which implicitly or explicitly emphasises intra-individual change. The pedagogical approach of the model's lower right-hand corner, i.e. the radical visible approach, is treated similarly. This approach is considered to have the potential to work against social reproduction and provides the perspective from which this article is written. Before moving on, it should be noted that the modalities are inevitably stylised and represent ideal types.

Conservative pedagogy

The exposition of the variety of so-called modalities starts in conservative pedagogic practice, emanating from a Skinnerian behaviourist tradition. Here, teaching is supposed to be organised in a traditional way and the teacher transmits knowledge to the student who is viewed as an acquirer. The teacher is the one in control of the selection, sequencing, pacing as well as of the evaluation criteria. The instructive material is collected from traditional subject content and the pedagogic process endorsed to take place encourages the immersion into the (national) cultural

heritage and on what can be referred to as *Bildung*. Activities likely to occur emphasise the development of general skills, especially basic skills. Finally, the assessment pedagogy has a behaviourist foundation and is oriented towards the student's individual performance, not seldom relying on diagnostic tests.

These characteristics of the instructional set of knowledge are produced by a regulative discourse that values a range of desired behaviour; the appreciated student is orderly, desires the (national) cultural preservation and is easily motivated by rewards. Emphasised in the regulative practices is also to produce a student identity marked by traditionalism and a belief (or disbelief) in one's innate talents.

The criticism of conservative pedagogy

Sociologists of education have criticised the conservative pedagogical approach for a number of reasons. For instance, while teachers who adhere to a conservative pedagogy may be clear about the subject matter, they will generally not let the student know what is expected of them in exams, a matter of which is unhelpful to them (Rose, 2005). Also criticised is the conservative focus on what the student does not know; diagnostic tests usually look for what students lack. Parenthetically mentioned, diagnostic tests have shown only low informational value for teachers in their subsequent teaching decisions (Snow, Griffin & Burns, 2005). Under the conservative approach, students are also regarded as being one of successful, unsuccessful or mediocre. Therefore, Rose (2005) claims that one of the main hidden objectives of this approach is to sort students and to present their differences as naturalised.

Neo-liberal and neo-conservative pedagogy

There are yet two pedagogical approaches that aim to promote intra-individual change: neo-liberal and neo-conservative pedagogy. In the ideal neo-liberal system, the teacher primarily functions as a facilitator, consistently often titled 'coach', while the student takes responsibility for his or her own learning and works in a project-oriented organisation. In particular, great emphasis is placed on skills that are believed to enable students to monitor and conduct their own education, such as 'learning to learn' and information retrieval (Norlund, 2009, 2011). Due to its emphasis

on these general skills in particular, low priority is placed on specific subject content and classroom activities may even lack this type of instructional substance (Jacklin, 2004).

The approach favours the use of assessment methods that encourage students who display a 'winner's instinct' and assessment activities urge students to individually define their own learning targets and to document their own progress. These circumstances indicate the regulative discourses invoked in response to neo-liberal pedagogy and how these promote an entrepreneurially- oriented student position of autonomy and investigation.

Neo-liberal pedagogy can be seen as a counterpart of conservative pedagogy. Central to both is their promotion of a competitive student. Their differences relate to their views on classroom organisation. Clearly a neo-liberal pedagogic modality to some extent come to resemble progressive pedagogy referring to its emphasis on the teacher role of 'coach', similar to 'facilitator', indicating the teaching form produced.

It could be considered relevant also to discuss neo-conservative pedagogy in this section. A practical implementation of this approach can be identified in the Monroe doctrine pedagogy, described as both neo-conservative and neo-liberal (Schwartz, 2010). It is apparent that while the teacher's skills as an instructor are considered important in this approach, student self-regulation and independence is also emphasised (Bullmaster-Day, 2008; www.rapsa.org). The instructional discourse regarding this pedagogy seems to be based on national and western ideals, with a strong focus on the cultural arts. In a list of possible classroom contents and instructional material, topics such as 'The Impressionists', 'The 13 Colonies' and 'Greek Myths' (although it should be noted that the reader/teacher is also asked to approach the material critically) can be found. General competences are emphasised and characterised as 'higher-order thinking skills' (Bullmaster-Day, 2008).

Testing is a prominent feature of this doctrine, and just like in the conservative system, there is a strong belief in the value of diagnostic tests. In addition to these elements, we find other regulatory components; a strong emphasis on the student's behaviour is prominent, including requirements for a distinct dress code and self-regulation. Another important factor is parental involvement. Bernstein describes neo-conservative pedagogy, as based on a fusion of "nation, family individual responsibility and individual enterprise" (2000, p. 68). It also matches Bernstein's observation that pedagogies of this type often stem from "social

movements, for example gender, race and region” (Bernstein, 2000, p. 76). This is reflected in one of the justifications for the Monroe pedagogy:

While our LMLI schools primarily serve African-American and Latino students from low- income homes, we know that economic poverty is not an excuse for poor education (Bullmaster-Day, 2008).

The close relationship between conservative and neo-conservative pedagogies is readily apparent in the latter’s strong emphasis on behaviour and testing. It is primarily distinguished from the old conservative approach in terms of its rhetoric embracing social differences, and its origin in the field of leadership.

The criticism of neo-liberal and neo-conservative pedagogy

Neo-liberal pedagogy has encountered negative reactions from many researchers. These stem from its emphasis on self-monitoring where the student is left alone to complete complex tasks without receiving any explicit instruction. This presents a risk of creating students who have to rely on their endurance, home background and cultural capital (Dovemark, 2004). Another point of criticism could readily revolve around the disadvantages experienced by students who are not comfortable with or strongly motivated by the competitive element. As implied by the promotion of information retrieval, the neo-liberal approach places great emphasis on one of the most important and complex academic skills, namely the evaluation of sources. However, this skill seems to be used only superficially in neo-liberally oriented education systems in that it is primarily based on characterising sources as being either true or false (Norlund, 2009, 2011). This is problematic because genuine critical competence requires more complex approaches.

Another set of problems has to do with the neo-liberal rhetoric, which is often presented in the context of entrepreneurial learning. The main criticism of this aspect is that the buzzwords of entrepreneurial learning, such as ‘creativity’, seem to contain very little of substance (Nylund & Rosvall, 2011, pp. 93-94). The rhetoric is seductive because most educators appreciate words and phrases such as ‘creativity’ and ‘desire to learn’. This is where Bernstein’s (2000, p. 59) resistance to the promotion of general competences, often connected to an idea of market-oriented trainability as it is, is found.

Schwartz (2010) studied a secondary school organised along the lines presented in the Monroe Doctrine and found that it provided no significant amount of the promised support for the suburban youths in its classes. Bernstein also expressed disapproval of the neo-conservative approach, stating that “they are in their take off stage evangelist and confrontational” (Bernstein, 1990, p. 76). Other criticism possible to raise resembles the one directed towards the neo-liberal approach, i.e. that its rhetoric is focused on financial growth rather than education.

Brunila (2012) interviewed teachers and found not only an entrepreneurial, neoliberal view on students but also that it was mixed with an emotional, therapeutic view similar to that of progressive education. In a similar way the webpage of a (Swedish) version of the Monroe doctrine pedagogy informs: “We must win their hearts” says another guru dr Gordon Neufelt [sic] who claims the importance of bonding for learning. He argues that what is needed to get the natural maturity process kick-started is:

1. a close emotional contact with a mature adult who cares
2. a place where it is safe to feel vulnerable, a place where one can allow the tears to come
3. a space for happiness, curiosity and ambition in children’s lives (www.quadriceps.se, author’s translation)

The webpage makes clear that the approach with its emphasis on ‘the emotional’ and the importance of ‘curiosity’ resembles progressive pedagogy. To sum up, both neo-liberal and neo-conservative pedagogic approaches qualify to be viewed as hybrid pedagogic modalities.

Radical visible pedagogy

Having dealt with two/three educational systems featured in the top half of the Bernstein model, it is now time to examine one of the two in the lower half, which replace the goal of promoting intra-individual change with that of promoting inter-group change. The pedagogy that emphasises inter-group pedagogy to be dealt with is radical visible pedagogy. Bernstein (1990) had been unable to identify any practical implementations of this modality at the time when he was constructing his model. It should therefore, again, be regarded as a potential modality rather than one that had found practical applications.

In a system of this kind, the teacher would play a formal and explicit role, and the objective would be to promote the simultaneous development

of the teacher and the students who would move together in joint activities (Bourne, 2004). A teacher who employs radical visible pedagogy is one who keeps the students on track and strives to move forward (or, one could reasonably assume, deeper into the subject or to get a broader view of the landscape of a subject matter) together with the students. The teacher achieves this by focusing (moderately) on up-coming exams while providing the students with clear and firm guidance that will enable them to perform well in the same.

Because concepts are important for thinking and for determining what belongs to the collective knowledge repository, the concepts that belong to the variety of school subjects are considered to be important. It should be noted that Bernstein's theories have a non-dichotomous character (Moore & Muller, 2002). This means that they do not reject all traditional aspects of education. Bourne (2004, p. 64) states that there is a need for a "radical realization of an apparently conservative practice". Still, immediately apparent is the question why the radical visible approach does not reject the concepts that form parts of the formal, traditional banks of common knowledge. Hasan answers this question as follows:

A culture that does not attend to its own maintenance – and such cultures are more the figments of our imagination than real historical facts – has no sense of history; where there is no sense of history there can be no sense of change. Cultural change and cultural maintenance are mutually defining phenomena: the one is unknowable without the other. So the reproduction of knowledge as the object of teaching has a definite value in the life of a community. Nonetheless, if it were to remain the sole object of teaching, this could give rise to some serious problems (Hasan, 2005, p. 234).

This passage illustrates the point that one should not consider stability and change to be mutually exclusive.

In the case of knowledge production and general skills, these can be assumed to include generalisation, falsification, mapping, and so on but, in addition and maybe more importantly, the general skills are not emphasised in themselves, only in relation to selected content. Among general skills, the ability to analyse would indeed be emphasised (Daniels, 2001; Kerr & Raffo, 2016), with particular focus on analyses of society, injustice, and own or others' underprivileged positions which should form the selected content. This is the reason for a suggestion to object towards a full contestation of general competences.

The circumstances referred are the result of a regulative mechanism that favours 'empowerment' and a student identity marked by solidarity. In summary, radical visible pedagogy aims to disrupt existing hierarchies by giving students broad repertoires. It is intended to emphasise the eradication or minimisation of differences deriving from social class. The subversive aspect is among others emphasised by Martin (2001, p. 168). To be noticed, a regulative discourse that does not play out the private and individual (Buzzelli & Johnston, 2001) but rather issues of solidarity and ideology, is found.

The radical visible modality clearly has some similarities with the conservative modality discussed above, while the two could risk being mixed up. Notably, to some extent, the radical visible approach resembles conservative pedagogy, at least in terms of its visibility, although it does not share the competitive aspects of the conservative approach. Neither does it share the contemporary tendency to fixate on assessment rubrics since these present a risk that the ticking off boxes become more important to both teachers and students than the challenge of digging deeply into tasks such as analyses of society. Thus it calls for a delicate balancing act in which teachers are discouraged to place an excessive emphasis on forthcoming tests. Instead of considering students to be either successful or unsuccessful, as in conservative pedagogy, the focus should be the success or failure of the teaching. It also imposes different demands on the teacher who, in contrast to the situation in conservative systems, must be mindful of the fact that a class might include students who, due to their social backgrounds, are not as acquainted as others with what school represents or demands. Finally, the radical visible pedagogy differs in the fact that the teacher and the class are encouraged.

Conclusion

The article aimed to provide a critical overview and interpretation of pedagogic modalities and their characteristics. An element of Bernstein's theory was brought together with parts of another (the four-field model) and analytically sorted in terms of their relationship to one-another. The concepts of regulative and instructional discourse and the relationship between them were discussed, the concepts were incorporated in the variety of modalities, and discriminations between the different relationships were

clarified. This approach made it possible to establish coherent understandings of phenomena that have not previously been identified or well understood. Notably, the reasoning made it possible to draw conclusions regarding issues of social reproduction or interruption of social production. It shed light on a false dichotomy (values vs content knowledge) that is widely considered to be difficult to handle. Hopefully, this has resolved a false dichotomy, which has historically been problematic for both practising teachers and researchers. It is important to address this dichotomy in order to avoid social reproduction.

The concepts of classification and framing were not included but it should be pointed out that these have been implicitly present during the exposition. To give only two examples; when concepts that form part of the formal, traditional banks of common knowledge is emphasised this circumstance refers to strong classification and when students are self-regulating it refers to weakly framed organisation.

The four-field model, which has been (partially) related to, was introduced more than 25 years ago and does not cover all of the trends that have since become apparent (although Bernstein was aware of the development of the neo-liberal and neo-conservative approach when he was creating the original model). However, it could be argued that the model is useful because of this fact rather than in spite of it: its seeming limitation enables to accommodate new perspectives on the relationship between regulative and instructional discourses and to identify changes and new dimensions that are relevant to current trends. It should be noted that the original four-field model was based on pedagogic modalities stemming from educational research (including that of Skinner, Piaget, Freire, and others) and are therefore consequent. When new tendencies become apparent with expressed convictions that do not match the model, one must therefore conclude that these new pedagogies have their roots in something other than education. For example, entrepreneurial learning (neo-liberally oriented) is a pedagogical approach that has been heavily promoted in Sweden and elsewhere and has properties that indicate that its roots lie in the desires of trade and industry. Similar origins can be identified for neo-conservative pedagogy, which is strongly associated with management courses outside academia.

It is now time to get back to the quotes from the introductory section (Evans & Schamberg, 2009). The quote relies on an argumentation which should be seen as contradictory from a perspective of sociology of

education. With its focus on the neurocognitive and biological on the one hand and its focus on social justice on the other it confuses an intra-individually oriented belief with an inter-group orientation.

The quote from the OECD (2005) publication on formative assessment is marked with the similar ambiguity. Here, other intra-individual features such as self-control and compassion representing the top half of the four-field model are mixed with inter-group matters of equality. In line with a Bernsteinian perspective the two convictions should be seen as problematic (hybrids of) pedagogic modalities. The two quotes represent contemporary tendencies. First, the philosopher Ian Hacking (2004) has appointed the beginning of the 21st century and its strong interest in neuroscience to the era of the brain. Second, the focus on formative assessment when it is related to self-control suffers the same fate. It is particularly important to observe that this means that issues of social justice today are taken hostage by a rhetoric preoccupied with intra-individuality.

It is clear that both the neo-liberal and neo-conservative pedagogies come to resemble progressive pedagogy, which has long been attractive to individuals with middle-class backgrounds such as most teachers (Bernstein, 1990 p. 74). In recent years, teachers seem to have become increasingly critical of self-monitoring in education but at the same time somewhat paradoxically increasingly attracted to entrepreneurial pedagogy, which is promoted using buzzwords such as 'creativity'. This brings us back to the need for critical awareness. Thus it can be concluded that there is a need for a typology that enables everyone who is engaged in educational matters to identify rhetorical deceptions that are used to present policies and approaches as being more attractive than they truly are, through a typology that enables the capturing of changes in discursive convictions. It can also be concluded that there is a need for support to teachers who find difficulties in understanding whether it is possible or not to take on the role of being an authority, or experience confusion about other power relations. Hopefully, the overview will also prove useful for further analyses not only of the relationship between moral issues and content knowledge, but also of how the variety of relationships relate to specific ideologies.

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