

A business to change the world

Moral responsibility in textbooks for International Economics

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This article presents an empirical analysis of textbooks for International Economics in upper secondary schools with a focus on moral responsibility for environment and society. The purpose is to analyse the meanings offered to students regarding the scope of taking moral responsibility in relation to the role of a business person. Four different meanings are formulated as a result of the study: one states that a business only can take responsibility in order to obey laws and respond to consumer demands, a second and third meaning imply that, a business can make demands, to different extents, on subcontractors. A fourth meaning includes that a business (apart from making profit) also can be a tool for change. The different meanings are discussed in relation to different functions of education (Biesta 2008, Säfström 2005) and Education for Sustainable Development. The main argument is that a tool for change-meaning, contributing to a subjectification function of education, ought to have an increased space in education, if we want students who are engaged in sustainability issues regarding the environment and the society also to see a future working within the business world. This is equally important if we want business students to see a future working for sustainable development.

Keywords: educational meanings, sustainable development, moral responsibility, curriculum theory, economics education.

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Introduction

This article presents an empirical analysis of textbooks used within the International Economics Course in Swedish Upper Secondary School. The purpose of this study is to analyse the meanings offered to students regarding the scope of taking moral responsibility for the environment and the society in relation to a future role as a business person.

In Sweden the Business Studies Programme has become a separate programme with specific examination goals as a part of the 2011 reform of the Upper Secondary School. These goals state that the education should give: “knowledge about conditions for a sustainable development, from an environmental point of view as well as from an economic and social point of view” (Swedish Ministry of Education 2010¹, p. 21). They also state that the education should give “knowledge about the role of business for the development of the society, locally, regionally, nationally and globally” (p. 21) and “illuminate the judicial and moral responsibility that follows from making business” (p. 21).

Sustainable development is generally understood as the interrelation between three dimensions – an economic, a social and an environmental dimension. In the Swedish governmental report *Att lära för hållbar utveckling* [To learn for sustainable development] (SOU 2004:104), the official view on the relationship between the three dimensions is clarified. Economic growth is described as a prerequisite for development. At the same time the report also states that no country can achieve sustainable economic growth if the environment is deteriorating, if wealth is not distributed fairly and if there is no growth in the human capital – the social dimension. The environmental dimension involves paying attention to ecosystem services and their resilience, a prerequisite for long-term social welfare and economic growth. Further, it is emphasized that education for sustainable development needs to embrace an integrated perspective of these economic, social and environmental aspects.

Against this background, it is of particular relevance to explore the messages regarding moral responsibility for the environment and society that are communicated to students within the fields of economics education. Although economics play a crucial role in the strivings for a sustainable society, the sustainable dimension of education in economics has scarcely been explored (Lundholm 2007). The empirical material of this study consists of textbooks published between 1994 and 2008 used for teaching the subject International Economics at Upper Secondary Schools in Sweden. The starting year is based on the fact that new steering documents were introduced 1994. Textbooks produced for the subject International Economics were chosen because, according to the course goals, they are likely to contain educational content involving the three

dimensions of sustainable development described above. A brief reading of textbooks in International Economics further confirmed this assumption. The study concerns the views expressed in these textbooks that relates to the role of business in sustainable development. We especially focus on educational meanings regarding taking moral responsibility for the environment and society within the role of being a business person. The analysis relates to methods for analysing political and moral meanings in educational texts introduced by Tomas Englund (2004), Leif Östman (2008, 2010) and Mikael Quennerstedt (2008). In the study we have also included a discussion of the implications of the meanings offered to the students through the textbooks in relation to three educational functions suggested by Gert Biesta (2008) and Carl Anders Säfström (2005): a qualification function, a socialisation function and a subjectification function. These different functions of education are used to discuss the scope of taking moral responsibility created by different educational meanings.

Functions of education

Education for sustainable development (ESD) is supposed to provide students with capabilities to move from a less to a more sustainable way of living. This generally involves a change in norms. In order to better understand the normative functions of ESD we turn to Gert Biesta (2008) who distinguishes three different functions of education. One function can be described as a *qualification function*, which for instance can include knowledge in performing certain duties, like doing accounting in accordance with the rules of law. A second function can be described as a *socialisation function* where the student also learns certain values and norms needed in order to be able to participate in a certain context. A third *subjectification function* can be described as the opposite of the socialisation function, and involves becoming a subject which also has a degree of independence in relation to the socialisation function. According to Biesta, a subjectification function is a requirement for an activity to be called ‘education’: “... any education worthy of its name should always contribute to processes of subjectification that allow those being educated to become more autonomous and independent in their thinking and acting” (2008, p. 9). The socialisation function and the subjectification function are in potential conflict to each other: the socialisation function of education requires the learner to adhere to certain norms and the subjectification function of education requires the learner to be able to challenge these and create new ones. We have found the distinction between a process of subjectification and a process of socialisation very useful in exploring the normative functions of ESD.

We have also found useful Carl Anders Säfström's (2005 p. 13, 25–26) distinction between the concepts 'socialisation' and 'education'. According to Säfström, these concepts are often assumed to be interchangeable but there is an important difference between the two. If the moral duty of the school is perceived as making students adhere to certain rules, rather than developing responsible relations, it is socialisation rather than education that is taking place. Education perceived as socialisation, as described by Säfström, has 'passifying' consequences. If the role of the individual in education is reduced to adaptation or subordination, it can be described as metaphysical oppression (Säfström refers to Derrida [1978] who uses the concepts 'symbolic' or 'metaphysical violence'). Therefore it is important to understand education in a way other than synonymous with socialisation. The central difference between socialisation and education is, according to Säfström, whether there is scope to be a moral subject living for another or not. In a socialisation process the capacity of being moral is placed outside the individual, and what is moral is solely the will of the society.

Methodological approach

The concept 'companion meanings' is defined by Östman as "meanings ... which either follow on automatically when teaching knowledge content or become collateral learning when one learns scientific meanings" (Östman 2010, p. 76). Quennerstedt (2008, p. 91) defines the meaning-making content as the purpose, traditions or customs regarding the offered content that follows with education.

In this study, educational meanings are considered to be the meanings textbooks offer students. The word 'offer' indicates that it is not necessarily that the students will incorporate the textbook meanings, but the analysis identifies the meaning that students are likely to create when reading the text (Östman 1995, 2008). A basic assumption for this analysis is that language is not only used to describe the world but represents a system of knowledge that has social consequences by describing certain actions as more reasonable and possible than others (Foucault 1972). It follows that the use of language is seen as having a productive function (Cherryholmes 1988, p. 50).

The rules that are created, by the use of a certain language in a practice, create a pattern of inclusions and exclusions (Östman 1995). These rules should not be understood as something that from the outside regulates the way to talk and write about, for instance, doing business, but as something that is created from the inside. As individuals learn a certain way to use language they also learn certain

explanations and values. The rules can therefore also be described as norms as they include certain meanings and exclude others. In this way certain views appear obvious (see Säfström 1999). From this perspective, words do not mean anything in themselves but must connect to some kind of regular practice in order to gain meaning: “Practices do not exist without rules, nor rules without practices. Knowing rules means knowing how to proceed” (Cherryholmes 1988, p. 4)².

In order to study meanings we therefore need to analyse how words are used in practice. A textbook is an example of such a practice. In order to make the educational meanings visible in a text, one needs to focus on what has been included and what has been excluded. The purpose with this way of analysing meaning is to identify patterns and regularities in the use of language in order to clarify the moral and political meanings in the practice (Östman 2010).

The analytical method in this article builds on a comparative strategy (Edwards 1997; Fairclough 2000). What is said in the analysed textbooks is compared with what would be possible and reasonable to say in relation to a contemporary debate. This study is informed by research and debate that has a critical perspective on basic assumptions in the predominant neoclassic economic theory. One such assumption is the idea that the human being is a profit maximising ‘homo economicus’ (Nelson 1992, 2006; Palmås 2006, 2011; Söderbaum 1993, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2011). Nelson and Söderbaum have in common that they argue for the need of a pluralistic approach to economics education, where a neoclassic economic theory would be one of many possible perspectives. Palmås’ research on business contributes with a discussion on the grey area between the role of being a social change agent and running a business. In addition to these texts, the textbooks are compared with each other.

Analytical procedure

All textbooks with environmental content, and/or content covering social issues, with at least two editions, were included in a first reading. Three of the initial five textbooks had this kind of content: *International Economics* (1996 & 2007); *International Economics: A Changing World* (1998 & 2008) and *International Economics: Resources and Trade in a World Without Borders* (2000 & 2003). From this initial reading all passages on environmental and/or social issues were analysed and categorized into different social roles³. In this article three passages have been selected that reveal different educational meanings, relating to the social role of being a business leader/person. The first and last editions are also compared concerning these different meanings. All

textbooks were published in different years and are therefore labelled with the abbreviation TB (for textbook) and the publishing year only. Full details, including the textbooks from the first reading and those not cited in this article, can be found in the list of references under the abbreviation TB.

In a *first* analytical step, we map the relations that are manifested between business, environment and society in the textbooks. Key formulations that expose these relationships are highlighted. Changes between editions are also noted. In a *second* step, these relations are analysed with regard to what is included and what is excluded. What is said is compared to what could have been said and an educational meaning is concluded for each text. In the discussion, these educational meanings are discussed in relation to different functions of education and ESD.

Moral responsibility

Before we turn to the text analyses we need to say something about what we mean by moral and moral responsibility. The concept 'responsibility' involves being answerable for one's actions. Responsibility is founded in a formal contract, or in moral principles, which lead to the acceptance of the responsibility. If one accepts the foundation of the responsibility, one takes responsibility. 'Moral' is an understanding of what is right or wrong and of how one ought to behave towards others. Moral values can prescribe duties, i.e. say what one should or should not do. They can also prescribe the goals for the actions being good or desirable. Legal responsibility means that the foundation for the responsibility can be found in written laws. There might be a conflict between the legal and the moral responsibility (Ariansen 1993, p. 214–216). Such a conflict could exist between a business legal responsibility for shareholders' economic interests and an understanding of a moral responsibility for the environment. This distinction between legal and moral responsibility is elaborated by Hans Jonas (1984) who argued for the need of a new concept of responsibility *for* the future. Such a concept includes not only being but also *feeling* responsible (Jonas 1984, p. 90–93). Based on the stipulated definitions of 'moral' and 'responsibility', we define expression for acknowledgment of moral principles in the actions of businesses as 'taking moral responsibility'. The concept 'business leader' is used to refer to someone that is the leader and owner of a business while 'business person' is used as a broader concept, also referring to people working within a business without being owners of the business.

Results

In this section the different meanings that emerge from the textbooks are presented using excerpts from the empirical material. The excerpts are generally almost identical in the first and last edition of the textbooks but small changes are noted. One textbook can include different meanings even if one meaning is usually predominant. It was not our aim to categorize or evaluate the textbooks; our interest is instead to reveal the different meanings that are offered to the students. When we use the concept 'text' it refers to the quotations from the textbooks and 'meaning' refers to the political and moral values that accompany the knowledge content in the text. The authors of this article are responsible for all translations but the words in italics are also written in italics in the original text. If there is no accurate translation for a Swedish word and/or the word is crucial for the context, the Swedish word is added in square brackets. Some translations that are not crucial for the understanding of the text are explained in footnotes. Square brackets are also used to add comments that are not part of the texts. The headings to the left in the tables are the same headings as used in the textbooks. The column to the right highlights key formulations regarding relations between business, environment and society. These key formulations are analyzed below the tables.

Meaning 1: *Following legal and/or consumer demands*

'Environmental problems' and 'What can one do?'	Relation business-environment
<p>a) Environment becomes more and more important and is more often brought up in meetings between nations and different international organisations. One often discusses environmental co-operation across borders. Authorities, for instance within the European Union, have begun to put environmental demands on the industry and the consumers are addressing demands on the finished products. In this way an environmental technical industry has emerged, especially in Germany, where over 500 laws and rules regulate the environment. Within the industry it is further a <i>competitive advantage</i> to be environmentally friendly. Round the world the market for environmentally friendly products is growing and in many countries one uses special environmental labelling for these products in order to facilitate for the customers. (TB-1996, p. 73–74 and TB-2007, p. 90)</p>	<p>Consumers place demands on finished products and this has led to the emergence of an environmental technical industry.</p> <p>Within industry, being environmentally friendly has a competitive advantage.</p> <p>The market for environmentally friendly products is growing and environmental labelling is there to assist the consumers.</p>
<p>b) To further saving the environment, fossil fuels should be replaced by other sources of energy such as solar and wind-power. As far as possible one ought to change to collective means of transport. Furthermore the throw-away mentality must go and one ought to recycle and re-use.</p>	
<p>Environmental consciousness has increased in the developed⁴ countries, but in the less developed⁵ countries the development is often the opposite. They can not afford to care for the environment because of poor economies. This has led to many businesses from developed countries dumping environmentally hazardous waste in the less developed countries, which in return receive foreign currency and work opportunities. Often products that are assessed as a health and environmental hazard in developed countries can still be sold in less developed countries. Sometimes businesses choose to place environmentally hazardous production in the less developed countries, which do not have as stringent environmental demands or laws to protect employees. (TB-1996, p. 74)</p>	<p>Environmental awareness has increased in developed countries, and many businesses from the developed countries are dumping environmentally hazardous waste in less developed countries.</p>
<p>a) is identical in the first and last edition and b) is removed in the last edition.</p>	

In texts 1a and b there is a general strong message describing the need to take care of the environment. Different measures that have been or should be taken for this purpose are described. Regularity in the description of these measures can be found by looking for who is taking the initiative for these measures. In this text, all initiatives for taking care of the environment are external to the industry. In text 1a, authorities make environmental demands and consumers make demands on the products. The scope for industry to take responsibility for the environment is here depending on the environmental demands made by authorities and consumers. The fact that ‘environmental friendliness’ is described as a competitive advantage means that a business can produce and sell ‘environmentally friendly’ products *if* consumers demand this. Also, environmental labelling for consumers is used by ‘countries’ which also implicitly places the responsibility with consumers and ‘countries’.

In text 1b environmental awareness is described as having increased in the developed countries but not in the less developed countries. This has led to businesses from the developed countries dumping environmentally hazardous waste in the less developed countries. The businesses are excluded from increased environmental awareness as they are dumping the waste elsewhere. That means that businesses are depending on *others’* environmental awareness in order to care for the environment. Text 1b does not appear in the last edition of this textbook but this does not change the meaning.⁶

The businesses are described as dependent on the forces from outside and the potential force within the business is excluded. The formulation excludes the possibility for business companies to take responsibility for the environment. An example of the exclusion of this possibility in text 1 is when ‘countries’ are presented as using eco-labelling, the function of which is to ‘facilitate for the consumers’.

The educational meaning can be described as: ‘a business can only take responsibility for the environment if there are laws protecting the environment and/or consumers demand environmentally friendly products’. We have chosen to label this meaning *following legal and/or consumer demands*.

Meaning 2: *Making demands* (with or without a limit)

‘The human resource	Relation business-child labour
<p>The maybe most apparent market failure in today’s international economy is how the human resource is used[...] The problem is most acute when it comes to <i>child labour</i> [...] Even if big businesses in the West stipulate that child labour is not allowed, it is no guarantee that this will be the case. It is hard to control how manufacturing is done in practice. Big businesses like IKEA and Hennes & Mauritz have been hard hit [drabbats] by this issue.⁷ [comment 1] In many of the growing economies⁸ there is a resistance to western countries infringing the regulation of labour markets. The argument for child labour is often that the families cannot provide for their children and the alternative to child labour is starvation. [comment 2]. At the same time most are aware that real economic progress for a country can only be achieved if the educational level is increased. And this implies that children must go to school and not work. (TB-1998, p. 133–134 and TB-2008, p. 199)</p>	<p>IKEA and H&M have tried to avoid the use of child labour but they have been hard hit when it comes to problems monitoring the production process.</p>
<p>Comments: 1) This whole sentence ‘Big businesses like IKEA and Hennes & Mauritz have been hard hit by this problem’ is removed in TB-2008. 2) This sentence is reformulated in the last edition TB-2008 to ‘For a family that cannot provide for their children, the only alternative to child labour is starvation.’</p>	

A strong concern about the environment and society is also expressed in text 2. Previously, in the same chapter as the text above, the concept ‘market failures’ is explained in the context of describing environmental as well as social problems. A difference between the texts can, however, be found regarding who takes the initiative. In text 2 big businesses demand that child labour should not be used. In comparison with text 1 where the ‘environmental technical industry’ has emerged as a result of demands from authority and consumers, text 2 opens up initiatives for the businesses themselves. In text 2 this is done by making demands on the sub-contractor. Even if it is not clear from the text whether it is the moral principles of the business that are behind this initiative, or the

reactions from consumers, it shows the possibility to insist that child labour should not be used. In this way there is scope for taking moral responsibility. To formulate and make demands is an act that implies taking moral responsibility as these are formulated on the initiative of the business. A limit for taking responsibility can be understood from the formulations ‘it is hard’ and ‘have been hard hit’.

The educational meaning of this sequence of the first edition of this textbook can be described as: ‘a business can make demands on a subcontractor to take moral responsibility to a certain limit and beyond this limit there are circumstances for which a business cannot take responsibility’. We have chosen to label this meaning *making demands within limits*.

This limit is changed in the 2008 edition and the change is of relevance to the question of the scope of taking moral responsibility from the role of being a business person. The words ‘hard hit’ draw a line for the scope of taking moral responsibility. When removing this sentence it is still described as difficult, but the businesses are not the ones that ‘are hard hit’ any more. The educational meaning in the second edition of the text can therefore instead be described as: ‘a business can make demands on subcontractors to take moral responsibility’. We have chosen to label this meaning *making demands*. The meaning in the last edition implies more agency than in the first edition but both meanings exclude the possibility of solving the problem by taking control over the whole manufacturing process.

Meaning 3: *Tool for change*

'Environmental workers'	Relation business-environment
<p>It is not only big organizations that work for the environment. The owner of the ICA-supermarket Lars Andersson, who runs Malmborgs in central Lund, is a dedicated environmentalist. He clearly informs his customers about good environmental choices and does not stock environmentally hazardous products. He also takes part in television debates in order to influence customers to live in an eco-friendly way. Another example of an environmentally active business leader is Anita Roddick. She started the Body Shop, which sells environmentally friendly hygiene products, which furthermore are not tested on animals. These examples show that environmentally friendly products have become a means of competition in the struggle for consumers. (TB-1998, p. 200–201 and TB-2008, p. 134–135).</p>	<p>Business leaders can also be driven by their own engagement with environmental issues.</p> <p>... but, are business leaders still (only) competing for customers?</p>

In text 3 the business is connected with named human beings. The supermarket-owner Lars Andersson, and the founder of Body Shop, Anita Roddick, are portrayed as business leaders that do not stock environmentally hazardous products. Problems are not ‘happening to’ these business leaders as in the first edition of text 2 where businesses are ‘hard hit’. Instead they are described as the drivers or forces of change which can be understood from use of formulations such as ‘dedicated environmentalist’ and ‘environmentally active business leaders’.

The business leaders in this text have the intention to run a business for profit but also express a purpose to contribute to changing the world for the better, using the business as a tool. The educational meaning that is offered in the first part of the text can accordingly be described as: ‘a business can be a tool for changing the world for the better’.

A *second*, and in a way contradictory, meaning can be found in the last sentence: “These examples show that environmentally friendly products have become a means of competition in the struggle of the consumers”. The educational meaning in this sentence can be described as: ‘business leaders can use environmental arguments in the struggle for consumers’. To use environmental arguments in this struggle is different to the first meaning, ‘a business can also be a tool for changing the world to the better’, in that the business leader is not morally responsible in relation to the environment, but in relation to the owners of the business. The business leader as the ‘dedicated environmentalist’ is excluded and replaced by a business leader who uses environmental arguments in the struggle for consumers. Note that if the authors had added the word ‘also’ in this sentence, the meaning would include business leaders as dedicated environmentalists as well as business leaders *creating* and responding to consumer demands. As the meaning in the last sentence is very similar to the *following legal and/or consumer demands* meaning, it is not added as a separate meaning.

Summary:

As a result of this empirical study we have found four different educational meanings that are offered to students in textbooks in International Economics for Upper Secondary School:

1. A *following legal and/or consumer demands* meaning: ‘a business can only take responsibility for the environment if there are laws protecting the environment and/or consumers demand environmentally friendly products’. This meaning implies that we need to care for the environment but the possibility to take the first initiative for this caring is external to the business and lies with consumers or authorities.

2. A *making demands within a limit* meaning: ‘a business can make demands on a subcontractor to take moral responsibility to a certain limit and beyond this limit there are circumstances that a business cannot take responsibility for’. This meaning gives some scope for a business to take initiatives to care for society and the environment by formulating demands on subcontractors, but there is a limit to this possibility.
3. A *making demands* meaning: ‘a business can make demands on subcontractors to take moral responsibility’. This meaning also emphasizes that it is hard to control the manufacturing process but offers a wider scope for taking responsibility.
4. A *tool for change* meaning: ‘a business can be a tool for changing the world for the better’. The difference between this and the previous educational meanings is that it includes alternative possibilities for businesses and includes other purposes to running a business, apart from making profit in a narrow sense.

Discussion

In relation to education for sustainable development as it is described in the report to the Swedish government (SOU 2004:104), the four meanings identified in this study have different implications. Despite the strong general message of the need to care for the environment in the context of the *following legal and/or consumer demands* meaning, the meaning has obvious limits in relation to a sustainable development context. This is because it relies solely on consumers taking responsibility for development towards an increased environmental and social sustainability by demanding environmentally friendly products. The meaning accordingly excludes the possibility of businesses taking sustainable initiatives and developing products that can be demanded by consumers. This meaning has similarities with neoclassic economic theory, which is based on the assumption that the market functions in a mechanistic way where supply and demand of goods are seen as forces (Söderbaum 1993, p. 28). Such a meaning builds on an idea that the market ought to be a place protected from politics as economic power separated from political power promotes political freedom. This ‘mechanistic’ ideal can therefore be seen as a guarantee for division of power and accordingly also for democracy. According to Karl Polanyi in his frequently cited classical work *The Great Transformation – The Political and Economic Origins of Our Time* (1944/2001), there is a problem in such an ideal, since the market can never operate free from politics (see also Palmås 2011, p. 24–29).

The two meanings that propose that businesses should *make demands* (with or without a limit) both reveal a conflict of interest between the economic and the social dimensions. Lack of control as a consequence of using many sub-contractors, limits the scope for taking moral responsibility, on the one hand, and on the other, the well-being of children is a goal for a sustainable development. These meanings have similarities with neo-classic environmental economics that builds on the basic assumptions in neo-classical economic theory, but also adds tools for addressing social and environmental problems (Söderbaum 2011).

Compared to the *following legal and/or consumer demands* and *making demand* meanings, the *tool for change* meaning might seem the most obvious for contributing to sustainable development. This meaning has similarities with texts written by Palmås, researcher in social entrepreneurship, who has studied businesses with a purpose to change the world (Palmås 2006, 2011). Texts by Nelson (2006), a feminist economist, and ecological economist Söderbaum (2007, 2008, 2009, 2011) also have similarities to the *tool for change* meaning in that they argue for the need of multifaceted alternatives to the predominant assumption ‘homo economicus’, inclusive of a wider range of ‘normal’ human behaviours. Critics might say that the *tool for change* meaning is unrealistic and that the assumed ‘normal’ behaviour of ‘homo economicus’, when maximising profit, not only has laid the economic foundation of a social welfare society (like in the Scandinavian countries) but also created financial resources that can create pro-environmental innovations. From such a perspective, as well as from a political freedom-perspective described above, it could be argued that education in economics ought to continue in line with the *following legal and/or consumer demands* meaning. In relation to this debate we argue for the need of an educational content that also includes meanings that offer the scope to take moral responsibility, within the role of being a business person. The arguments for this are based in Biesta’s and Säfström’s distinctions between different functions of education.

The *following legal and/or consumer demands* meaning can be associated with the socialisation function of education (Biesta) and education as socialisation (Säfström). The will of the society can, for instance, be expressed by environmental laws that businesses follow. As these laws, as described in the text, are formulated in a process *external* to the business, this educational meaning can be compared with learning to adhere to certain rules. The meaning can therefore be said to contribute to the socialisation function of education. To learn laws and rules is, of course, necessary and good, but education that *only* has a socialisation function also has passifying consequences.

If the moral duty of the school is perceived as only making learners adhere to certain rules, excluding developing responsible relations, it is socialisation rather than education that is taking place.

The two *making demands* meanings can be associated with both a socialisation and a subjectification function of education. A contribution to a subjectification function is the possibility of formulating demands on sub-contractors. A contribution to a socialisation process is the part of the meaning that takes for granted a system of many sub-contractors, making the manufacturing process hard to monitor.

The *tool for change* meaning can be related to the subjectification function of education which is described as the opposite of the socialisation function. It is education that has the purpose of encouraging learners to also think and act independently; a business leader with such an orientation could decide to run a business company in order to also make changes in the world. Business persons thinking and acting independently can contribute to creating new meanings of what it could mean to do business. A *tool for change* meaning can therefore be said to contribute to a subjectification process.

If the Business Studies Programme excludes meanings that involve the scope of taking moral responsibility, also within a role of being a business person, education in Säfström's terms is reduced to socialisation as it limits the possibilities for the students to be moral subjects. When environmentally concerned students are subordinated to an ideology where politics and economics should be separated, there is a risk that they reject a career within the business sector. If we want an education that makes it possible for those who are engaged in sustainability issues regarding the environment and the society, also to see a future as a business person, we argue that the *tool for change* - meaning should be given an increased space in education. Such an education implies that it is not only a challenging business to change the world, but that business also can change the world.

Notes

1. Translation is made by the authors.
2. Cherryholmes (1988) uses the concept 'rules' and Östman uses both 'rules' (1995) and 'norms' (2008). As it is exclusively in the meaning of 'unwritten rules' the concept is used here, the concept 'norms' is used throughout this article.
3. For more details on the selection process and results regarding other social roles than in this article, we refer to a paper written as part of the Masters Programme in Educational Sciences at Uppsala University (Andersson, 2011).
4. 'Developed countries' is a translation from 'i-länder' in Swedish.
5. 'Less developed countries' is a translation from 'u-länder' in Swedish.

6. In the last edition the text that is cut out is replaced by content describing trade with CO²-emissions. The new content does not change the formulated norm.
7. In Swedish this sentence is formulated 'Stora företag som IKEA och Hennes & Mauritz har drabbats av det här problemet'.
8. 'Growing economies' is a translation from the Swedish word 'tillväxtländer'.

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