

Tallberg Broman, Ingegerd
Professor in Early Childhood Education
Malmö University Sweden

**Paper presented at Gender Education Association Conference, 27-30 March 2007,
Trinity College Dublin**

Democracy and gender equality at pre-school and lower primary school

Relations between gender policy, perspectives and practice in Swedish pre- and primary schools.

Abstract

Gender equality is regarded as a central aspect of any democratic society. In the politics of education in Sweden today and in the policy texts concerning both pre-school and comprehensive school (i.e. national and local curricula). Democracy is emphasised as a value of superior importance. However, research has shown that the everyday work in preschools and primary schools contributes to the continued reproduction of social differentiation, social order and of gender regulated positions for both children and teachers.

This paper is based on data from a national questionnaire that was answered by pre-school and lower primary school teachers. The results describe how teachers view their pupils, their own professional competence, as well as the professional demands and the level of experience expected from the parents, especially in regards to aspects of democracy and gender equality. Their views are discussed in relation to their stated participation in gender equality work at pre-school and primary school levels, as well as to different socio-economic and ethnical conditions. Finally, the findings are problematized in relation to gendered professional identities.

Introduction:

This part of the paper and presentation deals with policy, perspective and practice in the Swedish pre- and primary schools.

Child care and early childhood education has become a more focused question in European policy during the last years (Almqvist, 2005; Bergqvist & Nyberg, 20001; Cohen, Moss,, Petrie & Wallace, 2004; European Commission Network for Childcare 1988; Heinen, 2002; Letablier,& Jönsson, 2005; Mahon, 1997, 2004; Moos, 2006; Nauman, 2005; OECD, 2001; Randall, 1995: Sleebos, 2003). Recent emphasis on the provision of childcare on the European level should be understood in relation to the dictates of the market. However, the Swedish integrated system, ECEC, has a broader objective and differs from the development in most other member states. As a strategy, child care and early childhood education is seen as:

- a change to more equal relations between women and men
- greater female participation in the labour market
- raising the fertility rate

Table 1. Employment rate (female and male)

Employment rate EU-25	1997	1999	2001	2003	2005
Female	51,1	52,9	54,3	55,0	56,3
Male	70,2	71,0	71,3	70,8	71,3

Source:

http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/portal/page?_pageid=1996,45323734&_dad=portal&_schema=PORTAL&screen=welcomeref&open=/&product=STRIND_EMPLOI&depth=2_070320.

Table 2. Total fertility rate

	1960/1969	1970/1979	1980/1989	1990/1999	2000/2004
EU-25	2,59	2,08	1,73	1,50	1,48

Source: Eurostat, 2006: Population and households, p.20

In this paper will discuss pre-school as a possible formal structure for gender equality, whereby either a single parent or a couple may choose having children and employment or education in conjunction making it possible to choose both employment, /or higher education, and, children, both as a single parent or as a couple. The presentation aims at clarifying and problematising the influence of the pre-school on gender relations, gender practices, and on another level, on equality and democracy in general. The debate today is focused on pre-school not as a formal structure for gender equality, but as an informal one, wherein interaction, attitudes and communication between teachers and children, and among children themselves are seen as gender segregating and very traditional (SOU 2006:75).

The formal structure of the pre-school in Sweden, which can be taken as an example of a Nordic pre-school model will be presented first. Pre-school will be characterized:

- From the perspective of general welfare

- The right for all children
- Stressing fundamental values and democracy
- Having well educated pre-school-teachers, who are part of welfare professions associated with visions on a democratic society and welfare state

Child care and pre-school education in Sweden ¹

Already in the 1970s, the Swedish pre-school became part of the economic, labour market and gender equality policies As Swedish National Agency for Education points out: Swedish child care has twin aims: One to make possible for parents to combine parenthood with employment or studies and the other, to support and encourage child development and learning and help children grow up under conditions that are conducive to their wellbeing. This dual purpose approach was officially laid down in the early 1970s. Along with parental insurance and child benefit systems, child care was a cornerstone of Swedish family welfare policy while at the same time having an explicitly educational orientation (Child Care in Sweden, Skolverket, p. 3).

General welfare with high availability and accessibility

Day nurseries and kindergarten have existed since the 19th century, but it was not until after 1970 that the child care became particularly wide-spread. As one of the cornerstones of the Swedish welfare system and family policy, there has been a rapid evolution since then. The number of children taking part in such activities has increased: in 1997, over 70 percent of all children between the ages of 1-5 took part. There has also being a shift in view –whereby childcare has been moved from the social services over to the educational system (1996), and child care being rechristened and rewritten to pre-school. The pre-school is now the first step in the educational system for children and young people. The transfer of the responsibility to the Ministry of Education, as well as the National Agency of Education, in 1996, was in accordance with the ideas of life-long learning. These ideas are seen as essential for a society, such as Sweden, whose economy is more and more based on knowledge production, to able to compete upon the global market. Recent years indicate a transition from political discourses about democracy, towards those of market oriented efficiency (Moos, 2006).

Table 3 Number of children aged 1-6 in child care and early childhood education 1975-2004

Year	1975	1980	1985	1990	1995	2000	2004
Number	60 000	125 000	200 000	260 000	360 000	315 000	360 000

Source: Swedish National Agency for Education: 2005

¹ Background information from www.estia.educ.goteborg.se/sv-estia/edu/edu_sys2.html 070315; www.skolverket.se 070315; curriculum for the pre-school Lpfö 98, www.skolverket.se 070315; Eurostat 070312; Pre-school in transition, www.skolverket.se 070312;

Table 4 Percentage of children aged 1-6 in municipal Child Care 1972-2003

Year	1972	1980	1990	2003
Per cent (%)	10	34	55	82

Source: SCB, 2003; Swedish National Agency for Education, 2004; Statistics Sweden, www.scb.se;

The aim of the pre-school activities is to stimulate the child's development and to contribute to good conditions for their growth and learning. The curriculum states: The pre-school should be characterised by a pedagogical approach, where care, nurturing and learning together form a coherent whole (Lpfö, p 9). Activities should be organised in conjunction with parents and should make it easier for them to combine work or studying with parenthood.

The arguments today for having child care and early childhood education is to enable greater female participation in employment, greater gender equality, as well as a higher fertility rate to hinder a population growth crisis. Taken historically (Hammarlund, 1998; Tallberg Broman, 2006), the arguments for having a Swedish pre-school have changed from:

- The sake of the child (- 1930s)
- Community fostering and as an important part of constructing a new modernity (1930-1970s)
- Labour market - Female employment - Gender equality (1970s)
- Child development and family support (late 1970s -)
- Foundations for lifelong learning to be laid down in pre-school (as stressed in the first curriculum for pre-school, late 1990s, Lpfö, p. 98). Martin Korpi, 2000; Lärarnas Tidning, 2006)
-

Public pre-school is jointly financed by the municipal budget (consisting of state grants and local tax revenues) and parental fees. Parents pay a maximum fee for the pre-school activities, which is to be no more than three per cent of the family income.

In 2003, 76 per cent of all children aged 1-5 attended pre-school. Most pre-schools are run by the municipalities. However, the number of private pre-schools (with municipal funding support) has increased steadily over the last five years. In 1996 they accounted for 12 per cent of all pre-schools. Parental co-operatives are the commonest form of private pre-schools.

Pre-schools are usually open Monday-to Friday. Many preschools are open from 6.30 a.m. to 6.30 p.m. Children can attend the activities full- or part time. Interesting to note, is 96 per cent of four and five year olds spend 36 hours on average a week in pre-school in Sweden (Barnombudsmannen, 2007).

Changes in the state grant system in the beginning of the 1990s, lead to an increase in the freedom for municipalities to organise pre-schooling (as long as this adhered to national goals). Children of unemployed parents, or those of parents on parental leave, were to be included in the pre-school system. In addition, all 4-5 year olds could now attend pre-school free of charge. The object of the reform was to increase the accessibility of pre-school

services, as well as create “a pre-school for all children”, that is to say, one based upon the right of all children and not upon the economic or social position of the parents.

Well educated pre-school-teachers – part of welfare professions associated with visions on a democratic society and welfare state

Pre-schools are staffed by pre-school teachers and child care attendants. The training course for pre-school teachers is at the university and university college level.

Public sector professions in Scandinavia were built on visions of democratic society (Hernes, 1987, 1988). As Lejf Moos (2006) points out, the professionals in the public institutions could not speak against democracy without excluding themselves from the professions. The welfare professions were part of the visions of a democratic society. Subsequently visions of a democratic society have been an important part, especially of the institution pre-school, and enhanced in policy texts and guidelines throughout the history of early childhood education (Myrdal, 1934, 1936). Now that the welfare system is in transition, the discourse is changing from being focused upon democracy and equality, to being focused upon evaluation and effectiveness. Responsibility for democracy and equality is seen less and less as something merely inherent in policy and structural levels; instead, this responsibility is seen increasingly as something that the individual must take themselves.

From the early 1970s: s the pre-school was regarded and envisioned as a democratic power. By placing the children in the pre-school institutions they could be groomed to a new and democratic world, and so to their parents, especially the mothers. The pre-school discourse as source to change society to be a better world for children and to be more characterized by democracy, gender equality and international responsible was expressed already in the 1930s (Myrdal, 1934). Most of the 20th century can be characterized as a struggle to conceptualize norms and values for both children and parents.

Greater decentralisation of responsibility and decision making to pre-schools and work teams during the 1990s has meant that the professionals have been given a greater responsibility for implementing the task of the pre-school. Parallel with the reform there has also been changes in the structural conditions facing the pre-school, which imposes higher demands on the professionalism of the staff and their ability to work with large groups of children.

Fundamental values and democracy emphasized on a policy level

From 1998, the aims and responsibilities of the pre-school were set out in the National Curriculum. The reform, implemented in its entirety in 1998, clearly stipulated that pre-school was the first step for children in the overall education system. The reform aims at making the pre-school more accessible and the right for all children. In a report to OECD on the Swedish pre-school, its socio-political function is emphasised. A pre-school for all children represents a policy goal for creating equivalent opportunities (Pre-school in Transition, Skolverket, p 8)

Curriculum and democracy

The curriculum contains goals and guidelines for five areas. It states:

Democracy forms the foundation of the pre-school. For this reason all preschool activity should be carried out in accordance with fundamental democratic values. ... Upholding

these fundamental values requires that the attitudes from which derive are clearly apparent in daily activity. The activities of the pre-school should be carried out democratically and thus provide the foundation for growing responsibility and interest on the part of children to actively participate in society. (Lpfö, p 3).

It further states:

The pre-school provide the foundation for children to understand what democracy is. The social development of the child presupposes that in relation to their capacity, they are able to take responsibility for their own actions and for the environment in the pre-school. (Lpfö, p. 11).

As goals to strive towards, the curriculum states:

The preschool should try to ensure that children ... develop their ability to accept responsibility for their own actions and for the environment of the pre-school, and develop the ability to understand and act in accordance with democratic principles participating in different kinds of cooperation and decision-making (Lpfö, p. 12).

To sum up: Democracy is presented as an individual ability and responsibility, even in regards to children aged 1-5 years.

About gender and gender patterns

In one aspect the existing the curriculum is very explicit and that is on gender patterns.

It states:

The ways in which adults respond to boys and girls, as well as the demands and requirements imposed by children contribute to their appreciation of gender differences. The pre-school should work to counter act traditional gender pasterns and gender roles. Girls and boys in the pre-school should have the same opportunities to develop and explore their abilities and interest without having limitations imposed by stereotyped gender roles. (p. 4).

In this area, pre-schools appear to have experienced greater difficulty in living up to the intentions of the curriculum.

The area fundamental values (including norms) are the area which is given priority in most municipal plans according to the first national evaluation of the Swedish pre-school (Skolverket, Pres-school in transition, 2004). Interesting to note is that the evaluation states that gender equality is one aspect of fundamental values which is hardly mentioned during the interviews with the pre-school heads and local authorities.

Gender patterns should be discussed in relation to class, ethnicity, and geographical place and so on. Theoretical perspectives that dominate gender research in this area discuss gender as contextual, relational and situated (Connell, 1987; Davies, 1989, 2003; Jones, 1993; Månsson, 2000; Odelfors, 1996). Perspectives and practices of teachers in many gender projects in Sweden today do not represent these theoretical views. On the contrary, they express a dualistic, static and normative way of looking at gender and gender patterns. Also the discourse about the child in relation to gender is traditional and dualistic in its approach, and, furthermore, mostly relies on theories of developmental psychology in a normative and categorizing interpretation. As Simonsson and Karlsson (2006) point out from studies in pre-school, it is not the situated child, nor the competent child, that is represented when discussing gender in pre-school.

In the concluding part of the paper, examples of the professional perspective and practice will be discussed. A national questionnaire was answered by 1700 preschool and lower primary

school teachers. The results describe how teachers view their pupils, their own professional competence as well as the professional demands, especially in regards to aspects of democracy and gender equality.

The apprehensions of pre school teachers about girls and boys in their groups

How do the teachers describe the girls and boys in their pre school group? With the curriculum in mind, the results are obviously contradictory (see following table).

Table 5. The apprehensions of pre school teachers about girls and boys in their groups (as a percentage).

<i>How are the boys and girls in your class?</i>					
<i>Who is it who</i>	Girls much more often	Girls more often	No difference	Boys more often	Boys much more often
Takes part in discussions in the class?	3,2	12,4	51,4	23,6	4,4
Contributes with suggestions	3,1	16,0	57,8	15,0	2,7
Gets help from you	0,5	6,6	66,3	19,4	2,0
Can be corrected by you	0,0	2,2	36,9	43,5	12,6
Takes responsibility for common activities	2,6	19,2	65,0	2,0	0,0
Competes about being the best	1,7	6,8	31,8	38,3	15,3
Helps schoolmates who have problems to cope	5,8	37,4	48,3	2,4	0,2
Disturbs the group	0,3	3,4	36,1	42,5	12,9
Is quiet in the group	9,0	38,1	42,5	4,8	0,2
Informs you if they think you are wrong	0,3	11,7	66,3	13,4	1,9
Places attention on the school work	3,1	23,3	55,1	0,3	0,0

As seen the teacher's apprehensions point to an interaction that's constructing and position the girls as more silent, and school adjusted help teachers. The boys are associated more with getting help, more with activity, competition and with disturbance of school work. Gender equality is much enhanced on a policy level; the issue has been guarded by state and school feminists, who have had a great influence on the politics of education and gender. Research shows also that's there are a lot of individual teachers, who are very concerned with the issue of gender, but it is not an issue of general interest. There is a wide gap between policy and practice shown in many research reports (Tallberg Broman, Rubinstein Reich & Hägerström, 2002). The pre-school also, by itself, as an institution, represents something that the curriculum states should be counteracted, i.e. traditional gender patterns.

Pre-school teachers and professional competence for democratic issues

And how do the pre-school teachers experience their competence in these areas? In the questionnaire the teachers were asked: How do you judge your professional competence

regarding ... 21 different issues. Among the lowest grades issues were those associated with democratic issues:

Like:

I can take the parents rights to influence into consideration

I can take the child's rights to influence into consideration

I can create equality by gender among the children.

Issues of democracy and gender equality are not experienced by the teachers as issues of greater importance to the parents (Tallberg Broman & Holmberg, 2007).

Pre-school teachers in areas with high degree of diversity – issues related to democracy and gender equality is significant more prioritised

In a special comparison between teachers working in areas characterized by different degrees of diversity interesting differences were shown. Teachers working in areas with high degree of social and ethnical diversity, evaluated their competence to take the children's and parents influence and participation in consideration as well as to work for gender equality, significant higher, the result is strengthened in all the answers to the questions put on this issue (Tallberg Broman & Holmberg, 2007).

Greater demands but not prioritised

In the results from this study is shown that the teachers experience greater demands over time to take issues on gender and democracy into account and to deal with those issues in their work with both with children and the parents. They experience this as issues, where they have less competence and which are not highly prioritised, neither by them nor the parents.

To summarize: Swedish pre school constitutes a formal structure for gender equality, with implications for changing gender patterns in relation to the labour market; to parental responsibilities and for the possibility to choose both employment and children. During the last five decades the expansion of the child care and early childhood education has been in focus, i. e. the formal structure. The latest years the policy interest has focused more on the informal structures of the pre-school, on attitudes, on interaction and communication in the pre-school. The results are problematic, showing gender segregating conceptions and practices. Policy documents and guidelines emphasize democratic and gender issues, but on the professional and practice level the interest, the feeling of competence and the priority put to these issues, are obviously lower, in general, with interesting exceptions represented by teachers working in multi-ethnic areas. A shifting in discourse from democracy to evaluation and effectiveness also influence the development of the professional identities, priorities and competences.

Referenser:

- Almqvist, Anna-Lena (2005). *The care of children: a cross-national comparison of parent's expectations and experiences*. Umeå: Umeå universitet.
- Aylott, Nicholas (1999). *Swedish Social Democracy and European Integration: The people's home on the market*. Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Bergqvist, Christina & Nyberg, Anita (2001). *Den svenska barnomsorgsmodellen – kontinuitet och förändring under 1990-talet*. I SOU 2001:52, s. 239-287.
- Cohen, Bronwen, Moss, Peter, Petrie, Pat & Wallace, Jennifer (2004). *A New Deal for Children? Reforming education and care in England, Scotland and Sweden*. Bristol: Policy. Connell, Robert W (1985). *Teachers work*. Sydney: Allen & Unwin.
- Connell, Robert W (1985). *Teachers work*. Sydney: Allen & Unwin.
- Connell, Robert W (1987). *Gender and power: Society, the person and the sexual politics*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Davies, Bronwyn (1989). *Frogs and snails and feminist tales: Preschool children and gender*. Sydney: Allen & Unwin.
- Davies, Bronwyn (2003). *Hur flickor och pojkar gör kön*. Stockholm: Liber.
- European Commission Network for Childcare (1988). *Childcare and equal opportunity*. European Commission.
- Eurostat (Statistical Office of the European Communities) (2002). *Feasibility study on the availability of comparable child care statistics in the Europeans Union*. Luxembourg: Eurostat.
- Eurostat (Statistical Office of the European Communities) (2006). *Statistics in focus. Population and social conditions*, nr 1 2006. Luxembourg: Eurostat.
- Hammarlund, Karl Gustav (1998). *Barnet och barnomsorgen: Bilden av barnet i ett socialpolitiskt projekt*. Göteborg: Historiska institutionen.
- Läroplan för förskolan (Lpfö 98). Stockholm: Utbildningsdepartementet
- Heinen, Jacqueline (2002). "Ideology, Economics and the Politics of Child Care in Poland before and after the Transition", i Sonya Michel & Rianne Mahon (red.). *Child Care Policy at the Crossroads. Gender and Welfare State restructuring*. London: Routledge, s. 71-94.
- Hernes, Helga (1987). *Welfare state and Women Power. Essays in State Feminism*. Oslo: Norwegian University Press.
- Hernes, Helga (1988). *The dimensions of citizenship in the advanced state*. Stockholm: maktredningen.
- Hochschild Arlie Russel (2001a). Global Care Chains and Emotional Surplus Value" i Will Hutton & Anthony Giddens (red). *On the Edge. Living with Global Capitalism*. pp.130-146.
- Jones, Allison (1993). Becoming a 'Girl': Poststructuralist Suggestion for Educational Research. *Gender and Education*, 5(2), 157-166.
- Karlsson, Ingrid & Simonsson, Maria (2006). *Gender sensitive pedagogy – an analysis of discourses of gender- related work in Swedish pre-school*. Paper presented at ECER conference Genève
- Letablier, Marie-Thérèse & Jönsson, Ingrid (2005). "Caring of children: The logics of Public Action", i Ute Gerhard, Trude Knijn & Anja Weckwert (red.). *Working Mothers in Europe. A comparison of Policies and Practices*. Cheltenham: Elgar, s. 41-57.
- Lärarnas tidning (2006). "Förskola nyckel till livslångt lärande" www.lararnastidning.se 2006-10-25.
- Mahon, Rianne (1997). Child care in Canada and Sweden: Policy and politics. *Social Politics* 4:3, 382-418.
- Mahon, Rianne (2004). "Barnomsorg. Hur kommer framtidens "Sociala Europa" att se ut?", i Christina Florin & Christina Bergqvist (red.) *Framtiden i samtiden. Könrelationer i förändring*. Stockholm: Institutet för framtidsstudier, s. 140-171.
- Martin Korpi, Barbara (2000). Paper produced for OECD conference Lifelong Learning as an Affordable Investment, Ottawa, Canada 6-8 December 2000.
- Moos, Lejf (2006). Fra politiska demokratidiskurser mod marknadsorienterede effektivitetsdiskurser. *Nordisk Pedagogik*, 4, 322-332.
- Moss, Peter (2006). Farewell to childcare. *National Institute Economic Review*, No. 195, s.70-82.

- Myrdal, Alva (1935). *Stadsbarn – en bok om deras fostran i storbarnkammaren*. Stockholm: Kooperativa förbundet.
- Myrdal, Alva (1936). *Riktiga leksaker*. Stockholm: Kooperativa förbundet.
- Myrdal, Alva & Myrdal, Gunnar (1934). *Kris i befolkningsfrågan*. Stockholm: Bonnier.
- Månsson, Annika (2000). *Möten som formar: interaktionsmönster på förskola mellan pedagoger och de yngsta barnen i ett genusperspektiv*. Malmö: Institutionen för pedagogik, Studia Psychologica et pedagogica, Nr 147. Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International.
- Nauman, Ingela, K (2005) Child care and feminism in West Germany and Sweden in the 1960s and the 1970s. *Journal of European Social Policy* 15(1) 47-63.
- OECD (2001). *Starting Strong*. Early Childhood Education and Care. Paris: OECD.
- Persson, Sven & Tallberg Broman, Ingegerd (2002). ”Det är ju ett annat jobb” Förskollärare, grundskollärare och lärarstudier om professionell identitet i konflikt och förändring. *Pedagogisk Forskning i Sverige*, 7(4), s. 257-278.
- Odelfors, Birgitta (1996). *Att göra sig hörd och sedd: Om villkoren för flickors och pojkars kommunikation på daghem*. Stockholm: Pedagogiska Institutionen.
- Proposition 2004/05:11. Kvalitet i förskolan. Stockholm: Regeringskansliet.
- Randall, Vicky (1995). Feminism and Child Daycare. *Journal of Social Politics*, 25, 4, 485-505.
- Rubery, Jill, Smith, Mark, Anxo, Dominique & Flood, Lennart (2001). ”The Future of European Labour Supply: The Critical Role of the Family”, *Feminist Economics* 7(3), s. 33-69.
- SKI- index, <http://www.kvalitetsindex.se/>
- Skolverket (2004). *Förskola i brytningstid, nationell utvärdering av förskolan*. Stockholm: Skolverket, Rapport 239.
- Skolverket (2005a). *Beskrivande data. Förskolverksamhet, skolbarnomsorg, skola och vuxenutbildning*. Stockholm: Skolverket.
- Skolverket (2005b). *Barns omsorg. Omsorgsformer för barn 1-12 år. Resultat av 2002 års föräldraenkät*. Stockholm: Skolverket. Rapport 258.
- Siim, Birthe (2000). *Gender and citizenship*. Cambridge: University Press.
- Sjöquist, Kajsa (1998). *Tittmyrans och Björntomtens förskola. Jämställdhet – vidgade könsroller för flickor och pojkar i förskolan. En projektbeskrivning*.
- Skolverket (2005). *Beskrivande data. Förskolverksamhet, skolbarnomsorg, skola och vuxenutbildning*. Stockholm: Skolverket.
- Sleebos, Joelle, E. (2003). *Low fertility Rates in OECD Countries. Facts and Policy Responses*. OECD Social, employment and migration working papers. Paris: OECD.
- SOU 1972:26. *Förskolan. Betänkande avgivet av 1968 års barnstugeutredning*. Stockholm: Allmänna Förlaget.
- SOU 2004:115. *Den könade förskolan – om betydelsen av jämställdhet och genus i förskolans pedagogiska arbete*. Stockholm: Fritze.
- SOU 2005:66. *Makt att forma samhället och sitt eget liv – jämställdhetspolitiken mot nya mål*. Stockholm: Fritze.
- SOU 2006:75. *Jämställdhet i förskolan – om betydelsen av jämställdhet och genus i förskolans arbete*. Stockholm:Regringskansliet.
- Svaleryd, Kajsa (2002). *Jämställdhetsprojekt på Tittmyrans och Björntomtens förskolor, Gävle kommun 1996-1999*.
- Tallberg Broman, I.; Rubinstein-Reich L. & Hägerstöm, J. (2002). *Likvärdighet i en skola för alla. Historisk bakgrund och kritisk granskning*. Skolverket.
- Tallberg Broman, Ingegerd & Holmberg, Lena 2007. *Teachers, diversity and democracy*. In press

