

Teacher politics bottom-up

Online appendix: data inventory

Anja Giudici, 19th February 2020

This study is based on a project entitled *Explaining Swiss Language Education Policy* (Giudici, 2019). The project uses process tracing to assess different explanations developed by literatures in history and education, as well as sociolinguistics to explain language education policy – the decisions about the languages (not) to include in official curricula – based on the case of modern Switzerland, from the early 19th century to the 1980s. The extensive body of data documenting Swiss language education reforms collected for the project also serves as a basis for this study, which focusses specifically on the reforms in which teachers' micropolitics proved the most valid explanation for how a particular reform process unfolded. This appendix completes the paper by briefly outlining the rationale behind the data collection (section 1), and by providing more precise information on the data used for the study, where they were sourced from, and analysis (section 2).

1 Methodological rationale behind data collection

Studies have linked language education policy to different factors. These factors and corresponding theories can be grouped into theoretical frames, or generalisable explanations based on a particular combination of context, underlying factors and mechanisms, whose explanatory potential can be tested empirically (Rueschemeyer, 2006). These frames include: (a) cognitive theories based on the influence of ideas about nationalism, education, or justice; (b) structural theories based on the influence of political or economic constraints; as well as (c) theories based on the views and interests of particular stakeholders, namely political elites, parents, and teachers (for more details see, Giudici, 2019). The project *Explaining Swiss Language Policy* (Giudici, 2019) used deductive process tracing (see, Bennett and Checkel, 2015; George and Bennett, 2005; Gryzmala-Busse, 2011) to evaluate the validity of these theoretical frames.

Based on this groundwork, the study 'Teacher politics bottom-up' focusses specifically on the set of reforms for which the project found teachers' views to be the most valid explanation for the way the processes studied unfolded and their outcomes. The set has been further restricted to exclude cases in which teachers were formally included in the policy generation phase as a complex actor, e.g. by having formal representation in the bodies deliberating official language education policy. The study uses process tracing inductively (see, Aminzade, 1993; Falletti, 2016) to identify and specify the mechanisms underlying these reform processes.

Process tracing is based on a particular, Bayesian, inferential logic, which also provided the rationale for data collection in this project and study (Beach and Brun Pedersen, 2013; Bennett and Checkel, 2015; George and Bennett, 2005). According to this logic, evidence is always interpreted in relation to the theory under scrutiny. In deductive studies, data are used to assess to

evaluate whether it renders each frame a more or less valid explanation for the process and outcome under study. In inductive studies, data serve ‘identify different patterns of sequences and their related causes and consequences’ (Falleti, 2016, 457), and thus to detect the mechanism linking starting conditions with the outcome.

This specific rationale behind data analysis has two implications (Bennett and Checkel, 2015; Jacobs, 2015). First, it encourages the triangulation of diverse types of (theoretically relevant) data produced by different actors. This study thus draws on a heterogeneous set of data. Second, close attention must be paid to the circumstances in which sources are produced, to their authors, and the audiences they were intended. This is because sources documenting political processes normally are statements and reports produced by the actors involved. Methodologists (ibid.) suggest giving more weight to private communication or deliberations than to statements made in public, where there are greater incentives to strategically misrepresent one’s position. Whenever possible, this study considers and prioritises data documenting the preferences and actions of individuals personally involved in deliberating or drafting curriculum documents. Less importance is given to representations of these processes as communicated in public and in the media

The project *Explaining Swiss language education policy*, as well as this study, analyse the case of modern Switzerland from the early nineteenth century to the 1980s. Switzerland is a federalist country, where language and education policy mainly lie with its 25 (since the creation of the Jura Canton in 1976, 26) sub-units, called cantons. The cantons thus represent the study’s primary units of analysis. Very few studies documenting the languages taught in the mandatory Swiss schools exist to date. Because of this and because of the complexities of educational governance – where language education legislation is inscribed in different documents which are not always easy to localise – 13 of the 25/26 Swiss cantons were selected for analysis. Therefore, the study is based on an initial reconstruction of the official language education policy of these 13 diverse cantons, which served as the groundwork, first, for selecting reforms (or reforms attempts) that promised crucial evidence for evaluating one or more theoretical frames, and second, to further analyse the reforms in which teachers’ micro-politics provided the most valid explanation for how the processes unfolded.

Data collection and analysis focused on the types of schooling responsible for educating the general population, and thus enrolled most of the Swiss population during the period of analysis. These consist of the first four, five, or six years common years of primary school (lower primary schooling), as well as the non-vocational and non-academically oriented streams of secondary education (upper primary schooling and, to some extent, lower secondary schooling) until the end of the mandatory schooling period.

2 Sources & data

The analysis implied a two-step procedure. In a first phase, I reconstructed the theoretically relevant socioeconomic characteristics and the language education policy pursued by 13 Swiss cantons in the aforementioned timeframe (see, section 2.1). I then used this overview to select reforms which could be expected to yield theoretically relevant evidence. The second phase of

the analysis required the collection and study of additional data in order to trace the processes under scrutiny (see, section 2.2).

2.1 Data used to reconstruct language education policy

Almost no empirically grounded literature exists on Swiss language education policy during the analysed period. Two studies on French-speaking Switzerland provide notable exceptions. Jordi (2003) accurately describes the political debates on the teaching of German in the canton of Geneva from 1848 to 1923. Extermann (2013; 2017) investigates the teaching of German in higher secondary schooling. Despite focussing on a different type of schooling, his studies provide a precious, empirically and theoretically grounded analysis of pre-1945 debates and development of the status of German-teaching and German-teachers in French-speaking Switzerland. Relevant evidence on language education policy and politics uncovered by these studies was integrated into the analysis.

Table 1: Cantons included in data collection

Canton	Denomination	Political majority	Main language(s)	Socio-economic structure
Aargau (AG)	Mixed	Changing	German	Industrialised & rural
Basel-Stadt (BS)	Protestant	Changing	German	Urban
Berne (BE)	Protestant	Changing	German & French	Industrialised & rural, important city
Fribourg (FR)	Catholic	Conservative	French & German	Rural, important city
Geneva (GR)	Protestant	Liberal & Radical	French	Urban
Grisons (GR)*	Mixed	Changing	German, Romansh, & Italian	Rural
Lucerne (LU)	Catholic	Conservative	German	Rural, important city
Schwyz (SZ)	Catholic	Conservative	German	Rural
Schaffhausen (SH)*	Protestant	Changing	German	Industrialised & rural
Vaud (VD)	Protestant	Liberal & Radical	French	Industrialised & rural, important city
Ticino (TI)	Catholic	Changing	Italian	Industrialised & rural
Valais/Wallis (VS)*	Catholic	Conservative	French & German	Industrialised & rural
Zurich (ZH)	Protestant	Liberal	German	Industrialised & rural, important cities

Given the lack of empirical and historical literature on other Swiss regions' language education policy, I compiled an overview of Swiss language education policies based on primary sources. For this analysis, I was able to draw on the database of curriculum documents gathered by the team of researchers, which included myself, working on a large project entitled *Construction and transformation of school knowledge since 1830* and founded by the Swiss National Science Found-

ation.¹ This database includes a comprehensive collection of the various types of legislation regulating what should be taught in primary and secondary schools for ten Swiss cantons since 1830. The cantons are sampled so as to include those that are most diverse in their denominational, linguistic, and socio-economic structures, in order to represent Switzerland's main political and societal cleavages (Linder, 2010). Since the original sample of 10 cantons was not entirely sufficient to discriminate between the various theoretical explanations assessed in the project, I collected and analysed curriculum documents from three additional cantons which seemed interesting for the implementation of further empirical evaluations. They are marked with an * in Table 1, which lists all the cantons included in this first phase of the project.

This selection strategy helped secure a certain degree of representativeness. At the same time, it also provided the second phase of the analysis with a range of potential reforms to analyse which differ in several characteristics the various frames considered to be theoretically relevant, namely elites' political orientation, an entity's status as a linguistic minority or majority, or its socio-economic structure.

Language regulations can be the object of intense debates during major reforms of the schooling system, but they can also be changed by discreet modifications introduced in some minor regulative document by government or the administration. In order not to miss such discreet policy change, I used the following combination of data to reconstruct the official language education policy in the aforementioned cantons:

- official curriculum regulations: laws, syllabi, administrative and governmental regulations;
- yearly reports of the education ministries;
- educational reviews;
- comparative curriculum reports drafted by teachers' organisations or inter-cantonal bodies.

The inclusion of sources appearing regularly, such as educational reviews and yearly administration reports, served to locate changes of language policy deliberated at the administrative and governmental levels, which would not leave a trace in cantons' official collections of laws. In their yearly ministerial reports, cantonal administrators give an account of their work to the parliament, also reporting bigger or smaller reforms pursued without the involvement of political actors. Together with the Zurich-based team of the aforementioned project on *Construction and transformation of school knowledge*,² I reviewed these reports systematically for the cantons included in the analysis.

What I call educational reviews include publications periodically issued either by the cantonal education departments, inter-cantonal bodies, or by regional or cantonal teachers' organisations (see, Table 2). The aim of these reviews is to inform stakeholders such as teachers or parents about relevant developments in education. Therefore, these sources also allowed me to locate language education policy reforms and discussions. The number and variety of educational reviews published in the timeframe under study reflects Switzerland's fragmented educational

1. Further information on the project can be found at: www.uzh.ch/blog/ife-hbs/forschungsprojekte/-abgeschlossen/schulwissen.

2. See, www.uzh.ch/blog/ife-hbs/forschungsprojekte/-abgeschlossen/schulwissen-tpc.

landscape, which is due to its federalism, as well as to the political, religious, linguistic, and gender cleavages dividing Swiss educational professionals. I was able to rely on a systematic review of all main regional German-speaking educational journals thanks to the collaborative work of the Zurich-based *Construction and transformation of school knowledge* team, which compiled a database of all curriculum-related articles. I complemented this database by reviewing selected German-speaking periodicals of the cantons under scrutiny (where such publications existed), as well as the most relevant inter-cantonal and cantonal French- and Italian-speaking periodicals. For the review of the latter, I collaborated with Giorgia Masoni from the Ticino-based *Construction and transformation of school knowledge* team.³ Finally, for the mid- and late-twentieth century, I was able to triangulate the information acquired from the aforementioned sources with comparative reports produced by teachers' organisations or inter-cantonal administrative bodies such as the Swiss Conference of Cantonal Ministers of Education and its regional sub-conferences.

2.2 Data used to trace selected processes behind language education policy

Additional sources were gathered in order to trace the reform processes whose analysis promised to generate theoretically relevant evidence, such as those in which teachers' played a crucial role included in this study. These sources contain the actual causal process observations used for the analysis, they include:

- minutes of parliamentary debates on education laws and language education policy at the cantonal and federal level;
- protocols of parliamentary, administrative, and educational commissions charged with drafting curriculum propositions for parliament or government, or deliberating policy at the cantonal and inter-cantonal levels;
- files, reports, and correspondence of administrators and ministers engaged in cantonal departments and inter-cantonal bodies;
- sources documenting the views of the actors involved in language education politics, including treaties written by the individuals charged with drafting curricula (educational experts or politicians), scientific or expert literature, as well as statements issued by education professionals, teachers' unions, political parties, societal organisations (e.g., language or trade organisations), political parties, ministries, and, if possible, parents or the broader population.

Minutes and the documents relating to parliamentary deliberations were consulted for those reforms which involved a change of legislation. All minutes of the Swiss cantonal and national parliaments are freely accessible, either on paper in the respective state archives or, in some cases, online. More recent, non-handwritten documents that have been digitalised are searchable, allowing the identification of further debates by entering relevant keywords such as

3. See, www.storiascuola.supsi.ch/siti-web.

Table 2: Educational reviews included in the analysis

Language	Level	Title, author, publication period, canton	Actor	Political affinity	Location
French	Regional	<i>Éducateur et bulletin corporatif</i> , Syndicat des Enseignants Romands (SER), 1864–...	Professionals	Liberal	www.e-periodica.ch
		<i>Annuaire de l'instruction publique en Suisse / Études pédagogiques</i> , Conférence intercantonale des chefs de départements de l'instruction publique de la Suisse romande et italienne (CIIP), 1910–1979	Administration	–	www.e-periodica.ch
	Cantonal	<i>Bulletin Pédagogique</i> , Société fribourgeoise d'éducation, 1872–1967, FR	Administration & professionals	Catholic	Bibliothèque Cantonale et Universitaire - Fribourg
		<i>Bulletin de la Société pédagogique genevoise</i> , Société pédagogique genevoise, 1893–1920, GE	Professionals	Liberal	www.e-periodica.ch
German	Regional	<i>Schweizerische Lehrerzeitung</i> , Schweizerischer Lehrerverein (SLV), 1856–1991	Professionals	Liberal	Swiss National Library - Bern
		<i>Jahrbuch des Unterrichtswesens in der Schweiz / Archiv für das schweizerische Unterrichtswesen / Bildungspolitik: Jahrbuch der Schweizerischen Konferenz der Kantonalen Erziehungsdirektoren</i> , Schweizerische Konferenz der Kantonalen Erziehungsdirektoren (EDK), 1887–1978	Administration	Mixed	www.e-periodica.ch
		<i>Schweizerische Pädagogische Zeitschrift</i> , Schweizerischer Lehrerverein, 1891–1928	Professionals	Liberal	www.e-periodica.ch
		<i>Schweizerische Lehrerinnenzeitung</i> , Schweizerischer Lehrerinnenverein (SLiV), 1897–1982	♀-professionals	–	www.e-periodica.ch
	Cantonal	<i>Schweizer Schule</i> , Christlicher Lehrer- und Erzieherverein der Schweiz, 1915–2000	Professionals	Catholic	www.e-periodica.ch
		<i>Berner Schulblatt</i> , Bernischer Lehrerverein, 1868–1986, BE	Professionals	Mixed	www.e-periodica.ch
		<i>Schulblatt des Kantons Zürich</i> , Bildungsdirektion, 1885–..., ZH	Administration	Mixed	Pädagogische Hochschule Zürich
		<i>Basler Schulblatt</i> , Erziehungsdepartement & Freiwillige Schulsynode, 1929–..., BS	Administration & professionals	Mixed	Pädagogische Hochschule Zürich
Italian	Cantonal	<i>L'educatore della Svizzera Italiana</i> , Società Ticinese degli amici dell'educazione del popolo e di utilità pubblica, 1855–1972, TI	Professionals	Liberal	www.e-periodica.ch
		<i>Il risveglio</i> , Federazione docenti ticinesi, 1895–..., TI	Professionals	Catholic	Biblioteca cantonale - Lugano
		<i>La Scuola</i> , Società dei maestri ticinesi, 1903–2004, TI	Professionals	Liberal	Biblioteca cantonale - Lugano
		<i>Scuola Ticinese</i> , Divisione della scuola, 1972–..., TI	Administration	–	www4.ti.ch/decs/ds/-pubblicazioni/presentazione

schooling, or the names of the language subjects.⁴ In some cantons such as Basel-Stadt, until the mid-nineteenth century, minutes do not register the entire debate, but only the voting count and propositions. In these cases, I relied on local newspapers – triangulating newspapers of different political orientation – which provided detailed transcripts and documentation on these debates.

The protocols of cantonal education boards and commissions, as well as the communication, files, and reports of educational administrators and ministers are stored in Switzerland's public national, cantonal, or city archives. These are official documents educational departments are obliged to keep and archive. Given that educational commissions can discuss individuals, minutes of their deliberations are sometimes stored separately, and require special permission to be accessed – which I acquired. This is not the case for the files documenting the proceeding and decisions within the education departments. In most cases, the archives categorise data according to type of schooling, topics (such as language education or curriculum reforms), or even specific education reforms. This and the cooperation of the archive personnel allowed me to gather the relevant data for the reforms I was interested in. This required visits to the following archives: Schweizerisches Bundesarchiv (federal), Archive d'État de Genève, Archives de l'État de Fribourg, Bibliothèque Cantonale et Universitaire de Fribourg, Office du Matériel Scolaire Fribourg, Staatsarchiv Luzern, Staatsarchiv Schaffhausen (canton), Stadtarchiv Schaffhausen (city), Archivio di Stato del Cantone Ticino, Biblioteca Cantonale Lugano (Ticino), Pädagogische Hochschule Zürich, Staatsarchiv Zürich, Staatsarchiv Basel-Stadt.

The sources mentioned so far allowed me to identify the individual and collective actors whose position, views, and actions influenced the course of the process. In a further stage of the analysis, when this was necessary, I collected further information on their views and strategies. This information was included in different types of documents, such as treaties or reports these associations or individuals wrote, minutes of internal meetings they held to deliberate on specific matters, their voting recommendations for parliament or the people, as well as letters and articles they wrote to the administration, the media, or others. The educational periodicals issued by administrations and teachers' organisations also proved a valuable source, since, when language education policy became topical, they published views of different relevant actors and staged discussions among teaching professionals. The selection of periodicals included views of different cantonal and regional teachers' organisations, as well as those of different linguistic, political, and denominational groups (see, Table 2). I used additional information from other periodicals, such as those published by political or language activists, and international organisations when these actors' positions were theoretically relevant. Some of this data – especially the periodicals and 19th century Swiss pedagogic treaties – are available online,⁵ or have been stored by the archives and libraries mentioned earlier.

For further information as well as access to the curriculum documents and sources digitalised for the project, please contact me at anja.giudici@politics.ox.ac.uk.

4. For instance, the minutes of parliamentary debates held since the 1830s by the Federal chambers (www.amtsdruckschriften.bar.admin.ch) as well as the Basel-Stadt (<https://query.staatsarchiv.bs.ch/query/detail.aspx?ID=199821>), Ticino (www.sbt.ti.ch/bcbweb/vgc/ricerca), and Zurich (<https://archives-quickaccess.ch/search/stazh/krp>) parliaments have been digitalised.

5. See, www.e-periodica.ch for periodicals, and www.e-rara.ch for pedagogic treaties.

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