Different faces of citizenship
Development of citizenship education in European countries

Foreword

The fifth yearbook of CIDREE is about citizenship education. This is a theme that has been the object of various cooperative activities of CIDREE for many years. Several of our member institutions have been involved, either led by their own professional interest, or requested by their national authorities responsible for curriculum development in this area. These activities have been inspired and spurred not only by national initiatives but also by those of the international community – especially in the framework of the Council of Europe – that led to the *European Year of Citizenship through Education* in 2005. Beyond the results of the common research and development work of its member institutions CIDREE wishes, with this publication, to show its commitment towards the goals of the European Year.

I think the reasons behind the rising interest for citizenship education in Europe are manifold. First, all western democracies are witnessing the worrying signs of *weakening civic engagement* that manifests itself in low participation rates at elections or referenda, in the shrinking of membership of many civil associations and in the growing reluctance of people to take part in community activities. We all know that an active civil society is a condition for democracy, and the weakening of this may become a serious threat for our democratic systems. How to revive civic engagement and activity is a vital problem for all western democracies. Second, the *fall of non-democratic regimes* in Eastern and Central Europe and the "reunification" of a great part of the continent within the enlarged European Union have created new challenges. More than fifteen years after the collapse of the Soviet regimes the building of strong foundations for democracy in the new democracies of Eastern and Central Europe is still a tremendous task ahead. This task does not always receive the care and attention it would require, and most of the efficient programs in this area are in fact initiated from abroad. Genuine and effective education for active and democratic citizenship is still something to be invented in this part of Europe.
Third, and this, I think, deserves special interest, there is growing research evidence about the *role of social capital in economic development* that pushes us to reconsider the value of the forms of education that may contribute to the building of this capital. As

citizenship education has a huge potential to enhance the development of social capital (i.e. things like trust, knowledge sharing or network creation) this area gains importance not only in the eyes of committed democrats but also among those who are concerned by the weakening competitiveness our economies. The new discovery is that efficient citizenship education has a potential of creating better social climate for economic development. It is much better known and more widely accepted, that this type of education may contribute directly also to the accomplishment of such public policy goals as greater solidarity and more equitable society.

One of the newest and most striking developments in this area is the increasing attention given to the issues of efficiency, quality, effectiveness and accountability, that is a dimension that traditionally has not often been referred to in connection with citizenship. This shows clearly the growing stake that this type of education represents. Citizenship education has become something too important for too many in our societies and economies to remain a soft area protected from serious quality and efficiency requirements. This opens the perspectives of a new professionalism in this field and it raises new challenges for those doing research and developmental work here.

This book shows how CIDREE members are currently thinking about citizenship education on the basis of their own developmental practice. It not only reflects the new trends and principles mentioned above but also shows how these can be translated into concrete practices. Experts from seven CIDREE members present their special approaches and experiences in this volume, with the aim of sharing knowledge and encouraging mutual learning. We hope this is a book that will be read widely beyond the CIDREE community by those who have an interest in citizenship education either as developers and researchers, or as practitioners working in schools, managing authorities and other types of educational institutions.

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CONTENTS

Foreword
Gábor Halasz

Contents

Introduction

Bart Maes

Education for democratic citizenship

The choice of CIDREE's 2005 yearbook topic, education for democratic citizenship (EDC), is both inevitable and difficult. The choice is inevitable, because, as Cecchini, Maes and Kerr[1] wrote in an internal document preparing a possible feasibility study into measuring pupils' outcomes, education for democratic citizenship is a growing area of policy interest across the world. It engages with many of the topical issues and challenges facing modern societies and the development of their education systems to enable young people to be better prepared for their roles and responsibilities in adult life. The interest and development of EDC is driven not least by the changing face of the post 9/11 world and the increasing challenges in the field of equity, human rights, anti-racism, migration and sustainable development. This changing world context has given an added urgency to the promotion and development of education for democratic citizenship across the world.

Education for democratic citizenship has been incorporated as a leading aim or goal into on-going processes of reform in education and communities in many countries at the start of the new century. It is part of the drive to both modernise and broaden the curriculum and educational experiences of young people.

Strong links are being forged between education for democratic citizenship as a curriculum issue, as an issue for educational institutions in terms of how they are organised and managed (what is often termed 'democratic governance' involving student participation and engagement) and as an issue in terms of how educational institutions, particularly schools, link with the wider community. Education for democratic citizenship, in terms of how it is defined in many countries, has as its subject, the total school activity and the wider communal aspects.

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[1] Cecchini, M., Maes, B., Kerr, D., Feasibility study into measuring pupils' outcomes of education for democratic citizenship, Brussels, 2004.

The same authors also describe education for democratic citizenship as a major focus of educational cooperation at European as well as at world level. They made a brief inventory of past and ongoing initiatives:

- The European Commission launched, monitored and evaluated studies carried out in six countries and finally published a study on learning for active citizenship: a significant challenge in building a Europe of knowledge.
- In 2002 the Council of Europe adopted a recommendation on EDC which included a definition of education for democratic citizenship and policy recommendations in this field, as a result of the first EDC project carried out by the Council of Europe in the years 1997 - 2000.
- In the same year EU Education Ministers and Education Ministers from New Member States and Acceding Countries agreed a work programme for Concrete Future Objectives in education and training in Europe until 2010. 'Supporting active citizenship, equal opportunities and social cohesion' were core elements of the agreed objectives (2.3). 'Ensuring that the learning of democratic values and democratic participation by all school partners is effectively promoted in order to prepare people for active citizenship' was regarded as a key issue in this context. Policy recommendations were made in the 2003 interim report of working group G [2](active citizenship, equal opportunities and social cohesion) and a first series of indicators proposed which should be checked by experts for feasibility. In Summer 2004 a first follow-up report was being prepared covering active citizenship education in a lifelong learning perspective.
  A sub-group was created for more in-depth work on citizenship education in January 2004. It proposed to take on board the Council of Europe definitions and resolution on active citizenship for the European policy level. More detailed indicators were proposed for citizenship education, one of them aiming at enriching the future PISA study with a clear profile for a cross-curricular and content dimension for democratic citizenship education.
- The Council of Europe launched a comprehensive and in-depth study on EDC policies which was published in Summer 2004.

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[2] See also Maes, B., Moens, G., Raes, N., Van Woensel C. (2003), The Detailed Work Programme: experiences and reflections of four working groups in *Becoming the best. Educational Ambitions for Europe.* Enschede: CIDREE, pp69-87

Recommendations for improvements, for implementation strategies, trainings and good practices in Education for democratic citizenship were published in three languages.

- At the Council of Europe level all education ministers decided to support at national level a 'European Year of Citizenship through Education' in 2005.
- The Dutch EU presidency (July – December 2004) chose the area of active citizenship education in schools for special activities in the second half of 2004, including a European seminar on the subject, a draft resolution for the Education Council on citizenship education and a special report by EURYDICE on the situation of citizenship education in schools in Europe.
- The DG EAC Youth directorate launched a citizenship programme in 2004 in order to activate and support learning opportunities for active citizenship in civil society, non-formal and informal settings.
- Education ministers at OECD level included the subject area of active citizenship for the first time in their meeting in March 2004 in Dublin, because they regarded it as increasingly relevant.
- OECD PISA studies already demonstrated an interest in including cross-curricular elements in past questionnaires and in special in-depth evaluations of the existing material.
- At UN level, a new World Programme on Human rights education is prepared as a follow up of the Decade of human rights education (1995 - 2004). The Plan of Action of the programme's first phase (2005 – 2007) will focus on human rights education in primary and secondary school systems.
- UNESCO's programme of activities for 2004-2005 includes an activity on developing indicators for evaluating human rights education programmes.

This widespread international attention given to EDC makes CIDREE's choice for this topic not only inevitable but also rather difficult. What value can CIDREE add to the numerous initiatives and publications on the subject? For this reason, CIDREE hesitated at first to go along with its initiative: aren't there enough activities that take place, among other things within the Council of Europe's European Year of Citizenship through Education? Do we have a 'unique selling proposition' that makes our contribution different from the others? This yearbook shows that we do have a distinct voice within the EDC debate. CIDREE member institutions have a specific place within their education systems. They are all very close to or form part of educational policy in their countries and

in different ways, are located at the interface between curriculum development, research, evaluation, guidance and educational practice.

This particular position of the CIDREE members is reflected in this yearbook. The articles presented here give an in-depth picture of EDC, where it comes from and where it is heading in the respective countries and regions. They show the development to date and in the near future of EDC in the different education systems that contributed to this book. The audience of the yearbook will read a lot of similarities across the different articles. Concepts of democratic citizenship and the crucial role of education, the search for a distinct yet appropriate place in the curriculum, the political driving forces behind all this, implementation problems at different levels, the difficult issue of evaluating the effect EDC has on pupils and society at large, criteria for good policy and practice, more or less all of these topics can be found in all of the articles. EDC after all is a international phenomenon. At the same time, the context in which EDC functions is different from one education system to another. A different social and political history, different structures and steering mechanisms, different evaluation and assessment cultures, different emphases with regard to content give EDC each time a different 'flavour'. Hence the title of this book 'Different faces of citizenship. Development of citizenship education in European countries'. These different faces are reflected in the following articles.

Katalin Falus and **György Jakab** describe the fascinating social and political history of Hungarian society and its effect on 'Civics training and education in Hungary'. Where 'civic education' used to serve as a tool for the regime to produce 'docile citizens incapable of independent thought and hardly familiar with their civil rights', the more recent process of democratisation has not yet led to a satisfactory introduction of its successor in contemporary Hungary. On the contrary, the societal and educational context in which 'civics education' takes place is very anomalous causing civics education to appear in a variety of forms. To understand the current situation, the authors describe the historical driving forces for 'civics education' as it appears in the form of 'social studies': the political (ideological) approach, the scientific approach and the approach driven by the demand for socialisation. Subsequently, the article presents the aims of current educational policy regarding 'civics education' together with the most important curriculum content. When it comes to the issue of implementation, the authors are rather critical towards policy in Hungary: there is 'great confusion on civic education and training as it is left up to schools to decide whether they deal with

the issue and to what extent', there is 'no actual guide for its practical application'. The article ends with a description of what the Hungarian CIDREE member, the National Institute for Public Education' is doing in this area: the development of teaching materials.

Branislava Baranovic and **Karin Doolan** give their critical-constructive view on citizenship education in Croatia. In doing so, they strongly address an audience of Croatian policy-makers and the educational world in their country. The aim of their paper is to describe citizenship education in the Croatian educational system, to take a critical look at some of its aspects and to offer recommendations for consideration. To further this aim, the paper focuses on citizenship education (formal and informal) in Croatian primary and secondary schools, viewed within a context of contemporary trends in citizenship and citizenship education, and answers two main questions:
- what is the form and nature of citizenship education in Croatia?
- does citizenship education in Croatia adequately respond to contemporary conceptions of citizenship education as presented in literature on the matter and in practice?

This serves as a basis to question some of its aspects in the Croatian context and encourages measures to target its perceived weaknesses. As in Hungary, the political and ideological influences are prevalent in citizenship education and the form and nature in which that takes place is criticised by the authors. The authors describe the programmes as 'ethnocentric' and 'mono-perspective'. Also comparable to Hungary is the problematic implementation of and support for citizenship education and the unclear expectation in relation to what is expected of the schools.

In his contribution, **Jeroen Bron** describes the situation in the Netherlands. The moral task of education and issues like social-ethical orientation (and recently the 'restoration of standards') have been on the Dutch educational agenda for quite a while. Caused by recent societal and political events and feelings of dissatisfaction in society, there is a high demand for citizenship education. Therefore, the minister of education has recently formally introduced the concept of citizenship education. Citizenship education in the Dutch context is related to the issue of social integration and thus incorporates aspects that previously were indicated as intercultural education. Even though the issue is included in the educational legislation, there is still a long way to go before citizenship education will be fully implemented in educational practice. Since the autonomy of schools in the Netherlands is increasing and now includes curriculum aspects (the government only indicates the

framework but leaves the actual filling in up to the schools), new ways have to be found to trigger activity within the schools, but also to reach some form of coherence in interpretations and practices that are in some way or another called citizenship education. In that context, the planned approach of Dutch CIDREE member SLO looks very promising and is worthy of being carefully studied by the international 'EDC-community'.

Paloma Fernandez Torres and **Gala Penalba Esteban** introduce the Spanish situation. They put forward a concept of citizenship linked to the notion of responsible citizenship. For this purpose, a special emphasis is placed on moving away from the conception of the citizen as the subject of rights and duties to the conception of the citizen as someone who participates in the social and political life of his or her community. Subsequently, the authors analyse the relationship between national and European citizenship, alongside the close links that exist between citizenship and values education.

Next, citizenship education is dealt with in greater detail. Firstly, how this issue is currently approached in the Spanish education system is presented from two perspectives: as a cross-curricular topic, and as a theme integrated within different subjects. There seems to be a strong link here with student participation at school level. Secondly, some suggestions that can be useful as the foundation for a new consideration of citizenship education within the curriculum are offered. These suggestions are strongly inspired by international trends in aims and content of EDC. Also, a firmer methodology in learning and teaching EDC is promoted.

Finally, some comments regarding the debate on the implementation of the new subject of citizenship education as proposed in the future education bill are also presented.

David Kerr gives a brief summary of international trends and developments before taking the reader to England were citizenship education has been at the centre of a major policy review since 1997. This has culminated in the introduction of Citizenship as a new statutory subject in schools for all 11 to 16 year olds, the establishment of a citizenship pilot programme for 16 to 19 year olds and the creation of an active communities unit within government. This paper sets developments in England within the wider review of citizenship education which is currently taking place globally. It then focuses on the policy process concerning citizenship education in England as part of a government drive aimed at bringing about civic renewal in British society: 'the strengthening of citizenship education is to effect no less

than a change in the political culture of this country both nationally and locally'. It goes on to examine lessons emerging from research and evaluation concerning the progress of the citizenship education initiative, with a particular emphasis on its progress in schools and colleges. These lessons include the latest findings from the groundbreaking Citizenship Education Longitudinal Study and the national evaluation of the Post-16 Citizenship Development Project programme. The emerging lessons from England have implications for wherever citizenship education is developed. Therefore, this article is more than highly recommended for all those responsible for citizenship education, either in schools, at policy level or elsewhere.

David Kitchen considers how citizenship is viewed by government in Wales and how this is reflected in the curriculum and in the practice of schools. The devolution of power in 1999 made it possible for Wales to establish the Welsh Assembly and thus created the possibility to give a distinct direction to education policy. Welsh policy puts the citizen at the centre of government and also shows a clear commitment to active citizenship for all young people. The Welsh curriculum, particularly Personal and Social Education, offers a range of opportunities for EDC. Moreover, recent research revealed that the role of citizenship as an integral part of personal and social development is a significant strength. The article ends with the presentation of two case studies. But before that, David Kitchen presents the lessons learned from two case studies. A number of key messages on different aspects are described here. They are important as the key findings exceed the schools involved and reveal success criteria for effective EDC policy and implementation.

Bart Maes en **Hugo Van Heeswijck** discuss the origins and state of affairs of education for citizenship in Flanders. There was and still is a clear political will for the introduction and implementation of education for citizenship. Education policy in Flanders also has a distinct vision on what 'citizenship', 'education for citizenship' and other related concepts should contain. The way education for citizenship is addressed in schools is a mixture of a cross-curricular approach and a participative whole-school policy (also referred to as 'democratic governance'). A specific feature for Flemish education, is the way schools are evaluated by the inspectorate on the implementation of the cross-curricular objectives. The authors end this article with some possible next steps. In doing so, they touch upon a lack of valid and reliable evaluation data on the implementation of education for citizenship and the possible future influence of European evolution on curriculum policy.

Finally, **Wolter Blankert**, in the capacity of staff member of the European Platform in the Netherlands describes how 'European and International Orientation' can get attention in schools as contribution to European citizenship. According to the author, this approach has the benefit of being more specific and value free and it meets less resistance than 'citizenship' or 'European citizenship'. Blankert reflects upon the relation between the aforementioned concepts before explaining the pedagogical-didactical starting points of European and international orientation. This article concludes with the description of a set of competences which Europeans and international orientation aims for.

Civics training and education in Hungary

Katalin Falus, György Jakab

Introduction

Drastic social and political changes have occurred over the past decade since Hungary launched its transformation to a democratic society, and this has resulted in new social demands in connection with the tasks of public education. Prior to the transition, the 'hidden curriculum' of social science education had acted as a basis for the legitimisation of the political system and as the foundation for civic loyalty. Consequently, civic education at the time perfectly suited the interests of the contemporary political regime: the 'production' of docile citizens incapable of independent thought and hardly familiar with their civil rights. The political transition, however, constituted a radical reinterpretation of the connection between the state and its citizens, their moral values and fundamental rights. It became obvious that in terms of both attitude and content, social science education was no longer able to meet the new demands of society i.e. raising independent-minded, entrepreneurial citizens who are aware of their rights and mutually engage in practicing the rules of social coexistence.

The program of democratisation in Hungarian society has given rise to a host of new problems and issues in connection with civics training and education, namely the following: How is it possible to help young people develop a democratic attitude in a country with almost no tradition of democracy, where the rules of coexistence are not based on reciprocity, and where relationships between individuals are typically characterised by super-subordination? The main problem is that real social change has only just begun while out of date, semi-feudalistic models of behaviour, different aspects of the market economy and various combinations thereof continue to exist alongside one another. This anomalous *temporary state of affairs* is most clearly manifest in the fact that subsequent generations are inheriting an increasingly ambiguous system of values and norms and are not prepared to navigate independently within an ever more complex network of social relationships. In an environment of constant social, political and ideological change, neither the school nor the family has been able to transmit clear values to youth, the result of which is that the validity of basic social norms is questioned

again and again. A growing number of people have come to believe that they will benefit more from violating the reciprocal rules of coexistence rather than from practicing them. Under these circumstances, the concept of social solidarity has been forced into the background, giving way to a kind of 'cowboy-capitalist' mentality that regards the pursuit of individual self-interest as its primary goal. People are afraid of falling into poverty and therefore seize every economic and political opportunity to avoid slipping downwards. It seems they must use all means at their disposal to fight because now is the time that will determine in the long-term whether their families will be part of the elite or among those that have fallen behind. An atmosphere of struggle and fear is not, however, one that fosters the building of democracy.

Possible interpretations of changes

In light of the above, the issues facing civics training and education in Hungary can be interpreted within the following framework:

• We are living through a unique transition in which the structures for a democratic political system and a civil society have been developed, but civic thinking and behaviour have not expanded on a widespread basis. In many cases, everyday practice shows that dictatorial models of order are still functioning.

• While a democratic legal framework has also been established in the area of educational policy, attempts at centralisation and dictatorial methods of exercising authority can still be observed at all levels of education.

• In keeping with the traditional Prussian-style school system, an authoritative student-teacher relationship still plays a decisive role in the vast majority of Hungarian schools. At the same time, many schools have tried to involve students as partners in the process, but this frequently leads to a 'laissez fair'-system of relationships because neither teachers nor students have adopted models of democratic thinking and behaviour that allow for adherence to conventions based on reciprocity.

• Consequently, the overwhelming majority of Hungarian schools at most only prepare students for the role of citizenship in an indirect way. Although subjects geared towards developing civic-mindedness exist in most schools in addition to some form of student government, these do not provide a framework in which students can actively practice responsible participation in society. The idea that a school is some kind of abstract social space where students are merely preparing for life, getting ready to be citizens, continues to

prevail. For this reason, schools have not really developed an integrative role in local society, and so there is no institutional format for a close connection between students and the civil sector.

- The Prussian school tradition also means that the relationship between schools and parents is typically authoritative as opposed to reciprocal. In a formal sense, forums for cooperation do exist - school board, parents' work-groups - but it is only recently that parents have been truly involved in the work of schools and in public life. Partnership-style connections have appeared in only a handful of foundation schools.

- Over the last decade, government policy initiatives aimed at the democratic reform of civics education have appeared mainly in the form of new fundamental documents - the Education Act, the National Core Curriculum (NCC)[3], so-called Framework Curricula and final exam requirement systems – all of which attach prominent significance to this area. At present, these basic educational documents are being 'broken down' at the school level, which only serves to reinforce the temporary situation described above: many elements formally exist in schools, but these only take on genuine practical content over a long period of time.

- Therefore, civics training and education in Hungarian schools today may appear in a wide variety of forms, including anything from an authoritative, dictatorial approach to reciprocal partnerships, and everything else in between.

Primary trends in the development of teaching materials

The specific area of study directly 'responsible' for civics training and education in schools is s*ocial studies*. Although the subject was already introduced several decades ago, its precise aims, content, theoretical background and methodological limitations have yet to be clearly defined due to constantly modified educational policies and interests; it has no unified 'educational infrastructure' (teacher-training, teaching aids etc.). In short, its integration in the public education system has not taken place. Apparently, all of this is not by accident; had there been a

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[3] The NCC and framework curricula have different goals and functions. Accepted in 2003, the NCC stipulates competencies to be developed in various areas of knowledge (according to age group) while framework curricula specify content (on a non-compulsory basis). Both are realised on the school level in so-called local curricula.

clear background and intent behind them, the enthusiastic initiatives of the past decades should have resulted in some kind of consensus regarding the subject. Upon examining the causes more closely, however, it seems that no such long-term intentions existed. To be exact, there were (at least) three radically different educational policies underlying repeated attempts to introduce *social studies*, but none of them were capable of coming together in practice and only served to weaken the emancipation of the subject. These include the following:

The political (ideological) approach

All political systems desire that public education should in its own way contribute to the stability, long-term acceptance and preservation of the given political system and form of government. This may occur in a straightforward manner, as when the ideology of the prevailing political system appears directly in the teaching material itself (it is worth taking a look at the introductions to mathematics textbooks from the 1950s, or any other textbook from the era), or a separate subject might be introduced to suit political demands, but there are also more refined, indirect methods, for example a so-called 'hidden curriculum'.

The role of political efforts in the case of *social studies* was far greater in comparison to other subjects, mainly because the direct origin of social sciences was explicitly connected to political intent. In the beginning, the basic ideological aim of the subject was to legitimise the political system and to directly mould the world view of subsequent generations. Established during the 1960s, the interdisciplinary subject for secondary school students entitled *The Foundations of Our World View* was the result of this endeavour. In later years, the demand for direct ideological influence gradually decreased. As a consequence, political concepts regarding *social studies* also shifted closer to expectations in connection with the integrative subject of history: hence the main political aim became the formation and strengthening of national identity and civic loyalty. Here, the primary focus was to impart knowledge in connection with the contemporary political system (civics education). This gave birth to the *civics education* program, which was taught within the framework of history lessons to students in their final year of primary school. Following the transition -partly in keeping with practice in Hungary between the two world wars (*constitutional studies*) and partly in consideration of educational practice in Western civil democracies (*civics*)– education policy in Hungary declared that students should study *civil and legal rights* so as to be clear about the rules of the Hungarian constitution and become familiar with their own rights to a certain

extent. These aims were also reiterated by educational policy in the EU after the Maastricht Agreement.

Scientific emphasis

At the end of the 1970s, new attempts were made with the intent of 'neutralising' the ideological content of earlier teaching materials by introducing an academically sound social science approach to the subject. This concept resulted in significant reforms, first in the field of history teaching, and then in the related teaching materials for *social studies*. On the other hand, this emancipation of the subject in public education had its own unique drawbacks, namely that every school subject - in order to protect its own interests - began to insist on the principle of one subject/one branch of science, which meant that the only subjects with a chance of survival were the ones that had a strong 'academic lobby' to support them. The process was further reinforced by the fact that it also became important for various branches of science to be represented in public education with their own separate subjects as this not only increased the prestige of the given scientific field, but also provided an opportunity to 'expand' it at the university level through teacher training.

In the case of *social studies*, all of this meant that different social sciences began to appear in public education, each offering its own independent –simplified– teaching materials to the next generation of students. By this time, the main consideration was scientific validity; the self-justification of the subjects introduced, however, not only had to incorporate the principles behind the previously mentioned education policy, but could not ignore later arguments for the necessity of socialisation either. The complexity of the situation is illustrated by the fact that during the 1980s (when the single-party system was still in place) *social studies* education was discussed in terms of alternatives – although this may have been a case of satisfying scientific lobbies. Two possible approaches were indicated: the so-called 'A' version, which ostensibly contained *philosophical* teaching material closer in content to the earlier study materials - along with a problem-centred methodology that is still surprisingly fresh today - and version 'B', which was based on a synchronised structure of social sciences known to educators as *social studies*. This provided the background for the following fields:

- sociology
- socio-psychology
- political science
- cultural history
- economics.

Both approaches tried to appear as scientific as possible under the circumstances, which was certainly a positive step forward in comparison to the earlier ideological stage, but for students in the public education system these 'academic' subjects remained abstract and impersonal. As with other subjects based on a traditional scientific background, most of them primarily served the interests of university students particularly interested in a given field, and as a result could not fulfil their generally advocated function as tools of socialisation. At the same time, both approaches stressed a need for the development of thinking and social skills alongside the transmission of lexical knowledge.

Efforts supporting the demand for socialisation

The third approach regards directly meeting students' need for socialisation as its primary task, and in this sense is mainly determined by pedagogical goals. Given that the process of socialisation and the transmission of social models in Hungary has been fundamentally hindered due to well-known twists of historical fate, subsequent generations can no longer rely on the models set by their parents, which means that schools must play an increasingly stronger role in helping families to socialise their children. In accordance, civics education must provide political and social models as well as competencies in addition to fundamental knowledge. While this approach considers conceptual background knowledge (history, sociology, socio-psychology, political science, economics, psychology etc.) to be essential, it is of an interdisciplinary nature by virtue of its pedagogical aims and is therefore more closely connected to the social experiences of children in their everyday lives. Practice on the school level is based on three main pillars:
- the transmission of basic knowledge and concepts in connection with society
- the development and reinforcement of various competencies (thinking, communication and cooperative skills etc.)
- providing students with a foundation for active participation in society (students can only be expected to become active citizens if they are already active participants in life at school, in student government, in local society.

In this sense, subjects designed to socialise are in a direct way subjects for the future, part of life-long learning. The basic goal of teaching is to help students develop the skills and the desire to consciously, actively and critically deal with social issues for the rest of their lives. Its true value is not reflected in what the students learn at school, but in how

they behave later when they are faced with unfamiliar situations. Because of the methodology used (case studies, problem-oriented tasks, discussion, socio-drama), such lessons are often compared to sessions held by class counsellors, but the social science approach and conceptual system behind social studies allows the subject to retain its own unique profile. This approach also gave birth to various so-called anthropological studies in the domain of *Man and Society: The Study of Man and Ethics; the Study of Man and Society, Ethics.*

In summary, it can be said that current social studies programs that comprise subjects dealing with the present are essentially organised according to the aforementioned approaches. All three obviously have their own right to exist - all originate from existing socio-political demands. Since each approach is significantly different in terms of their own goals, content, and methodology, the only question that remains is whether a common denominator can be established for them in the interest of uniform social studies education.

The aims of educational policy documents

Government statute 243/2003 (XII: 17.) concerning the publication, introduction and application of the National Core Curriculum (NCC) writes the following in connection with civics education:

'The spirit of the NCC is determined by the Hungarian Constitution, the Public Education Act and the existing national and international regulations concerning human rights, children's rights, the rights of national and ethnic minorities, and those regarding equal opportunity for men and women. The expressed values are centred in the principles of democracy, humanism, respect for individuals and their development, promoting cooperation between core communities (family, country, Europe, the world), gender equality, solidarity and tolerance.

The NCC is a national instrument because it serves to promote shared national values. It places great emphasis on spreading knowledge about the country and the surrounding region, the Carpathian basin; the promotion and preservation of national traditions and national identity, including those of national and ethnic minorities within the country. Children at every level of public education must become familiar with the culture and common history of national minorities that comprise the nation. At the same time, the NCC defines developmental tasks defined with a focus on a European and humanitarian values and their content, helping to strengthen our sense of belonging to Europe.'

Important tasks for development

A framework for environmental education

The overall aim of environmental education is (...) to facilitate (...) *sustainable development in society.* Educational practice in this regard presupposes life-long learning to produce informed and active citizens who possess a creative approach to problem-solving, who understand nature and the environment, society, law and the economy, and who make responsible commitments to their individual and public acts.
All of this can be achieved if (...) students can develop sensitivity to the state of their environment, are able to recognise and evaluate on an elementary level the specifics of nature and the qualitative changes thereof; recognise and preserve the value of nature as well as values created by man, take responsibility for their civic duty and exercise their rights in relation to the environment. Environmentally friendly behaviour grounded in a familiarity with the environment and in personal responsibility on both an individual and a community level is a basic moral principle that should play a dominant role in the lifestyle of students.

Preparation for roles in adult life

An essential prerequisite for the effective social integration of students and their participation and co-existence is the consciously-planned development of *social competencies* by educators. This entails creating and strengthening a system of social motifs that ensures both social and economic benefits. A key objective in the creation of such skills is to reinforce aspects related to assistance, cooperation, leadership and competition, and it is also necessary to simultaneously define the range of *citizenship skills*, essentially in the interest of training students who will exercise their rights and contribute to public life.

Basic principles and goals in subject of man and society

(The most important relevant sections of the curriculum have been indicated in italics.)

Study on the subject of man and society focuses on the human world and comprises three aspects: history, the study of man and the study of society (study of the present).

The aim of **history** teaching is (...) to facilitate knowledge of history, providing a common foundation for communication and understanding for the narrower and broader community (from the home through nation to humanity). In order to achieve this, a deeply ingrained *sense of belonging to the community, and especially of national and European identity*, is essential. Understanding of historical processes is the basis for the development of historical consciousness, which means, on one hand, acknowledging that the present - including our individual lives - is to large extent the product of past events, and on the other that our lives today will have an impact on the fate of future generations.

The analytical framework for **the study of man** and the principal concepts of ethics, anthropology and psychology contribute to a deeper understanding of the self. It provides an insight into *the world of intellectual relationships connecting humans to themselves and others, to society and nature.* It fosters awareness of *the moral dilemmas inseparable from human life* and familiarises us with *the methodology of using argument in moral debate, improving the attitudes and skills necessary for autonomous inquiry, responsible decision-making and understanding opinions different from our own.*

The **study of society** helps us to *be informed about the social, economic and political phenomena of our own day and age.* Above all, in addition to transmitting knowledge, it requires *increasing sensitivity to social issues and the improvement of skills necessary to analyse conflicts. Its scope covers contemporary issues of the community, the nation, Europe and the globalising world*, and in this way prepares students *for conscious, democratic participation in public life.*

In lower grades, games, concrete situations and realistic cases play a dominant role in helping children to acquire new knowledge and social experiences. In higher grades, the focus gradually shifts to independent study, *monitoring political, social and economic trends, formulating personal views, debate, and developing the behavioural patterns for democratic citizenship.*

Key areas of development
Respect for individual and human rights; strengthening national identity, historical awareness and citizenship; social sensitivity; openness to social issues to the extent that can be expected in the relevant age group; responsibility for the environment; learning about and accepting other cultures; developing a philanthropic attitude conducive to the

safeguarding of values; acquiring the knowledge and skills necessary to use democratic institutions.

In educational practice

At present, there is great confusion within the school system concerning civic education and training. In essence, it is left up to schools and school directors whether they deal with this issue and to what extent. A few institutions with a more autonomous type of organisation may interpret this as a kind of freedom since it allows them to achieve their own programs more easily. Most schools and teachers, however, are made uncertain by the disorganisation and unpredictability, which dictates that they choose instead to maintain the traditional subject structure in the interest of their own livelihood.

Although the first version of the NCC in 1995 and the second, published in 2003, both placed strong emphasis on this field of study, no actual guide for its practical application was developed at the curricular level. Social studies, the study of man and ethics appeared as a specified subject in the so-called Framework Curriculum introduced after the millennium, but since the number of lessons in the traditional structure could not be reduced, the new materials were only included as a 'subject module' taught within a time frame of 1 half-hour per week (18 lessons in a year). At any rate, schools and teachers 'anticipated' these new subjects with scepticism, partly because the educational infrastructure necessary to teach the subjects was incomplete (textbooks, teaching aids, trained teachers etc.) and partly because prior expectations proved to be true: following the change of government in 2002, the introduction of subject modules was no longer compulsory while other officially published framework curricula did not provide schools with a genuine point of reference. The confusion was heightened further by the introduction of bi-level final exam requirements, which to a certain extent became a strong factor in content regulation in opposition to framework curricula in secondary schools. This final exam system gave birth to a complex new exam subject under the title human and social studies, ethics, alongside the previous two studies of the present. The justification for this lay in the fact that the earlier two subject modules - Social Studies, and the Study of Man and Ethics - proved to be unviable in practice since traditional subjects with a higher number of lessons, for example history, basically 'absorbed' them without a trace. Naturally, the earlier initiatives were retained in many schools: there are plenty of committed teachers who try to incorporate the study of man, society and ethics etc. within some kind of lesson framework. None of this, however,

reaches a 'critical mass' that would allow for these subjects to become the basis for civic education in the Hungarian school system.

Principal issues of debate

This area continues to be a source of much debate even today. In theory, everyone agrees that the present school system should make a stronger contribution to the democratisation of Hungarian society, a fundamental issue being the degree to which future generations will acquire the civic values necessary for responsible citizenship.

Another cardinal question in the debate is how to incorporate the modern content of subjects dealing with the present, which are altogether different from traditional subjects, into an already overloaded curriculum. Additional concerns include how and to what extent traditionally knowledge-centred civics education can be refocused towards the development of citizenship skills and how civic participation can be strengthened among students (student government, 'active' participation in local society).

Among other things, the educational programme in the National Development Plan designed to assist Hungary's accession to the EU strives to find solutions for these issues, and places top priority on the improvement of social competencies. Partially within this framework, the National Institute for Public Education (OKI) has launched a long-term project for the development of teaching materials under the title *Human and Social Studies.*

The development of teaching materials at OKI

The materials we have developed are based on the concept of *socialisation.* Naturally, we continue to believe that the family is the basic foundation for the integration of ensuing generations, but experience has shown that schools must play an increasingly greater role in this area. There is a growing need for a general skills-development program that consciously transmits the entire range of competencies, attitudes, personal traits and knowledge necessary for socialisation. The key aim is to foster the students' social integration and the development of their personalities, using various practice situations and models from their own social environment to facilitate knowledge of different alternatives and forms of behaviour so that they will be able to act in accordance with generally accepted human and civic values when faced

with unfamiliar situations. Another important goal is to continue developing their ability to understand society and to provide a foundation for conscious democratic participation in public life, preparing them to acquire an awareness of economic phenomena and become conscious players in the economy.

The democratic nature of the teaching materials is made apparent in the fact that there is a demand for them not only on the state (community) level, but also from the aspect of individual rights. We feel that every student in a democratic society has the right to acquire the knowledge, skills, convictions and values necessary for competent participation in social, economic, and political life.

The educational approach behind the materials (in harmony with the new National Core Curriculum) is primarily grounded in recognition of the fact that such a program of socialisation can only produce effective results if it continually operates at all levels of education, embracing the entire system of school connections as a whole. Traditional social studies and civics material regards citizenship and students' participation in society as some sort of future state of existence, not as a system of continuous interconnection between rights and responsibility that young people encounter every day from the beginning of their childhood. The essence of our approach is that students should already begin to systematically deal with the fundamental issues of coexistence in society at the elementary level since democratic views, habits and various competencies can only be acquired over a long period of time. In this sense, we regard school as a unique social practicing ground, where students not only receive theoretical training, but where they can constantly test themselves and put their knowledge into practice (e.g. student government, local society).

The subject of social studies comprises many different branches of science, which raises fear among teachers that one must be a polymath in order to teach it. Therefore, it is extremely important to reiterate that the teacher's task is not to be an outstanding expert in every field, but to lead and guide the students in the direction of various social issues and problems: to arouse their interest, help them to analyse social conditions and encourage them to make their own conclusions. This approach is tightly connected to the students' practical experiences in society, making social studies a direct form of lifelong learning. The fundamental aim of teaching is to develop the student's skills and their willingness to deal critically with social issues for the rest of their lives.

General characteristics

Teaching material
A general feature of the teaching material is that it attempts to replace overwhelmingly knowledge-centred social studies and civics education by establishing a multi-faceted approach (knowledge, skills, and activity) and a system of tasks designed to socialise students both inside and outside of the classroom with a view toward democratising actual school practice as well.

- At the most, traditional social studies and civics material only brings real social practice into the school as a tool of illustration. In many cases, it cannot cope with the fact that our perceptions of society and our values today stand in sharp contrast to what is actually taking place in society.
- The program is based on the concept of the active citizen, to prepare and train students for this role: citizens in a democracy make decisions and are active participants in the process. It is our hope that this approach will also reinforce a democratic environment in schools.

Pedagogical aspects
In terms of its pedagogical aspects, the teaching material does not directly correspond to the syllabus of designated branches of science, but builds on many elements according to the students' social needs. Students mostly deal with topics and issues that they already have or may have direct experience with (family, school, neighbourhood etc.).

- The program is grounded in the present: it is designed to examine the realities of today, to promote an understanding of social phenomena and to develop social competencies.
- It is characterised by spontaneity and approaches problems in light of the students' personal experience. Tasks and decision-making games in the material are only a starting point for the creation of a genuine social space by the teacher and the students.
- The subject is an open one and leaves teachers a great deal of freedom. It provides a way to work through local situations, current social issues, personal experiences, conflicts and questions the students are interested in, at the same time allowing the teacher to acquire the appropriate methods for doing so.
- Due to these features, it presumes ongoing up-to-date actualisation and interaction (teacher-student, school-outside world).

- It requires a new attitude from teachers and the ability to use a variety of methodologies. The teacher is regarded not as a professional in his/her subject, but as a professional educator. (The subject can be taught by any teacher who, as an active citizen and intellectual, is capable of cooperating with students in an equal partnership on a continual basis.)

Examples and attitudes

The material is designed to set examples and form attitudes. Naturally, forming attitudes cannot be the exclusive task of one specific program: it will only yield real results if the values of the family, the school and those of the broader environment are synchronised in the long-term (combining the ethos with actual practice). With this in mind, however, we also feel it to be important that the program we have developed should transmit a uniform set of norms, pluralistic in approach, but not based on a hierarchy of values. Its main elements are:

- introducing civic values
- models of democratic thought and action
- moral responsibility.

Aspects of skills–development

An innovative feature of the material is that it tries to establish and strengthen fundamental competencies with a focus on actual practice in society. This means that in our case it is not only important that students understand (learn) the rules of co-existence in society and its moral imperatives, but also that they practice these as skills at a later stage. To recall a well-known axiom: it is not only what students learn in school that is important; the true test of the teaching material comes later when the students encounter unknown circumstances and are able to behave in the 'spirit' of what they have learned. Of course there is a wide variety of skills that can be developed - we will indicate these in detail for each part of the teaching material – but they can be grouped in four main categories:

- communication and cooperation
- thinking and decision-making skills
- learning and processing information
- co-existence and cooperation (social competencies).

Content

Content is largely determined by the socialisation needs of students in a given age group. Consequently, we wish to develop complex teaching material within the framework of the already successful interdisciplinary approach mentioned earlier. The modified NCC and the final exam requirements currently in effect, which determine students' graduation and opportunities for further education, will play a major role in this process. In keeping with the above, we intend to synthesize the following subjects and fields of study:

- history
- social studies
- civics
- the study of man and ethics
- the study of man and society; ethics
- economics
- media studies.

Methodology

The main methodological feature of the material is its inductive approach, which serves to strengthen personality, competence, motivation and a problem-oriented focus: it begins with specific cases (stories, legends, situations, films, film-clips, short stories, letters from readers etc.) and uses these to make general conclusions and pinpoint rules. Analysing unique situations, cases and parables that help them recall their personal experiences, students are taught by having to work through and 'solve' problems in a combination of group-work and individual study. The material incorporates tools of drama, but the game is always connected to the given exercise and is based on practical activities; common analysis, discussions and debate – the material learned appears as an individual product (drawing, essay, photo, interview, presentation etc.) as well as in the form of activities. Students face many decision-making situations in connection with the relationship between individuals, the broader community and its system of rules. Within this framework, it is also possible to examine the actual rituals and experiences that contribute to the organisation of the school community. Drawing on the fields of sociology, economics, political science and law, the material focuses on integrating elements that are particularly important from the standpoint of professional science and education.

Basic activities

Basic activities are perhaps the most important new element of the teaching material. The central issue in preparing students for their role as citizens is how to train them for active participation in society. Obviously, all of this can only be done via practical activity, and not on a theoretical basis. On the other hand, this requires real situations, decision-making tasks and field-work, which can mainly be found in an altogether moribund school environment (e.g. student government) and in so-called local society. Therefore, if the socialisation program is to be life-like, it is also necessary to supplement the teaching material with various activities outside of the classroom. A few of the many practical activities that can be used are listed here:

- simulations – debates and decision-making games
- independent research – individually or in groups
- close cooperation with social institutions
- newspaper editing, media observation
- participation in social initiatives, e.g. environmental protection campaigns.

It is our hope that after 2006 this program will be accepted on a widespread basis in Hungarian schools.

Reference

Government statute 243/2003 (XII: 17.) concerning the publication, introduction and application of the National Core Curriculum (NCC)

Citizenship education. The case of Croatia

Branislava Baranovic, Karin Doolan

Introduction

'Citizenship is meaningless if learning does not take place; defective if the educational process is not thorough.' (Heater 1990:319)

Citizenship education, as a means for preparing young people to participate in developing community life and to take responsibility for the common good and democratic development, is a topic gaining prominence. This can be illustrated by the growing amount of theoretical literature on the subject, the amount of research conducted, the scope of non-governmental involvement, as well as the decision made by The Council of Europe's Committee of Ministers who proclaimed the year 2005 'The European Year of Citizenship through Education' (EYCE). Citizenship education has therefore been recognised as an important instrument for the democratisation of social life and, consequently, an indicator of its democratic development. Investigating this topic is then particularly important in countries like Croatia, which have only recently begun to build democracy.

The first part of this paper gives a short conceptual background to the concepts of citizenship and citizenship education as a framework in which to consider those issues in the Croatian context. The second part describes citizenship education in Croatian primary and secondary schools, considering the Croatian context against conceptions presented in the relevant literature on the matter. Finally, recommendations will be given for improving citizenship education in Croatia.

Globalisation – citizenship – citizenship education

The post-industrial age, with the development of the knowledge society and globalisation, has brought radical changes to the content and scope of the term 'citizenship', which was for a long period confined within the borders of the nation state. Indeed, when the technological, economic and social changes, which announced the post-industrial age, brought into question the nation state as a political framework for successful economic and technological development and the realization of political and other

civil rights, they also brought into question the modern conception of citizenship, as expounded by Marshall (1950) according to whom citizenship was a composite of political, civil and social rights of the individual.[4]

These new pressures which influenced the conception of citizenship and subsequently citizenship education include:

1. *The appearance of 'a new class of cosmopolitan professionals' – this raised the question of whether and how their interests and aspirations would influence current practices in citizenship.*
2. *The internationalisation of the labour market with numerous migrations -which opened up the problem of rights' protection in the host country, including civil, political and social rights, as well as cultural rights, even basic human rights.*
3. *In developed democracies, a long-lasting period of prosperity and democratic development enabled the proliferation of numerous non-materialistically oriented groups and liberation movements, including those for the human and civil rights of marginalized groups such as the aged, disabled, women, refugees, homosexuals, immigrants, as well as the rights 'beyond the scope of strictly 'social', such as 'the rights of animals and Eco-system' (Pakulsky, 1997).*

As far as citizenship is concerned, these processes lend themselves to the conclusion that changes in the concept of citizenship are moving towards a further extension and universalisation of its content and scope, nationally and internationally.[5] This consequently imposes upon citizens a new type of responsibility, i.e. the responsibility to protect and realise their citizenship rights on both a national and an international level.

The ideal of citizenship argued for by contemporary authors such as McLaughlin, Miller, Wilkins, Griffith, Heater and Faulks reflects this new emphasis on involvement and responsibility and is quite a demanding ideal; however, if society is 'to flourish or succeed as whatever sort of

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[4] According to Marshall (1950:2) citizenship encompasses civil rights (referring to those legal rights such as the freedom to own property and the pursuit of a citizen's private interests), political rights (the right to vote and to participate in the political life of one's community) and social rights (such as the right to a minimum level of health care and economic security).

[5] Pakulsky (1997) sees these processes as a further extension and universalization of citizenship into the domains of 'cultural democracy' and 'politics of recognition'.

society it is' (Tomasi 2001:57), this demanding ideal, the authors argue, needs to be developed. Democracies require engaged citizens. In such a view, participation is crucial, but citizens need the opportunities to participate, as well as the knowledge, attitudes, skills and values required for participation.

This active conception of the citizen has its implications for citizenship education. Thus, these changes, on the one hand with their pressures for preserving and defending regional and national identities from foreign impact, and on the other with their spreading of non-national identities and lifestyles, emphasise the need for multicultural values, pluralism and universal human rights. Furthermore, for citizenship education, as a way to prepare young people to participate in public life and its development, as well as to take responsibility for the common good and the democratic development of society, these changes have other influences: on its content and methodology as well as increasing its educational value as an instrument for ensuring social cohesion. The appearance of the destructive social consequences of globalisation (social fragmenting and social exclusion on different grounds: ethnic, national, educational, gender; production of social tension at national and global levels etc.) have increased the importance of preparing young people for their roles as active and constructive citizens, responsible for social development on a national and global level (Hargreaves, 2003)[6]. It is therefore not surprising that the competences required by citizens are recognised in EU documents as one of the basic competences for life and work in a knowledge society (European Commission, 2003).

Bearing this in mind, it is somewhat difficult to conceive that a passive or a 'minimal' conception of citizenship education, defined by McLaughlin (1992:238) as 'an unreflective socialisation into the political and social *status quo*', which Inman and Buck (1995:90) define as 'provision of information about society; and with the socialization of young people into a given and often taken-for-granted society', could respond to the needs of such a social context. Indeed, with such complex demands, it would seem more accurate that a modern conception of citizenship education should train pupils for active citizenship, that is

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[6] Hargreaves (2003) claims that the importance of the socialisation role of education, that is its role as a means for social integration and cohesion, is increasing, since it is with the individuals' education, as citizens responsible for the development of their own society and the world, that the destructive consequences of the knowledge economy are reduced and its production power strengthens.

citizens who are willing and able to participate in political life.[7] In this context, Arthur and Wright's (2000) definition of citizenship education seems appropriate since it consists of the following dimensions:

1. 'education *about* citizenship' which provides the citizen with knowledge of the political system
2. 'education *for* citizenship' which refers to the development of skills and values as a means to encourage active citizens
3. 'education *through* citizenship' which emphasizes learning by doing through experiences in and out of schools.

Summarizing several approaches, this definition offers a comprehensive conception of citizenship education which encompasses all the aspects of citizenship competence: knowledge, skills, values and attitudes. Its strength also lies in the fact that it does not state precisely what kind of knowledge, skills, values and attitudes should be transferred to schools. It is open enough for a conceptualisation of citizenship education in different social contexts. Because of its ideal nature, the above mentioned definition of citizenship education can be seen as an analytical tool for the investigation and appraisal of the conception of citizenship education in a particular country. The focus here is on Croatia.

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[7] (Same script as above needed.)A review of literature on citizenship education points to a dichotomous presentations of the subject, where two predominant conceptions of citizenship education – active and passive – prevail. For example, Tate (2000:68) describes the 'minimal' conception of citizenship education as 'exclusive, content led, didactic and with outcome that were easer to measure', while the 'maximal' conception is 'inclusive, process led, value based, interactive and with outcomes that were more difficult to measure'.

Citizenship education in Croatia

The educational context

EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM IN CROATIA

Tertiary Education

University	Colleges
Scientific degree	Professional degrees

Secondary Education

Gymnasium (grammar) **4 years** (general programmes preparing for tertiary edu.)	Art schools **4 years** (programmes preparing for art academies)	Vocational **4 years** (preparing for work or transfer to tertiary)	Vocational **3 years** (preparing for work)

Compulsory Education

Grade	Age	Type
8	14	
7	13	**subject**
6	12	**teaching**
5	11	

Grade	Age	Type
4	10	
3	9	**class**
2	8	**teaching**
1	7	

Pre-school Education

250 h of "little school" age 6

Kindergarten age 3-6

Nursery age 1-3

The school system in Croatia, both compulsory and secondary, has a long tradition of a centralised, subject-based and knowledge oriented curriculum. It is one of the few transition countries in which the school

system, especially compulsory education, did not undergo radical changes during the 1990s. It retained its 8 years compulsory education with 4 years classroom teaching and 4 years subject teaching. The changes that were made to the content of compulsory schooling were mostly of an ideological nature. To be more precise, the content of the so-called 'national group of school subjects' such as Croatian language and literature, history and geography, went through a process of ethnicisation, and religious education (mostly catholic in orientation) was introduced in all grades. At the same time those subject units which conveyed a marxist perspective and socialist value system or ideology were eliminated from the curriculum. Information technology and second foreign language learning have only recently been introduced as compulsory subjects.

However, the biggest change occurred in the secondary school sector, which went through both institutional and curricular changes. The unified and vocationally directed system of secondary schools inherited from socialism, was diversified institutionally both in content and structure. The various types of high schools such as gymnasiums (grammar schools), art and other types of 4 year and 3 year vocational schools were reinstated and new syllabi were designed.

From the point of view of citizenship education it is important to mention that the curriculum for general education went through the most significant changes, especially those subjects in the area of the social sciences and humanities, which are considered relevant for the education of students for democratic patterns of life. These changes were characterised by the following phenomena:
1. significant reduction of the number of lessons and courses in general education in vocational schools, especially in 3 year vocational schools (schools for skilled workers and craftsmen) and an increase in grammar schools
2. change in the content structure in the area of the social sciences and humanities in all types of schools, where the process of ethnicisation and the freeing of educational discourse from the socialist ideology resulted in changes to the subject structure of this area (subjects which transferred socialist ideology and marxist worldview were replaced by new subjects from the social sciences and humanities, as well as with religious education)

Since the area of the social sciences and humanities in education represents the key medium to prepare young people for their citizen roles, these changes will be discussed in more detail below.

Formal provision of citizenship education in schools

The formal provision of citizenship education in Croatian schools is described by statements such as: 'no explicit statement referring to the promotion of democracy through schooling can be found in the laws on education' and 'a positive systematic response to education for democratic citizenship is still lacking' (Spaji -Vrkaš 2001). Furthermore, Domovi , Godler and Previši (2001) report that:

'Programs that lead to understanding, learning, and the practicing of democracy are still not adequately incorporated in the curriculum. Students do gain some knowledge of democracy in various subjects, but this knowledge is fragmentary and inadequate. Such knowledge is almost always purely cognitive.' (321)

In the following section, citizenship issues will be located in the Croatian school system in an effort to identify the scope of their presence in Croatian compulsory and secondary schooling, and the nature of these issues will be considered.

Formal citizenship education in compulsory education

Compulsory education in Croatia is currently based on *The National Plan and Programme for Primary Schooling*, a compilation of the content and objectives of compulsory subjects (Croatian, art, music, foreign languages, mathematics, nature and society, biology, chemistry, physics, history, geography, crafts, physical education) and optional (advanced level of all the compulsory subjects together with astronomy, information technology, religious education), as well as cross-curricular themes (education for the environment and sustainable development, health education, traffic culture, education for human rights and democratic citizenship) (Croatian Ministry of Education and Sport, 1999).

As one can gather from the subject structure of the national curriculum, citizenship education does not exist as a separate compulsory subject. Although at this moment there are no detailed analyses of how citizenship education is implemented in schools, on the basis of the information available in the *National Plan and Programme*, and partial case studies, it can be said that it is primarily represented as a cross-curricular theme, i.e. through thematic units within history, Croatian, music, nature, art, as well as through extra-curricular activities, such as

drama, in some schools. Results from a case study analysis[8] show that in the schools that were analysed, citizenship related topics such as: equity, equality, tolerance, respect, cooperation, support for the elderly, the community, minority issues, democracy in family life and conflict resolution were addressed. The teaching methods that were cited as complimentary to these topics were drawing, drama, dialogue, teamwork and discussions. Since the schools that were analysed were involved in the *Citizen* project and showed interest in citizenship education, one cannot conclude that this approach is characteristic for compulsory education in general. It would be fairer to say that these schools were examples of good practice.

A considerable step in the development of citizenship education at national level was made in 1999 when the National Human Rights programme was integrated into the *National Plan and Programme* for compulsory education, issued by the Croatian Education Ministry. It was initiated as the follow-up to the National Programme for Human Rights and Civic Education Project, which was carried out from 1998 to 1999 with the joint support from the Netherlands Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Croatian National Human Rights Education Committee and the Croatian Ministry of Education and Sport.

The National Human Rights programme comprises six sub-programmes: pre-school, primary school (lower and upper), secondary school, adult education and the media and is based on a trans-disciplinary and experiential, lifelong learning approach to learning about, for and in human rights through formal and informal education.

The programme explicitly states that the main aim of HRE is to assist children, young people and adults in learning the basic principles on which the promotion of human dignity, democracy and plural society is based, as well as to develop their skills for an active, productive and responsible participation in society. Apart from human rights and freedoms, democracy and pluralism, some of the programme's constituent concepts are: equality, social justice, inclusion, and respect for difference, non-violence and partnership. As such, the programme encompasses the

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[8] A case study was conducted in 2002/2003 (Baranovi) on a sample of 45 teachers in 5 primary and 5 secondary schools. The analysis aimed to identify the extent to which citizenship education was carried out in these schools, and was conducted as part of the 'Democracy Education Exchange Project' financed by the US Department of Education, Office of Educational Research and Development.

very key aspects of EDC (Education for Democratic Citizenship) as well as of other approaches, including peace studies, intercultural and global education. (Spaji -Vrkaš 2003:9)

The global units which are addressed in the programme are

- the 'me' level (development of self-awareness, personal autonomy, self-respect and self-criticism)
- the 'me and others' level (development of awareness of differences, openness, tolerance and respect for others, cooperation and solidarity)
- the 'us' level (understanding the shared needs of the society/community based on the principles of human rights and freedoms, equality, justice, pluralism and interdependence)
- 'the world as a whole' level which refers to the development of global awareness, multiple perspective, the sense of the interconnectedness of culture and nature, as well as the individual responsibility for global changes.

(Spaji -Vrkaš 2001)

Since the Ministry has not proclaimed the programme compulsory, but has recommended to schools that 'human rights and democratic citizenship education is an integral part of the elementary school curriculum, which may be implemented cross-curricular, as an optional school subject or as an extra-curricular project activity' (Spaji -Vrkaš 2003:9), this variety of options gives the schools the choice of whether they in fact want to implement it, and if they do, the ways in which to do so. The variety of options also means that the implementation depends on the individual teacher, which can result in an uneven treatment of the subject.

Formally then, Croatian primary schools are required to address citizenship issues as a cross-curricular theme, an optional school subject or as an extra-curricular project activity, and the basis of this address is the National Human Rights programme, developed under the auspices of the National Human Rights Education Committee. However, further research is needed to examine to what extent and in which school and classroom setting this is being done. There are indications that citizenship issues are addressed as a cross-curricular theme, but there are no legal provisions for their implementation either in the Law on Primary Education or the Law on Secondary Education. This leads to confusion among teachers and head teachers who are often not sure whether the programme is compulsory or not (Spaji -Vrkaš 2002). In addition, the National Human Rights programme does not give teachers any guidelines

on how to teach the themes listed, which can cause an imbalance between content and practice if teacher training on the matter is not available.

Formal citizenship education in secondary education

Until 1989, Croatian grammar schools, 4 year vocational schools and 3 year vocational schools had the compulsory subject *Marxism and socialist self-management* as a form of political education. In 1990 this changed in grammar schools into *Politics and economy*, and in 4 year and 3 year vocational schools into *Foundations of the social sciences and philosophy*, which in turn was also replaced by *Politics and economy* in 1992. During that time religious education and ethics were introduced into schools, which has remained the case until today. Pupils have to choose one of the two as compulsory. Today, all secondary schools have the *Politics and economy* subject, the closest compulsory subject to citizenship education, so the focus here will be on the extent to which this subject embodies the active conception of citizenship education presented earlier.

The *Politics and economy* subject is taught in grammar schools in 36 lessons, which is one lesson per week lasting 45 minutes, for one year. In vocational schools pupils have 72 lessons of political education per year, i.e. two lessons per week lasting for one year. These pupils have an extra lesson since they do not have subjects such as philosophy or sociology as part of their schooling, which grammar pupils have, and which might cover some of the themes also addressed in the politics lessons. The subject is taken in both types of schools in the final year of secondary school education.

Although the official programme for the subject *Politics and economy* was revised several times during the 1990s, it has not undergone any substantial changes since 1992; only minor structural changes were made to it with regard to a greater emphasis on issues such as democracy, citizenship and the Croatian constitution.

The aims of the politics part of theP*politics and economy* subject, as they are proclaimed in the plan and programme, are to develop patriotism towards Croatia, dedication to its constitution, laws and symbols, and to develop competences for political participation. In addition, this part only addresses the content of the subject and does not provide teachers with any suggestions on how to teach the ideas set out in the document. The only reference to teaching practice can be found in the short

'explanation' section where it is stated that *'To acquire a political culture one needs to use methodological practices which enable the development of attitudes towards current political events.'* (Croatian Ministry of Education and Sport 1997:181). The document does not elaborate these 'methodological practices'. Just as with the National Human Rights Programme, the fact that the Ministry does not explain the nature of these methodological practices may not be so important if teachers receive adequate pre-service and in-service teacher training which would address these methodological practices in detail. However, certain Croatian authors such as Domovi , Godler and Previši (2001) report that:

'In both cases (pre-service and in-service teacher training) teachers rarely encounter themes relating to democracy, civic education, intercultural education, human rights education, education for development, etc. They are even less familiar with the kinds of (inter)-active teaching methods that such topics require. It needs to be stated that during the last few years several projects have been implemented in Croatia that aim at improving teacher education in these areas but they mostly target elementary school teachers.' (321)

As already mentioned in the introduction, the contemporary social context, national and international, imposes high demands on citizenship education. It is expected that citizenship education will prepare the individual for active participation towards the common good and for taking on responsibility for the democratic development of society, nationally and globally, which has resulted in the need for a multi-dimensional, complex civic competence; one that includes not only knowledge acquisition, but also the development of certain skills, attitudes and values.
Many analyses, as well as international and national programme documents which regulate citizenship education[9], have confirmed that such competences can be acquired only if they are presented as a request

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[9] In addition to the already mentioned references in the text, Langeveld's *Political Education for Teenagers*, published by the Council of Europe in 1979, is instructive in that in addition to knowledge, skills, attitudes and values, he highlights participation as one of the central concepts of education for citizenship. This active notion of citizenship is also reflected in certain national policy documents. As an example, the Qualifications and Curriculum Authority's initial report on Education for citizenship and the teaching of democracy in schools published in 1998, where it is stated that this aim is to be reached through the learning of skills, values, attitudes, as well as understanding and knowledge. (QCA 1998:8).

both for the conception of the citizenship subject and in the teaching of it.

The multi-level dimension of civic competence and the active approach to the concept of citizenship education has been emphasised here, since they are instructive for regulating citizenship education in Croatia and they enable a critical approach to the Croatian programme. It is apparent from the already mentioned tasks of the *Politics and economy* programme that they diverge considerably from the approach highlighted above. Furthermore, the aims of the Croatian politics course as presented in the official document are somewhat different and address attitudes (towards current political events), knowledge (of politics as a phenomenon, political institutions and political processes) and participation (in the political system). Skills and values are not addressed in the aims part of the document and participation is addressed solely as participation in political life. This focus on the political sphere makes the conception of citizenship in Croatia reductive and exclusive, since it does not incorporate the voluntary sector, nor community involvement, both considered as an important part of the citizenship role, and consequently an important dimension of citizenship education. [10]

The exclusive and narrow conception of citizenship can also be observed in the programme's focus on the national level and its neglect of the global level. The national character of the Croatian politics programme is evident in several of the titles, including Croatian parliament, the Croatian government, the Croatian president, the Croatian Supreme Court and local governance in Croatia. The national character is again re-emphasised in the content part of these titles so the Croatian constitution and different Croatian institutions are frequently mentioned.

Even values, which are rarely mentioned in the programme's content are mentioned in the context of the highest values in the Croatian constitution and include freedom, equality, peace building and the rule of law, values which are typical for democratic systems of governance. There is no mention of values such as mutual respect, honesty, integrity, altruism and justice nor similar values. Although citizenship education

[10]For the importance of community involvement and the voluntary sector see Fogelman (1991).

today should prepare pupils for life in an age of globalisation, integration and the interdependence of countries, the Croatian programme does not give sufficient space for the acquirement of values, nor for the development of skills that would equip young people to understand other nations and participate in global processes. Skills such as judgement, identification of bias, prejudice, stereotypes and discrimination, recognising and accepting differences, problem solving, negotiation, or debate are under-represented in the programme. For Croatia, which in the process of gaining independence was affected by the fact of war and focused on strengthening the national consciousness, this problem of closing into national frames and neglecting the international dimension, as well as values and skills which connect people of different nations and cultures, is additionally important. It is important to emphasize this absence since citizenship issues are addressed through other subjects such as history, Croatian literature, and geography, which have programmes that were, especially during the 1990s, very much ethnicised and catholicised.

An analysis of the programmes and textbooks for history and literature shows that they are, both in compulsory and secondary education, ethnocentric and mono-perspective, i.e. focused on the Croatian culture and history, neglecting at the same time national minorities and giving a biased portrayal of certain nationalities (especially those Croatia was at war with, including the former Yugoslavia, as well as dividing people according to the 'eastern' and 'western' cultural circle). The neglect and stereotyping of women is also present, as well as the insufficient representation of other religions and lifestyles (Baranovi , 1999).

Looking at it as a whole, the programme for political education set out by the Ministry of Education could be described as a good example of what Arnot and Brindle (1999:35) call the 'civics' text: *'most purely constitutional (factual and knowledge-based), they focus on the mechanisms and personnel of government (local, national and international) and largely they avoid anything more controversial than this simple explanation of polity.'* When compared to the conceptions of citizenship education discussed earlier, the Croatian politics programme appears to belong to the passive/minimal conception. It comes as no surprise then that:

'The young value the role of school as the institution that prepares them for easier integration in society and which develops their interests for involvement into political and societal life as the least significant.' (Ilisin and Radin 2002:210)

The Ministry's official programme is reflected in the verified school textbooks for the subject. Currently, there are five officially prescribed textbooks for the *Politics and economy* subject. That these textbooks follow the Ministry's official programme can be observed in the content analysis carried out by Šalaj (2002) on the five prescribed textbooks.[11] His findings are presented in the following table:

TABLE 1: ELEMENTS OF POLITICAL EDUCATION IN TEXTBOOK CONTENT

TEXTBOOK	Knowledge	Intellectual skills	Participatory skills	Attitudes
Vuli -Beni -grammar school	46	7	2	6
Vuli -Beni –vocational school	46	7	2	6
Fanuko – grammar school	36	2	0	3
Fanuko – vocational school	31	2	0	3
Rašan-Križanac – vocational school	26	1	1	9

Šalaj's content analysis on the frequency of knowledge, skills and attitudes in Croatian political education textbooks clearly shows the dominance of the knowledge element and as such points to the

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[11] As one can notice, there are different textbooks for technical and grammar schools. This is because technical schools have one hour extra of the politics subject per week since pupils in the grammar schools may have covered some of the politics themes in other subjects such as sociology or philosophy, subjects which pupils in technical schools do not have.

conclusion that these textbooks reflect the knowledge-based content of the Education Ministry's official programme. He also acknowledges that knowledge is needed as part of a political education programme, however there should be a balance between knowledge, skills, values and attitudes.

The official document for the *Politics and economy* subject shows the planned effects, which mainly relate to acquiring factual knowledge. It may, however be misleading to conclude that the planned effects are also the real effects, since *'teachers have a long history of mediating and transforming text material when they employ it in the classroom'* (Apple 1993:61) and as Niemi and Junn (1998) point out:

'What the teacher brings to the classroom by way of methods and material – in ways that are understandable and theoretically plausible – seems to be an important factor in what students take away from their classes.' (81)

This is interesting in the context of the results from the already mentioned case study report[12] (Baranovic; 2003) carried out on a sample of 45 teachers in 5 primary and 5 secondary schools, which aimed to identify the extent to which citizenship education was carried out in these schools. Teachers teaching in secondary schools reported that citizenship issues were mainly dealt with through other subjects such as politics and economy, history, sociology and ethics. One school reported having a subject called the *Fundamentals of democracy.* The topics that the teachers reported working on during their lessons included principles of democracy, democracy in ancient Greece, human rights, gender equality, minorities, the European Union and Croatian institutions of governance and quoted complementary methods to these topics as discussions, debates, group work, and role-playing. This suggests the possibility that teachers expand on the topics proposed in the official programme, as well as use progressive teaching methods in the content's transmission. However, in-depth research in this area has not been carried out, therefore it is difficult to generalise whether such progressive methods are indeed part of teaching practice in the majority of schools.

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[12] The case study was carried out as part of the 'Democracy Education Exchange Project' financed by the US Department of Education, Office of Educational Research and Development.

Informal provision of citizenship education in Croatia

In addition to the formal provision of citizenship issues, there is also informal provision of citizenship education in Croatia, which is carried out primarily through projects and activities in schools organised by non-governmental organisations. These grass-root activities promoting various aspects of citizenship education became especially important in the 1990s, and one could argue present the strongest driving force behind citizenship education in Croatia today. Thus it is stated that:

'Some HRE and EDC projects have brought considerable changes into schools and their local communities, especially in regard to students' participation in decision-making (students clubs in schools, Youth City Councils, youth volunteer initiatives etc.), as well as with regard to new approaches to school organisation, planning and management (self-improving schools, all school development planning etc.)' (Spaji -Vrkaš 2003:10)

Among the more active non-governmental organisations in the area of citizenship education is the Forum for Freedom in Education which carries out projects such as *Reading and Writing for Critical Thinking (RWCT), Community Schools, Street Law;* Small Step (with projects on education for democracy and peace education); Step By Step (aiming to unite individuals and organizations into a network to foster democratic principles and promote parental and community involvement in early childhood education); the Centre for Peace Studies (organises adult education programmes on non-violent conflict resolution and human rights education) etc.

Although these organisations have introduced significant changes to the content and the didactic-methodological approaches to citizenship education in Croatia, their contribution and importance has not been sufficiently recognised by the Education Ministry and as such they still do not have access to all schools.

Recommendations for citizenship education in Croatia

As a country in transition, Croatia has only recently started developing a democratic political system (the first multi-party elections were held in 1990), which means that in comparison with other European countries

with a long democratic tradition, Croatia still belongs to those countries that have an insufficiently developed or young democracy. In such a context, concepts such as democratic citizenship and citizenship education are yet to find their full expression in the country's transition towards full democratic life and its place within the European Union, especially since however important citizenship education may be in such a context, the context simultaneously creates barriers to it. Insufficiently developed democratic institutions and democratic culture, a long tradition of a centralised educational system and centralised curricular policy contribute to a narrow, traditional concept of citizenship education, as opposed to the active and broader approach to citizenship education in which the pupil acquires the key elements of civic competence: knowledge, skills, attitudes and values, as found in numerous policy documents and literature on the matter.

Harmonising and modernising citizenship education, parallel to the development trends and experiences of other European countries, will require a radical change to Croatia's concept and practice of citizenship education.

From the identified issues in citizenship education in Croatia, the following recommendations can be derived:

1. A comprehensive implementation strategy for the National Human Rights Programme is required, so that the provision of citizenship education issues is more consistent.
2. The provision should consist of a combination of knowledge, skills, values and attitudes required for active citizenship.
3. Adequate materials and textbooks should accompany such a change.
4. The school ethos needs to be made more democratic if citizenship education is to be understood in practice.
5. The local community and parents need to become more involved in school life.
6. Teachers need to be given more pre-service and in-service training in developing citizenship attributes.
7. Schools should be encouraged to participate in international projects, especially schools in rural areas.
8. Because of the importance and role non-governmental organisations have in promoting citizenship education in schools, they should be more recognised, especially by the Ministry of Science, Education and Sports.

9. More quantitative and qualitative research needs to be undertaken into political education in Croatian secondary schools in an effort to gain a more precise understanding of the issues surrounding it and possibly to encourage curricular reform according to 'active' conceptions of citizenship education.

These recommendations imply that changes in the provision of citizenship education require not only changes in schools, but in the educational system as a whole. Citizenship education by its nature cannot be isolated from all the other subjects and relations that exist in schools. This is especially important in compulsory education which was not changed substantially in the 1990s. Changes are currently underway with regard to the process of reducing the subject programmes in an effort to dismiss superfluous and out-of-date content, however more serious changes to education and the curriculum still lie ahead if Croatia is to adopt the model of citizenship education as expounded in literature and policy documents on the matter.

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Citizenship and social integration. Educational development between autonomy and accountability

Jeroen Bron[1]

Introduction

Citizenship education is a topical subject. The concept plays a prominent part in Dutch government policy. It is a part that was prompted by a great concern for certain developments in society. In particular about the way we communicate with one another, whether or not we should have a common identity, and the extent to which we should have and accept a common set of standards and values. Education and upbringing are faced with important tasks and challenges. This Dutch contribution will focus on the contributions to be made by education.

Citizenship is a rather complex matter of communal feelings and responsibilities. Its education is not merely a matter of developing educational tools and setting aside teaching time. Citizenship is a matter of attitude. It requires more than knowledge and skills. It requires competence.

In this essay, we will enter into the subject matter of citizenship education and its cultural, social, and political contexts. We will enter into three fields that comprise the concept of citizenship education and discuss ways in which schools can help pupils to develop competencies. This is done in a Dutch context – after all, that is our frame of reference – but we believe that the subject matter we enter upon and the possible solutions we broach will appeal to a wider, international perspective. After all, citizenship education is a global concept.

Citizenship: the social, cultural, and political contexts

Demand for citizenship education
Citizenship education is a rather topical subject, which is high on the social and political agendas. Apparently, citizenship and its teaching is

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[1] With contributions of Jos Letschert

not a matter of course, or perhaps no longer as matter-of-course as it used to be. Apparently, also, there is a vital need for citizenship and citizenship education.

Through newspapers, television, and other media, we are often confronted with excrescences of civilization, which manifest themselves in the behaviour of individuals, and we observe feelings of insecurity in society. From all sides, people are analysing the causes and reasons and are searching for solutions to revitalise, restore or innovate the cohesion in society.

Some of the causes indicated for the lack of social cohesion and a common feeling of responsibility include the diminishing influence of regulatory institutions, such as church, state, and family, and the ascendancy of the strongly individualised, post-modern society.

Restoration of standards and citizenship education are important policy subjects for the Dutch Balkenende II government. In the government policy statement we find announcements such as: *'A society derives its strength from fundamental standards and values. Society can only be vital if everybody is able to, allowed to, and willing to join in. Joining in involves parents who feel responsible for the raising of their children. Joining in involves people who will not look the other way if problems occur in their neighbourhood. Joining in also involves people who are willing to share the responsibility for the quality of their environment. Who do not see standards and values as something that is dictated by the authorities, but as something all of us need and want'.*

In June 2005, Dutch Parliament agreed to the legislative proposal 'Stimulation of active citizenship and social integration'. The basis of this legislative proposal was formed by the inclusion of citizenship and social integration in the Primary Education Act, the Expertise Centre Act, and the Secondary Education Act. The following clause was inserted in these Acts: *'One of the objectives of education is to stimulate active citizenship and social integration.'*

In the explanatory memorandum to the Act, the minister explains the legislative proposal and describes the context in which the Act was developed. This demonstrates the minister's commitment to the effort of making social coherence within society increase, rather than decrease. She connects social coherence directly to the participation of citizens in social structures and their taking their responsibilities in community

interests seriously. In this respect, she uses the term 'active citizenship' and has inserted the term social integration to the Act.
Education is able to contribute to this, but only in connection and collaboration with other bodies. Basically, in collaboration with parents and the school environment. The emphasis lies on communication and getting to know each other's views, especially in situations where children who come from different backgrounds meet with society.

Concerning the terms citizenship and social integration, the minister states that citizenship is the willingness and the ability to participate in a community and to actively contribute to it. Social integration stands for the social participation of citizens in society and its institutions and knowledge of and commitment to expressions of Dutch culture. This way, the minister intends to increase social cohesion as well as enhance Dutch culture.

Finally, the minister points to two other matters related to citizenship: the European unification, which demands a form of European citizenship, and vigilance towards the subversive influences of radicalisation and drop-out pupils.

Autonomy

A central objective of the present Dutch government is to give citizens more say and responsibility in areas that concern themselves. The basic assumption is that a feeling of ownership will contribute to a feeling of responsibility. For example, citizens may compose their own insurance package, arrange their own child-care facilities, and, if necessary, apply for their own financial compensations for these, afterwards. Other examples of deregulation and an increase in autonomy that fit in with this government interest are the privatisation of facilities that used to be regulated by the government, such as public utilities for gas, water and electricity.

As far as education is concerned, the government intends to give greater autonomy to schools. Schools and school boards of management are given increasing freedom to develop their own policies, e.g. in the areas of finance, personnel, educational content, and didactical and pedagogical concepts. This way, schools with large numbers of pupils with language deficiencies are able to set aside more time and means to combat these deficiencies. On the other hand, a school may wish to profile in a certain didactical concept, for example one that emphasises culture or sports in the curriculum. Incidentally, we observe government

withdrawal movements if this freedom distances itself too far from tradition. Freedom takes getting used to, on both sides.

However, there are limits to autonomy. All funds allocated to education must be spent effectively and efficiently and their spending must fit in with the overall concept regarding the organisation of education. The core elements of the government's part are:

- *Direction*
  The government formulates which public tasks need to be carried out, under which circumstances, what means are available, and what results are expected.
- *Autonomy*
  At the same time, the government must give a certain amount of autonomy – more than the traditional amount – to the other parties, including schools, universities, local authorities. If we are to give every individual pupil the opportunity to develop his or her unique talents to the full, we must give the professionals working with them sufficient leeway to dedicate education and research to these matters.
- *Accountability*
  In addition, the institutes must be publicly accountable for their performances.
- *Results*
  If the results fall short, the government must not hesitate to intervene.

In this light, the inclusion in the Act of concepts such as active citizenship and social cohesion forms a basis for school supervision. Based on this Act, the inspectorate will be able to investigate the ways in which schools endeavour to contribute to active citizenship and stimulate social integration.

This educational policy, which is both deregulating and autonomy stimulating, has been shaped and given meaning in policy papers, which, in the Netherlands, are known as 'course documents'.
These course documents contain a mixture of legally laid-down tasks for schools and suggestions for the own school policy. There are course documents for primary, secondary, and vocational schools. During their development, schools were extensively consulted. The documents are based on the principle that schools must have more leeway to pursue their own policy. This enables schools to anticipate the factors that affect the school, such as pupil population, parents' wishes, environment's demands, and its own possibilities. This way, the minister does justice to

the constitutional freedom schools have to provide education touching on religious or ideological principles. In addition, she acknowledges the fact that schools have a wide diversity of problems, for which the schools themselves know best which priorities need to be established and which measures are needed to reach their solutions. For example, a school that is populated for a large part with ethnic pupils will have to concentrate on getting them acquainted with Dutch society itself, while schools that have a majority of native pupils will have to look for opportunities to allow the children to get to know the diversity of backgrounds that exist within Dutch society.

In the course documents the matter of citizenship education is frequently dealt with. The message is clear: the government will indicate the framework, but will leave the actual filling in up to the school. *'In the sector of education, which takes its social responsibilities seriously, and which makes its own decisions concerning the way education is organised and presented to children, there is no room for a government that dictates every single detail.'* (Ministry of Education, Cultural Affairs and Science, 2004 – 1). Schools and school boards are given autonomy, however, they are also given an assignment.
The central vision of the Course Primary Education is the ambition to give schools more autonomy in order to provide education that will give children an optimum start, so that they will be able to function in our society as *fully fledged, democratic citizens*. While doing so, the school will pay close attention to social developments.

Concerning the part of playing a fully fledged, democratic citizen, the Course Primary says the following:
The school must be able to deal with the increasing individualisation of society, as well as with the differences among pupils. '*The downsides of increasing individualisation are the dwindling feelings of solidarity and the diminishing of social cohesion.'* If the school operates from its own vision, with which parents and pupils can also agree, the different sections within the school community will be able to regard each other as partners and reach personalised educational arrangements. Part of this approach is the attention given to standards and values and *good citizenship.*
An important part can be played by pupils and their parents. *'Pupils want to be taken seriously when their school makes decisions that concern them*. They want to join in the discussions about learning, timetables, and the way lessons are organised.'

With regard to parents, the Course Document quotes the Dutch Advisory Council for Education:

'Parents and schools appear to be held responsible for finding solutions to social issues connected to upbringing.' If children were brought up well, bad manners and criminal behaviour would soon disappear. In addition, pupils do not all receive the same set of standards and values from their parents. Also, expectations concerning the school's part played in upbringing greatly vary. All in all, the way responsibilities are split up between parents and school is never clear. Many parents feel that schools pay insufficient attention to standards and values.

Citizenship education in the new core objectives

Increasing the autonomy for schools also concerns the laid down educational programme. The national core objectives for primary and lower secondary education have recently been reduced to approximately one quarter of the ones that were used to date. The new core objectives for primary education will be introduced in 2006, with a transitional period; for secondary education they will apply as from the school year 2006 - 2007. The new core objectives repeatedly mention the concept of citizenship.

In the new core objectives for primary education (ages 4 – 12), a connection was found between (Dutch) language education and the successful participation in society, as well as the social function of language. Also included in the core objectives is the English language, because of the increasing internationalisation and conformity with the European policy. Incidentally, the only recognised regional Dutch language, Frisian, may be taught as well. This will give the region the opportunity to expand upon its own identity. Furthermore, schools are allowed to experiment with other European languages.

A direct relationship between citizenship and the core objectives can be found in the domain 'Orientation upon yourself and the world'. This domain includes matters such as how to communicate with other people, how to solve problems, and the meaning of life.

Specific core objectives are the following.

Pupils learn

- about the essentials of Dutch and European politics and citizen's duties
- to behave from a sense of respect for generally accepted standards and values
- essentials of religious movements that play an important part in the Dutch pluralistic society, and they learn to respect differences of opinion
- to handle the environment with care
- to compare the spatial organisation of their own environment with other environments in the Netherlands and abroad, from the perspectives of (...) government, culture, and religion. Attention will at least be given to two member states of the European Union and two countries that became a member in 2004, to the United States, and to a country in Asia, one in Africa, and one in South-America
- about important historic persons and events from Dutch history and are able to connect these with examples from world history.

In the core objectives of lower secondary education (ages 12 – 14), the following core objectives from the domain man and society are relevant.

Pupils learn

- to ask meaningful questions about social issues and phenomena, take a substantiated point of view concerning these, defend it, and deal with criticism in a respectful way
- to use a framework of ten periods to correctly place events, developments, and persons
- to carry out a simple research into a current social phenomenon and give a presentation of the results
- about agreements, differences and changes in culture and religion in the Netherlands, learns to connect his or her own, as well as someone else's lifestyle with these, and learns that respect for each other's views and lifestyles will enhance society
- the essentials of the way the Dutch political system operates as a democracy, and learns how people may be involved in political processes in different ways
- to understand the meaning of European collaboration and the European Union to him or herself, to the Netherlands, and to the world.

These core objectives were developed before the Act in which citizenship education and social integration were included. Therefore, there is no

direct relationship between the Act and the core objectives. Earlier, an educational research from a liberal-democratic perspective (Leest-Borst 2005) pointed to the discrepancy between the necessary attention given to values, standards, and basic democratic principles during citizenship education, and the core objectives that are directed more towards knowledge and skills.

Other governmental control mechanisms

The government has given citizenship education a prominent position within educational policy. Schools and school boards are left a certain amount of autonomy. In addition, the government stimulates developments that are related to citizenship education. For example, the government has started up an initiative to develop a cultural-historic canon. This canon will include the most important items of current knowledge concerning the Dutch cultural heritage.

'Canon' is a word that derives from Greek and earlier from the Semitic languages. Its original meaning, 'reed', or 'cane', later became 'ruler', 'rule', and 'standard'. In a religious sense, the term relates to the verb 'canonise'. This means that something or someone is sanctioned or included in a list of recognised religious writings. So much was written, and so much confusion arose concerning 'what is real' and 'what isn't', that the need for a 'canon' arose (source: www.lamplicht.nl).

A similar phenomenon is occurring regarding educational content. There is so much that can be taught that sometimes you can't see the wood for the trees. And the need arises to weed the secret garden of educational content and educational objectives (Letschert, 1998) and only leave what is really important. Educational content, in fact, is canonised. What is left, is a set of recognised and laid-down contents and objectives. In Dutch education, the core objectives may be regarded as a canon. They indicate the basic subjects about which all pupils must be taught.

In 2005, in its recommendations concerning the state of Dutch educational affairs, the Dutch Advisory Council for Education advocates attention for the development of a canon. The Council argues for the development of a canon from the desire to give more attention to the socialisation task of education, including, and more particularly, the cultural identity. The Council names two important components of this: the contribution of education towards a modern concept of citizenship, and the contribution to the teaching of, and further development of the cultural heritage. With this new canon, the Council particularly intends to reinforce the relevance of education to society. It is desirable to teach

new generations about certain valuable parts of our culture and our history.

According to the Council, the canon is of importance to the whole of our society – not just for elitist groups. The canon will be both conservative and progressive.

The Council regards the canon as a composition of three, closely related parts:

- a whole of contents
- an argumentation for these contents
- a method to arrive at the periodical adjustment of contents and argumentation.

Therefore, the canon does not merely concern content, but also the argumentation for it and the periodical adjustments made to it. The canon is not a permanent subject. Rather, it is *a permanent and well-structured debate.*

Also in other ways the government stimulates the development of a cultural identity by teaching Dutch cultural heritage. Historic landmarks are used to reveal to the public and to the pupils certain aspects of our national history. Recent examples include the Treaty of Munster / Westphalian Peace Treaty (independence and freedom of religion), the foundation of the Dutch East India Company (entrepreneurship and internationalisation), the slavery past (human rights and colonial history), the twenty-fifth governing anniversary of Queen Beatrix (democracy, monarchy, constitution), the four hundredth birth year of Admiral Michiel de Ruyter (courage, perseverance, human rights).

Clarification of concepts

A number of concepts keep recurring in literature concerning citizenship education. Some of these concepts we would like to discuss in further detail, i.e. citizenship, communal values, social integration, and social cohesion.

Citizenship
The present discussion in the Netherlands involving citizenship experienced an upsurge in 1992, when the Dutch Scientific Council for Government Policy published a number of papers (WRR, 1992).

The WRR emphasises that citizens today live in a multiform society, in which they continuously meet people who are different from themselves. And not just in an ethnic sense. Also among the native population, many

differences occur in our present-day society, where traditional religious and socio-political barriers are breaking down. According to the WRR, such a society demands new skills from its citizens. In such a society, citizens must be able to act competently at all times. Competencies include communication, preferably in more than one language, coping with others and with oneself, and with the loyalty conflicts that arise from the various positions a person takes up. Citizens must be able to fulfil the twofold task of managing and being managed, autonomously, judiciously, and loyal to democracy. As competent and self-confident citizens, they must be dedicated and committed to democracy.

At this moment, two definitions for active citizenship are in use. One was developed by the Dutch Advisory Council for Education, the other was published in a joint paper by the Catholic Pedagogical Study Centre (KPC) and the Netherlands Institute for Curriculum Development (SLO).

- The willingness and the ability to participate in a community (Advisory Council for Education)
- Pupils autonomously assume responsibility for community interests, both within and outside of the school (KPC/SLO).

In her explanatory memorandum to the legislative proposal for the inclusion of citizenship, the Minister of Education describes it as follows: the willingness and the ability to participate in a community and to actively contribute to it.

Both definitions contain useful elements for an educational programme to be based upon. Obviously, the essentials concern attitudes such as willingness, responsibility, autonomy and community spirit.

Communal values

Whenever citizenship education is discussed, the term communal values keeps cropping up. Naming or listing these values, however, remains a tricky and prudent business. A set of communal values must never lead to rigidity, exclusion, or limitation. And what should be included cannot be indicated unequivocally. In fact, it is a permanent debate, which may at best be marked by certain guidelines and basic principles. Rules of the game, if you like, which may point to historic, religious and political aspects from Greek civilisation, religious scriptures, civil rights, and the constitution. For example, in its report 'Values, standards and the burden of behaviour' (WRR, 2003), the WRR states that the multiformity of values is a quintessential feature of our democratic constitutional state. In its reactions to the report, the council of ministers wrote: *'society as a*

whole will benefit if individual citizens are given the freedom to develop and propagate their own values.' From this, we can draw the conclusion that multiformity in itself is a communal value. Furthermore, the council of ministers wrote that: *'the democratic constitutional state offers a framework within which different values can exist side by side, and where the unavoidable conflicts concerning these values can be solved in a peaceful manner.'*

In this reasoning, the government focuses on those values that form the basis of our democratic constitutional state. These include:

- equality – where all people are treated equally – and the prohibition to discriminate
- freedom of religion and philosophy of life
- freedom of speech
- freedom of association, assembly, and demonstration
- respect for personal privacy
- inviolability of the human body.

In addition, both the WRR and the government point to a number of other important values. These are indicated by the WRR as 'small virtues'. These particularly concern values that apply to the communication between people, rather than values with a legal basis:

- respect
- empathy / compassion
- tolerance
- equality
- integrity / truthfulness
- responsibility.

In its concept constitution, which was rejected by the Netherlands, the European Union also included central values. These concern:

- respect for human dignity
- freedom
- democracy
- equality
- legal certainty
- respect for human rights.

At a conference about citizenship education in islamitic schools, organised by the Organisation of Islamitic School Boards (ISBO), Van Wieringen (Dutch Advisory Council for Education) enters into the four main virtues of ancient times:

- justice (allocation of)

- wisdom (knowledge)
- courage (willpower)
- moderateness (self-control).

The Inspectorate has described six basic values, which it indicates as follows: *'basic, minimal, and widely acknowledged values that support the democratic constitutional state'* (The Education Inspectorate, 2003). According to the Inspectorate, these concern minimal rules that should enable sustainable peaceful coexistence. The Inspectorate has used the values to determine whether schools based on islamitic principles sufficiently guarantee the basic values of the Dutch constitutional state.

- Freedom of speech
- Equality
- Sympathy (towards others)
- Tolerance
- Rejection of bigotry
- Rejection of discrimination

Social integration

Integration and participation in society occurs on different levels of scale (from neighbourhood to supranational) and may focus on economic, social, political, and cultural aspects. Social integration focuses on the participation in broad, social situations that go beyond the (own) group. Social situations occur where people meet and communicate. This communication concerns both verbal and non-verbal communication. Such situations may concern the contacts at work, contacts with institutions, including the children's schools, voluntary work, such as neighbourhood activities, contact with neighbours, contact with shopworkers, etc. What counts is the social setting. Forced integration occurs at the expense of the cohesion between groups and will therefore endanger the cohesion within society.

In her explanation of the legislative proposal, the minister interconnected citizenship, social cohesion, and social integration. She describes citizenship as the willingness and the ability to participate in a community and to actively contribute to it.
The minister views social integration as participation of citizens in society and its institutions and knowledge of and commitment to expressions of Dutch culture.
This description of social integration seems a more detailed description of the concept of citizenship education. It also draws a clear defining line:

what is concerned is social participation, rather than economic and political participation. In addition, commitment to expressions of Dutch culture Is indicated. The particular expressions that are denoted are not specified. They may include democratic values, management and politics, the constitution, highlights from science, culture and literature, and major historic events and persons.

Social cohesion

Social cohesion is a concept that appeals to one's imagination. It can be understood at many levels. It may be regarded as:
1. the extent to which culture, standards and social structures are shared in society
2. the extent to which these standards and culture determine the behaviour of individual citizens
3. and finally, the extent to which the behaviour of individual citizens contribute to culture, standards and social structures.

(Groot, 2002)

An essential aspect is: who determines which standards and culture are involved. Does it concern a culture and standards about which consensus has been reached, and which are leading ones in the society (as regards this, Durkheim speaks of a so-called communal conscience)? Or is cohesion demonstrated from the way conflicts are solved in a society (compare Simmel)? Cees Schuyt (2001), a leading sociologist in the Netherlands, argues for a combination of the two traditions: *'To be able to conflict openly and above board, one must share certain basic standards. If certain standards and values are shared, there will always be conflicts about the correct interpretation of these, or an adequate application in real life'.*

The Dutch Inspectorate (Education Inspectorate, 2005) has, for a number of years now, been investigating the extent to which schools are contributing to social cohesion and integration. The investigations concerned the 44 primary schools based on islamitic principles. The Inspectorate interprets social cohesion as the way society sticks together. This cohesion is stronger as more people are integrated in society. As far as the relationship between cohesion and integration is concerned, the Inspectorate sees cohesion as a result of integration.

In an educational setting, social cohesion may be interpreted as 'the willingness of pupils to actively participate in and identify with Dutch society' as well as 'the willingness of pupils to oppose malevolent conduct and other tendencies that undermine the democratic legal order' (Education Inspectorate, 2002).

Because there are as yet no useful indicators, the Inspectorate, for the moment, only goes as far as to check whether schools are providing the right conditions for pupils to successfully gain the competencies necessary for integration.

A curricular perspective

Upbringing and development

Schools play a part in the process of citizenship education, but this part is not an exclusive one. It must be seen in a wider perspective, together with other actors in society. Concerning citizenship education, schools must closely interweave their own teachings with parents' educational tasks and society's specific responsibilities. For the benefit of social coexistence, the government has assumed certain tasks concerning the children's development process, which were previously shouldered by the parents. As far as the precise interpretation, shape and extent of those tasks are concerned, continuous and heated discussions are going on. A recurring subject in these discussions concerns the idea that upbringing is the responsibility of parents and that teaching should be left to schools. In fact, this is an untenable proposition. Upbringing is a part of teaching, and vice versa.

Recent efforts on the part of the government to accomplish upbringing tasks in the area of values and standards through education clearly demonstrate this. And the concerns of parents regarding pedagogical expectations and their subsequent initiatives for certain, rather radical, educational reforms (such as the innovative concept of *Iederwijs;* in these schools pupils decide for themselves what, when and how they learn), which are creating quite a stir in the Netherlands at the moment, have a similar effect (Letschert, 2005). The upbringing dimension embodies the desire of parents to see their children grow up to become competent, social personalities, with their own life style and their own identity, while at the same time social success factors and career perspectives are considered important as well (Leeuw & Verdonschot, 2003).

Development, as stimulated by education and upbringing, is a process with various perspectives. These different perspectives each present their own viewpoints. However, one, does not exclude another. On the contrary, the different points of view all contribute to the total development of each individual. Moreover, they interrelate in such a way that they contribute to the sustainability of society.

The perspectives for development are (Letschert, 2004):

- personal development, in the sense of a personal world view and a positive self-image
- the development of a cultural identity
- the development of social self-sufficiency, a sense of citizenship, and the competency to coexist.

To find a balance among those is a 'pedagogical, educational, and social trilemma' (Letschert, 2004).
The focus on these three perspectives may lead to strained relationships, especially if one of the three components is given more emphasis than the others. For example, an individual drive to develop in a specific direction, during a certain period, may conflict with an apparent interest that is aimed at one's expected functioning in society.

The science of citizenship touches on all three of these perspectives. The values and standards, the teaching of democratic principles, and the socialisation processes all contain elements of upbringing. They also touch on our views of what we find important in society and what we would like to teach our youngest members. Finally, they presuppose competencies to act as good citizens.

Democratic conduct presupposes the ability to combine exemplary living, the showing of respect, and individual as well as communal interests. And it is never too early to start learning about these matters. In fact, these processes appear as early as preschool and early primary school education. Utrecht professor De Winter states that pre-schoolers are very well able to learn about the basic principles of democracy (Miedema, 2004). The German educationalist Grabbe (2003) describes how rules and practices can be taught to very young children. She gives examples of how to create a basis for communal agreements, how to observe these agreements, and how to act if they are neglected. She also describes how pedagogical encouragement contributes to a balanced development and a positive personality and self-image (Grabbe, 2004).
In the SLO study about the integration of the pedagogical tasks with the educational tasks (Leeuw & Verdonschot, 2003), the importance of interaction between teachers and very young pupils is entered into. These concern matters relating to the sense of standards and values that are involved in democratic processes, which eventually address the education of responsible citizens.
Early pedagogical attention forms the basis for what is eventually characterised as citizenship education and the science of citizenship. Without this early pedagogical basis, this socially hugely important

theme becomes a mere knowledge area, rather than adopted and internalised behaviour.

SLO's approach

In the previous sections, we have described the policy context in which SLO operates. In this context, two policy trends must be balanced. On the one hand, the government prescribes an educational programme through legislations, the results of which must be demonstrated by schools. Examples are the inclusion of active citizenship and social integration in the Education Acts. On the other hand, the policy is aimed at giving schools a certain amount of autonomy to be able to react adequately to challenges using their own expertise, and to give them the opportunity to give shape to their ideological visions and profile themselves with a specific educational programme.

In 2005, SLO started the conceptualisation of citizenship education, by formulating a basic vision for schools, the core of which is formed by examples of continuous teaching lines with illustrative examples for basic education. To achieve this, an Internal project group was formed, and an external think tank with representatives from ideological organisations.

In 2005 a discussion paper 'Teaching a sense of public responsibility' will be finalised, followed by a broad consultation among schools, researchers, pupils, parents, and educational institutions. This way a broad basis for basic principles, objectives, teaching lines, didactical variants, testing and evaluation, and strategies for implementation will be reached.
In its final version, the discussion paper should be a guiding and inspiring document, which will help make the policy intentions and core concepts from the Act operational at school level. Furthermore it should be a usable and detailed curricular framework for autonomous choices for themes and didactics. It should make an effective effort towards the realisation of pedagogical and social objectives, such as the willingness to take responsibilities, the respect and care for others (the virtues), and an empathy for people and circumstances from the immediate surroundings of the school. Pupils should gain a basic knowledge of the characteristics of our democratic constitutional state, the civil rights, and the ability to participate in decision-making processes.
In that sense, the final version may be regarded as a canon for democratic citizenship education with a focus on active participation, identity development, and social and moral responsibility.

The citizenship competencies 16 year old pupils should possess are chosen as starting points. The development of these competencies comprises the full array of knowledge, skills, attitudes, and experiences, which can be arranged on a teaching line ranging from the age of 4 up to, and including, the age of 15. The teaching line displays a coherent and constructive array of knowledge, skills and attitudes, which takes into account the individual possibilities of pupils and the experiences gained outside of the school. This teaching line will be tested in schools. SLO will also look for viable didactical approaches to achieve the objectives set in the teaching line. This will be done with the help of research centres.

This way, the following package of objectives is created, which the SLO intends to realise within the next 2 to 3 years:
- developing a curricular framework for citizenship education for 4 – 15-year olds, which will include a clarification of concepts, a vision, continuous teaching lines, and a number of practical examples
- setting up a consultation course of action, with the aim to improve the curricular framework and to create a broad basis
- involving/initiating (university) research into viable didactical arrangements and strategies for implementation
- in collaboration with schools, testing the teaching lines in practice, and creating practical examples / teaching arrangements
- developing tools for self-evaluation for schools
- exploring the testing possibilities for citizenship education
- carrying out an international orientation into comparable developments within Europe (including participation in the projects 'pupil assessment in citizenship education' and 'pupil voice, involving pupils and students in curriculum development').

The first step is already in progress: the definition of concepts and the formulation of a vision of what is desirable and realistic in the Dutch educational system. The outcome should inspire schools, but must never be coercive. Schools should always be given the opportunity to set their own priorities. In the build-up to the long-term project that will be carried out by SLO, and which is to contribute to a successful and sustainable implementation of active citizenship, exploratory talks with the think tank that was set up for this purpose have already been held. The think tank comprises different denominations that play a part in the Dutch educational system. These include both public-authority schools

and schools based on ideological principles. This last category includes catholic, protestant, reform, humanist, and islamitic schools. These groups are all the more interesting, because they have a specific outlook on the relationship between citizens and society. In a sense, the development of an own identity and the finding of a balance between that identity and the society one is a part of, forms the core of the integration issue.

It is a great challenge to find a solution to it. In fact, curriculum development is the result of what has been described under the concept of social cohesion. Therefore, we would like to conclude with an interpretation of the earlier-mentioned statement by Schuyt: curriculum development implies the ability to conflict openly and above board, based on shared basic standards as well as the discussing the correct interpretation of these standards and the adequate application in educational settings.

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Citizenship education in Spain

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Introduction

This article puts forward a concept of citizenship linked to the notion of responsible citizenship. For this purpose, a special emphasis is placed on moving away from the conception of the citizen as the subject of rights and duties towards the conception of the citizen as someone who participates in the social and political life of his or her community. The relationship between national and European citizenship is further analysed, alongside the close links between citizenship and values education.

Citizenship education is subsequently dealt with in greater detail. Firstly, how this issue is currently approached in the Spanish education system is presented from two perspectives: as a cross-curricular topic, and as a theme integrated within different subjects. Secondly, some suggestions that can be useful as the foundation for a new consideration of citizenship education within the curriculum are offered.

Finally, some comments regarding the debate on the implementation of the new subject of citizenship education as proposed in the future education bill are also presented.

Concept of citizenship: towards a responsible citizenship

Definition and concept of citizenship

The dictionary of the Spanish Language (23rd ed.) defines the term citizenship as '*the quality and the right of the citizen*' and the citizen is further defined as an '*inhabitant of the ancient cities or of the modern states as subject of political rights, who participates in and develops them in the governing of the country*'. Citizenship is conceived as a condition deriving from the personal nature of the individual by which they are acknowledged as active members in their own right.

There are three elements in the definition which serve as a starting point to establish the concept of citizenship:

- its *historic coordinates* are considered, since the first reference to the citizen is as inhabitant of the city and subsequently of the modern states
- the citizen is considered as an *individual having political rights.* This is the heart of the notion of citizenship. It is not enough to inhabit a specific place, it is also necessary to enjoy certain political rights
- the citizen should and must *exercise those rights.* In other words, the citizen must have the opportunity to take part in public affairs.

The concept of citizenship is a dynamic concept as far as it is related to the context in which it is applied. As such, it must be subject to a process of reconstruction if it tries to answer the new situations which arise in the political and social reality. The citizen appears as holder of a status determined by the possession of rights. One of these rights, the right to political participation, makes the individual responsible within a community.

The acknowledgement of the legal status as citizen is necessary as a preliminary step for the development of the sense of citizenship. Citizenship implies, as well, a social process by which people feel themselves to be members of a political community, sharing its values and rules of behaviour and providing them, with a sense of collective identity. In this sense, it is usually defined as the feeling of belonging to a society. In this way, the citizen is not only defined by a personal identity, but is also considered a group member.

The concept of citizenship is frequently reduced to political citizenship associated with the idea of nationality. This conception should be modified if it is to answer the new realities of the present day social order. The phenomena of growing globalisation and immigration, among others, have called the traditional nation-state into question due to the existence of broader political entities aiming at the configuration of a new trans-national civil society in which plurality and multiculturalism are present. The new situation demands the acknowledgement of the value of diversity and implies the necessity of building a non-discriminatory notion of citizenship that takes this diversity into account.

The universality of the exerciseof citizenship indicates the social cohesion of a society. In fact, the economic, cultural or social inclusion or exclusion of its members is reflected and materialized in the access, or not, to the rights and responsibilities of the citizens. Citizenship is a status that the democratic society acknowledges in all its members.

Summing up, the concept of *citizenship* can be defined as a legal and political status by which the citizen, as participant in a pluralist society, acquires rights as an individual (civilian, political and social rights) and duties regarding a political community. Citizenship is based on an attribute acknowledged, or awarded, by the State to its citizens; it starts from the assumption that citizens share values and rules of behaviour that allow coexistence and provides them with a specific collective identity.

Responsible citizenship means to go from the conception of citizen as a subject of rights and duties towards that of the citizen who takes part in the social and political spheres of his or her community. And It highlights one of the elements of the concept of citizenship: participation in the political process. Therefore, to be a citizen is to be a full member of a political community, to hold a status defined by a group of rights, and to be in the position of participating in public life.

In Spain, the development of responsible citizenship is based on the 1978 Spanish Constitution. It establishes the legislation from which Spain is constituted as a social and democratic state based on the values of freedom, equality and political pluralism. Article 1 of the Constitution establishes:

'The foundations of the political order and social peace are the dignity of the individual, their inherent inviolable rights, the free development of personality, and respect for the law and of the rights of others.'

Likewise, Article 23 states:

'*Citizens have the right to participate in public affairs directly or by means of representatives freely chosen in periodic elections by universal suffrage.*'

Nowadays, the dissemination of the concept of 'responsible citizenship' is a priority concern in many European countries since the member States of the Council of Europe (1997; 1999; 2000) are promoting a series of recommendations and resolutions to boost its development.

The European Unit of Eurydice, taking as its reference the documents of the Council of Europe on *Education for Democratic Citizenship* (2003), has elaborated the following definition of 'responsible citizenship':

'The notion of 'responsible citizenship' implies a series of aspects related to the knowledge of rights and duties. Likewise, it has a very narrow relationship with civic values like democracy and human rights, equality, participation, association, social cohesion, solidarity, tolerance to diversity and social justice.'

In the recommendations of the Council of Europe it is stated that, taking into account the vertiginous changes of society in a globalised world that tend to dissolve cultural identities, it is necessary to progress in the acquisition of certain civic norms of coexistence. These norms, aiming at forming free, autonomous, critical, responsible, tolerant citizens, both individually and collectively involved in the improvement of society, are the foundations of what is understood by the development of a responsible citizenship.

National citizenship and European citizenship
The concept of European citizenship is framed by the definitions of the Maastricht Treaty (1992), the Amsterdam Treaty (1997) and the document *Education in Active Citizenship in the European Union* of the European Commission. In these documents, citizenship of the European Union can only be understood as a complementary facet of national citizenship, and considers as European citizens the nationals of any one of the States of the Union.

Article 8 of the Maastricht Treaty establishes the legal political basis of European citizenship. From a formal perspective, the meaning of this European citizenship is determined by a group of rights: the right to circulate, the right to live and work in any country of the Union, the right to vote and to be candidate for local elections and elections for the European Parliament, to receive protection at the embassies of the member countries and the right to petition the European Parliament. The treaty of Amsterdam reinforces some individual rights and develops a wider vision of European citizenship considering citizens as active protagonists in the political spheres. In the document *Education in Active Citizenship in the European Union* it is stated that the principles of European citizenship are based on values of independence, democracy, equality of opportunities and mutual respect.

According to a recent survey undertaken by the European and National Units of Eurydice (2004), none of the European countries establish in their legislation a distinction between national and European citizenship. Both are considered as complementary aspects of 'active citizenship'.

'European citizenship' is defined, specifically, in terms of 'learning to live together'.

In Spanish legislation European citizenship is conceived as a complement to national citizenship, as established by the Maastricht Treaty and the Treaty of Amsterdam. The concept of European citizenship appears in a resolution passed on July 22, 1992 by the Congress aimed at modifying Article 13 of the Constitution. When detailing the reasons for its modifications it says:

'Since Spain joined the European Union, the Parliament has gradually provided the nominative instruments to adjust the legal and political Spanish reality to the rhythm of the historical change of the institutionalisation of the idea of Europe [...] *it is appropriate to point out the decisive support of the Parliament in favour of the institutionalisation of Community citizenship.'*

In recent years, the European Commission is trying to boost and give sense to European citizenship. It is a complicated issue, since the promotion of European citizenship implies the conciliation of the European identity with national identities.

The construction of European citizenship is linked to the European identity and, nowadays, it is not easy to build this identity in a manner which takes into account both the different national identities and multiculturalism which are increasingly present in the European Union and its various member States. The social impact of migration means the breaking down of the traditional national identity and the concept of citizenship and brings forward the necessity of creating new identities on the basis of a common culture that overcomes national frontiers. One of the challenges that the European Union is facing is to establish a new European citizenship founded on democratic principles and on human rights taking into account the ethnic and cultural diversity of the citizens.

Despite the fact that the idea of a European identity is far from being a reality, the results of the study *European Questionnaire on Values* (Elzo, and Erizo, 2000) prove the existence of many points of confluence between the different European countries. The study points out that the majority of the States of the European Union have a very similar concept of citizenship. It is considered as a form of coexistence, belonging, and

social participation of its citizens in which a series of conditions have to merge:

- a legal status establishing and guaranteeing that citizens are able to exercise their rights and responsibilities
- economic, social, and political structures making the exercise of those rights and responsibilities possible
- a sense of belonging and identity of citizenship with society based on civic bonds created by political, economic, social, and cultural participation as well as by shared responsibilities
- a specific training and education which prepares citizens to exercise their rights and responsibilities. The aim is to train critical, participative, and responsible citizens for a society that respects principles of democracy, human rights, peace, freedom, and equality.

In short, it seems that the construction of a European citizenship which promotes larger social inclusion should move between the following coordinates: faithfulness to democratic principles and values, promotion of participation, responsibility and an active role of individuals in public affairs, and respect for diversity and difference.

Citizenship education and values

The right to education constitutes an inherent aspect of citizenship. Likewise, civic education, in general, is a concrete dimension of education, and implies, among other things, education for democracy as a way of life. The role of education in the social construction of citizenship is pivotal, since citizenship is not some form of an imposed concept, but something that every person should adopt and which comprises aspects whose exercise implies certain training or learning. As it is stated in the 1990 Organic Act on the General Organisation of the Education System (LOGSE):

'Through education, those values which make life in society possible, are transmitted and exercised, especially respect for the essential rights and freedoms. Likewise, the habit of democratic coexistence as well as of mutual respect are acquired and people are educated so that they can participate in a responsible way in the different activities and in society as a whole'.

The guidelines of the Spanish educational policy regarding the development of responsible citizenship have their origin in the Spanish Constitution and are expanded in the laws governing the education system: The Organic Law on the Right to Education (LODE), the LOGSE,

the Organic Act on Participation, Evaluation and Administration of Educational Establishments (LOPEG), and the Organic Act on the Quality of Education (LOCE). All of them refer explicitly to civic education as well as to those principles which support it and which are closely linked to education of values.

Article 27 of the Spanish Constitution states:
'Education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality with respect for the democratic principles of coexistence, and the fundamental rights and freedoms'.

Article 2 of the LODE specifies the aims of the educational activity:
- '*Education based on respect for the fundamental rights and freedoms, and on tolerance and freedom within the democratic principles of coexistence.*
- *Preparation for active participation in social, and cultural life.*
- *Education for peace, cooperation, and solidarity among people'.*

The preamble of the LOGSE indicates:

'The primary and fundamental aim of education is to provide children, young people of both sexes, with a full education that enables them to shape their own essential identity, as well as to build a conception of reality integrating both its knowledge and ethical and moral assessment. Such education should be aimed at the development [of children] in order to exercise freedom, tolerance, and solidarity in a critical manner within an axiologically plural society.'

The LOCE establishes as one of the principles of the Spanish education system:
'The capacity to transmit values favouring personal freedom, social responsibility, the cohesion and improvement of societies, and equal rights between sexes helping to overcome any type of discrimination, as well as the practice of solidarity, through the promotion of civic participation of pupils in voluntary activities'.

It is commonly admitted that the education systems of the democratic societies should promote the development of the so-called essential values. Taking into account the close relationship between education and the sphere of values, it is necessary to determine those values that have to be taught.

In December 2000, the European Union promulgated the Charter of Fundamental Rights in which the essential values of the Union are collected and grouped into six chapters: dignities, liberties, equality, solidarity, citizenship, and justice.

Which type of values have a special link with citizenship education? Obviously, those which contribute to exercising responsible citizenship in the current social and educational context.

Thus, for example, those values shared by all citizens and which contribute to the creation of a European identity, fostering both democracy and social cohesion: freedom, plurality, peace, justice, and responsibility. Likewise, exercising responsible citizenship is related to values which respond to a multicultural reality. The Charter of Fundamental Rights mentions equality among people, the prohibition of discrimination in whatever field or area, and the respect for cultural diversity. In the recommendations passed by the members of the European Education Council a set of values on education for citizenship is emphasized. These values refer to the current multicultural reality and contribute to facilitate the coexistence in a plural society: tolerance, acceptance, and respect for social and cultural diversity.

The Lisbon Strategy encouraged the European Union to consolidate those democratic values by means of the promotion of the active participation of all citizens in social life. That is why at the beginning of 2003 a working group was created within the General Directorate on Education and Culture of the European Commission. Its aim is that of dealing with issues related to '*open learning environment, active citizenship, and social inclusion*'. One of its main goals is that of guaranteeing '*the fostering of the effective learning of democratic values as well as the active participation in all educational establishments with the aim of preparing people to exercise an active citizenship*' (European Commission, 2003).

Finally, we should bear in mind that education on values does not intend to make people real experts on values, but to educate them so that they can live their lives in an ethical way. '*What really matters is education based on basic knowledge and ways of acting which can prepare people to live in this world and contribute to turn it into a fairer one* [...]' (Ortega and Mínguez, 2001).

Citizenship education in the Spanish curriculum

The aim of citizenship education is that of teaching children and young people a set of competences, knowledge, and attitudes which allow them to carry out an active and positive contribution in society. It intends to educate and train citizens so that they can be able to participate, in an active way, in those issues related to decision-making, respect other people's point of view and to take responsibility for their own actions.

Citizenship education has always had a specific place within school curricula. In the next part of this article, it will be explained how citizenship education is tackled in the current Spanish education system. Subsequently, some suggestions are provided which may be valid as a guide to develop a new consideration of citizenship education in the Spanish curriculum.

Citizenship education in the Spanish education system

In the current Spanish education system, citizenship education is not a specific subject. On the one hand, it is a cross-curricular topic called 'Educación Moral y Cívica' (Moral and Civic Education) whereas, on the other, it is integrated in certain subjects which include, among their objectives and contents, some issues related to education on citizenship.

As a cross-curricular topic, it should be included in all Primary and Secondary areas and subjects. Likewise, it must be taken into account as a specific curricular proposal in the Educational Project drawn up by each educational establishment. This proposal should specify the number of hours that the different curricular areas are going to devote to Moral and Civic Education, those activities that the educational establishment is going to develop in order to facilitate the education on values related to that topic as well as the criteria and procedures for the evaluation.

General objectives

Current legislation states a set of principles regarding the notion of responsible citizenship which have already been mentioned. Likewise, it determines the competences or capacities which students must acquire with regard to responsible citizenship as well as the general objectives established for the different educational levels. Some of these objectives are the following:

Primary Education:
- *'Know the values and rules of coexistence, learn to behave according to them, and show respect for the plurality which characterises any democratic society'*
- *'Develop a responsible and respectful attitude which fosters a suitable environment to encourage personal freedom, learning, and coexistence'.*

Compulsory Secondary Education:
- '*Assume one's duties in a responsible way and exercise one's rights according to the principles of respect, tolerance and solidarity among people. Likewise, exercise dialogue in order to consolidate the common values of a democratic and participative society*'.

Baccalaureate[1]:
- '*Consolidate a civic sensibility and a responsible and civic conscience, inspired by the values which are common to all democratic societies and human rights, and be committed to them.*'

Specific objectives and contents
The realisation of the general objectives referring to citizenship when they are part of the curriculum of certain subjects differs according to their nature, and is specifically dealt with, in their contents. On the other hand, the realisation of the objectives in Civic and Moral Education as a cross-curricular topic does not follow a previously established curriculum by current legislation, but follows what each educational establishment decides to include in its Educational Project.
Next, a set of examples dealing with specific objectives and educational contents regarding citizenship as part of certain subjects is presented.

Primary Education:
- Natural, Social and Cultural Environment
  <u>Objectives</u>: '*recognise and appreciate the sense of belonging to social groups showing their own characteristics [...] respecting and valuing the differences with other groups and rejecting any type of discrimination; develop through historical knowledge values related*

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[1] In the Spanish education system Upper, non-compulsory, Secondary Education has two branches: Academic or General Branch, and Vocational Branch. Baccalaureate, mentioned above, refers to the first one. For further information, see the Eurybase at http://www.eurydice.org/Eurybase/Application/frameset.asp?country=SP&language=EN.

to human rights and democracy'.
Contents: '*the importance of dialogue to achieve peace. International organisations. European Community. Its member countries. Common features and interests. Spain in Europe. European Union'.*

- Spanish Language and Literature
  Objectives: '*think about the use of language as a vehicle for the transmission of values and sexist, racist, and/or class prejudices'.*
  Contents: '*sensibility and critical attitude concerning the uses of language which imply racial, sexual or social discrimination, or of any other type'.*

Compulsory Secondary Education:

- Social Sciences, Geography and History
  Objectives: '*understand and analyse in a critical way the main moral problems present at the moment in society; understand and appreciate democracy, the values this political system represents and their moral meaning as an area in which different ethical projects can be achieved'.*
  Contents: '*European culture. Organisation of societies: Main characteristics of European and Spanish societies. Cultural diversity of human groups. Democratic states'.*

- Ethics
  Objectives: '*know and understand the specific features that support human morality in its individual and social practice; understand the genesis of moral values and rules [...] and their objective basis which is common to everyone and present in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights; appreciate the cultural and moral pluralism of modern societies in a critical way'.*
  Contents: '*problems derived from economic, social and political factors (social marginalization, discrimination due to sex, race, linguistic, religious reasons, etc.); democracy as a field for contemporary ethical projects; human rights; democracy and citizenship; defence of peace, environmental protection, solidarity, voluntary services, and other ethical projects'.*

Baccalaureate

- Contemporary World History
  Objectives: '*promote a sensibility Ih, when dealing with current social problems, fosters a critical attitude and a responsible and supportive behaviour in the defence of human rights, democratic values, and peace'.*
  Contents: '*current world: conflicts, crisis and coexistence; Capitalist*

world: the building of Europe. European Union; Between two millennia: democracy and human rights'.

- Philosophy
  <u>Objectives</u>: *'adopt a critical attitude in the case of social inequalities, and discrimination due to gender, race, beliefs or any other individual and collective characteristic; appreciate the capacity of reason to transform reality and create a fairer society, where an effective equality of opportunity is feasible; appreciate the attempts intended to create a world society based on respect for individual and collective human rights, peaceful coexistence and defence of nature'.*
  <u>Contents</u>: '*human action: aspects of human action linked to values and rules governing individuals and human societies'.*
- Latin
  <u>Objectives</u>: *'appreciate the contributions of the classical world as an element of integration of different thinking and attitudinal trends (ethics and aesthetics) which constitute the European cultural field'.*
  <u>Contents</u>: *'Roman Law and its continuity in subsequent legal systems'.*

Methodology

Since citizenship education is not a specific subject, detailed concrete methodological guidelines are not provided. On the other hand, they are not different from those established, in a general way, for the teaching of the different curricular subjects. Nevertheless, the legislation in force establishes general guidelines in order to facilitate students in the acquisition and development of those values which make life in society possible.

Thus, the Royal Decrees dealing with the core curricula for the different educational levels state that it is essential for the students to acquire not only the corresponding academic training, but also the necessary preparation in order to be able to integrate themselves in society as active and responsible citizens. Values such as tolerance, respect for others, cooperation and solidarity require daily attention and so they should be present in the organisation of school life as well as in the behaviour of those participating in it. Daily coexistence in educational establishments is a pivotal educational issue for the acquisition and development of habits such as mutual respect and responsible participation in the activities having to do with life in society.
In this way, and according to what has been mentioned before, the LODE (Organic Act on the Right to Education) and LOPEG (Organic Act on Participation, Evaluation and Administration of Educational

Establishments) state those means by which student participation will be carried out in educational establishments and educational institutions, both in a direct way and through the students associations which may be created.

Evaluation

As in the case of methodology, the evaluation of citizenship education is determined by each teacher and by each educational establishment, following the general guidelines which determine the evaluation criteria for the different curricular areas. For instance, in Primary Education and in the area of Natural, Social and Cultural Environment, the following is stated:

participate in group activities (family and school) respecting behavioural rules, fulfilling their tasks in a respectful way and assuming their rights and duties as a member of the group; the use of dialogue in order to overcome conflicts and show through one's behaviour and use of language, respect for people and groups of different age, sex, race, and social origin, as well as for those people having different beliefs and opinions'.

In Secondary Education, some of the evaluation criteria established for the subjects of Foreign Languages, Ethics and Social Sciences are the following:
- '*show appreciation for cultural visions different from their own and respect for values and behavioural characteristic of other people*'
- '*know and appreciate the different moral and cultural aspects in modern societies, as an expression of the cultural richness of mankind*'
- '*highlight the importance of the creation of the European Union and the Spanish participation in this project; appreciate the basic principles and institutions of democratic systems as included in the Spanish Constitution; identify, appreciate, and discuss, in a critical way, the major problems of current societies as well as their different ethical perspectives*'.

Finally, in Baccalaureate one of the evaluation criteria for the subject of contemporary world history is to *'appreciate the achievements accomplished by democracy in the pursuit of freedom and the respect for human rights'.*

Regarding the subject of Philosophy, the evaluation criteria are the following: *'Know and justify the need to use human reason in order to create a fairer, democratic, and supportive society'*.

However, students' evaluation regarding these contents, and more precisely those referring to attitudinal aspects, represents a controversial issue because of the nature of the matter to be evaluated. Thus, there are different evaluation procedures: written exams, individual or group assignments, participation in debates, etc.
As can be seen, citizenship education within the Spanish education system, both in its foundation and in the guidelines for its development, is coherent with the concept shared by the great majority of European countries regarding this issue. Nevertheless it can be observed that in some studies on the development of cross-curricular topics its implementation in education is quite limited. This situation might be due to the fact that it does not have a specific curriculum.

General guidelines for a curriculum on citizenship education

So far, an approach to the concept of citizenship and the way it is dealt with in the Spanish education system have been presented. This section shows briefly a reflection on these two aspects, aiming at the introduction of some basic guidelines which can be helpful for the elaboration of a curriculum on citizenship.

Within the studies carried out by the European Union regarding citizenship it can be observed that there is a clear consensus concerning the acceptance of the type of citizenship based on democracy, which implies certain rights and duties, requires the participation of everybody and relies on the principles of equality and freedom, and takes on values such as justice, tolerance, solidarity, and responsibility.

Citizenship education can be defined as the training of children and adolescents so that they can become citizens engaged with their respective democratic systems. Therefore, its aim is to establish the conditions which allow students a responsible participation as democratic citizens in the realm of politics, economy, society, and culture.

This view of citizenship education has been considered by all democratic states and reinforced by international institutions such as the United Nations, UNESCO, the Council of Europe, and the Commission's European Council on Education.

Citizenship education should take into account the features of current society in which aspects such as globalisation, immigration, the increasing importance of technologies, etc., have a crucial influence on coexistence and social cohesion. A society which changes rapidly runs the risk of increasing social exclusion. Thus, citizenship education should include intercultural aspects, promote the respect for different identities in order to avoid discrimination, and cooperate to develop social cohesion by means of common training for all citizens.

In the recommendations of the Council of Europe (2002) on education for democratic citizenship it is stated that all educational levels should contribute to the inclusion of this concept in the curriculum either as a subject *per se* or as a cross-curricular topic. These recommendations support interdisciplinary approaches aiming at facilitating the acquisition of knowledge, attitudes, and skills which should be mastered by people to be able to live together in harmony in a multicultural and democratic society.

A curriculum on citizenship education, in line with these recommendations, will take into account aspects such as:

Objectives
Citizenship education demands the specification of the objectives and contents for each educational level. They should include knowledge, skills, and attitudes relevant in a participatory democracy. It is not just about the dissemination of theory, it is about the development of skills and the provision for pupils of participatory experiences in the educational establishment and in society. The objectives of the curriculum should refer to the following areas:

- Theoretical knowledge.
  Objectives related to the development of a basic political education: theoretical aspects related to human rights and democracy, the functioning of political and social institutions, political systems, and the meaning of the democratic principles and processes. Likewise, it is necessary to provide theoretical knowledge to found the creation of a hierarchy of personal values.
- Attitudes and values.
  Objectives related to the development of the necessary attitudes to be responsible citizens, linked to the system of values accepted and shared by society: respect for oneself and for others, tolerance, solidarity, peaceful resolution of conflicts.

- Participation in school life.
  Objectives which have to do with the promotion of active participation of pupils in their environment, allowing them to experiment with the democratic principles: opportunities to show compromise when behaving in a civil way while working inside and outside the classroom.

Obviously these objectives should be reflected in specific contents.

Methodology
It seems desirable that the teaching of citizenship education follows some methodological principles promoting the development of critical thinking and of the skills aimed at improving the capacity of discussion in a democratic debate, as well as pupil participation in classroom activities.

School activities can be many and varied, but none can substitute nor has the efficacy of real and direct experiences that collective life offers. Only in applying a democratic focus on the everyday dynamics of an educational establishment, pupils will be able to learn, in an active way, to behave in a civic and responsible way. One way of doing this is through their participation in the consultative or governing bodies of the school, just as legislation allows them to do.

In this sense, it is more and more important that schools participate in programmes and activities serving the community. The involvement of pupils in these activities outside the school is a privileged way for developing competencies and civic skills and for getting in contact with the aspects of life in society.

Evaluation
The evaluation of theoretical knowledge is relatively easy. However, it is not so easy to evaluate attitudes. Objectives like the development of social skills or the adoption of adequate behaviour are difficult to measure. That is why the most appropriate approach would imply the use of qualitative evaluation methods.

It should be stressed that in order to obtain an adequate citizenship education it is not enough to establish legislation, nor to include it in one way or the other in the curricula. It is necessary that certain conditions take place in schools, conditions such as the democratic management of the establishment, the practice of values like tolerance and respect, and the participation of the entire educational community in issues relating

to school life and its surroundings. Citizenship education should be part of the organization and daily life of the school.

In other words, the type of education that should be provided includes a broader field than strict academic learning, and should be put into practice in the daily interaction of the members of the school community in order to realise the values which it advocates. In this sense, the integration of the educational community in its social surrounding is important so that its spaces are open to the neighbourhood, and the members of the educational community participate in social, environmental, sport, and cultural projects promoted by the different authorities.

However, it is very important to remember that the responsibility of education in citizenship concerns not only educational establishments, but is a concern of society as a whole and it is a responsibility of all its institutions, from the family to the State.
The provision of a series of competencies, knowledge, skills, and attitudes that allow a future and efficient access to the world of labour requires, on the one hand, a series of learning programs and, on the other, space and time for its development in different areas: family, school, neighbourhood, work, social groups, means of communication, etc.

The learning of citizenship, especially, the one produced through the participatory processes is more efficient if it is practised in the contexts of daily life and if, in exercising it, it is present in the dynamics of the institutions. It cannot be constrained to the school only.

To sum up, it seems convenient to quote the philosopher and writer Fernando Savater on education in citizenship: '[...] *there exists the danger of transforming civic education into a recipe book of fixed answers for historic, social or political controversies whose diversity of assumptions has not been provided for openly and sufficiently. That is why it is essential to support such discipline on philosophy and ethical thinking* [...] *To prepare for citizenship is to think on what action in freedom means. That is, to establish the human values which should support it, both at the personal level (what we call virtues), and at the collective institutional level (laws guaranteeing rights and duties)*[...] *the true objective of the training for citizenship is the formation of a civic character able to persuade and be persuaded. It is not a matter of all sharing the same idea of well being but of accepting the better justified guidelines so that our disagreements might live without being abused.*'

Current debates on citizenship education within the curriculum

As it is stated in the document *Education in Citizenship in Schools in Europe*, the great majority of European countries have included citizenship education in their curricula. What is different is the way in which it is included. In some cases, it is a specific subject, in others, it is integrated in several subjects within the different educational levels and, finally in some others, it is considered as a cross-curricular topic. Therefore, the importance of citizenship education is not questioned, but the way it is considered in the curriculum is.

In the current Spanish education system citizenship education is integrated in some subjects (especially in those related with social sciences, philosophy, and ethics) and it is also one of the cross-curricular topics of the curriculum. The Bill of the Organic Act on Education proposes citizenship education to be a specific subject and it has been stated in the proposal for the debate in the document drawn up by the Ministry of Education *Una educación de calidad para todos y entre todos. Propuestas para el debate* [A Quality Education for all and by all. Proposals for debate]. This document states the following:
'*The curriculum of this new area will go into the principles of personal and social ethics in depth. Likewise, contents related to rights and freedoms which guarantee democratic regimes, those having to do with the overcoming of equality conflicts among men and women as well as the prevention of violence against women, tolerance, acceptance of minority groups, different cultures, and immigration as a source of social and cultural richness will also be considered*'.

Likewise, it is stated that education in values, apart from being dealt with in the new subject, should continue being a topic present in the educational project and its teaching has to be considered in all areas and subjects.

The proposal of creating a new subject on education citizenship, done in the non university education reform project, has brought forward a debate in the different levels of the educational community and society in general.

As shown in the document *Report of the Debate* edited by the Ministry of Education and Science, there are opinions in favour and against the inclusion in the curriculum of the new area.

Arguments in favour focus on the necessity of boosting an education that guarantees pupils the education on the values which must govern democratic societies. They point out that considering citizenship education merely as a cross-curricular topic is in danger of ending up diluted in the school practice and of depending on the interest and good will of the teaching teams. For this reason, supporters of this view defend the creation of a new subject with a specific programme gathering the different curricular elements (contents, methodology, and evaluation) in a systematic way. This does not prevent education in values from being taught as a cross-curricular topic at all educational levels and from being included in the Educational Project of each establishment. This view is expressed in the words of Gregorio Peces Barba, professor of Philosophy of Law: '*We need a subject on 'education on values' which cannot be improvised nor temporary but rather, systematic, complete, and adequate to pupils' age demanding stability and permanence so that it can bear fruit*'.

Opinions against can be grouped into three positions:
*   One of them expresses, as it is shown in the *Report of the Debate*, the fear that this area might become an instrument open to indoctrination, its focus depending on the ideology of each government. It is also pointed out that only social values have been taken into account in the conception of the subject, and that its implementation could violate the parents' rights to choose the education of their children.
*   The second stance maintains that both values education and education in citizenship must have a cross-curricular nature throughout the whole curriculum, not through a subject but through a full coexistence programme within the Educational Project of the establishment, aimed at education for democracy.
*   Finally, according to the third one, this new subject is unnecessary and does not need a specific place in the curriculum other than the one it occupies. Instead, it needs to be developed by promoting the teaching of its contents as included in the current subjects. An increase in the amount of time allocated to some of them seems especially necessary, specifically as regards Philosophy or Ethics, which could include citizenship education, since they constitute curricular subjects clearly linked to the teaching of values and

critical thinking.

In any case, regardless of the debate on the appropriateness of considering citizenship education as a specific area, the necessity of stressing values education is not questioned. At a time when lack of solidarity, violence or indifference to social issues are especially present in educational establishments, it becomes essential to contribute to the education of citizens more civically competent and engaged in collective responsibilities.

The Council of Europe has declared 2005 the European Year of Citizenship through Education, encouraging the member States to implement education policies for citizenship which materialise into different actions promoting active citizenship and a democratic culture. It considers that, in order to promote active participation in society, education in citizenship becomes an essential element, so it must become a priority in educational policies reflected in syllabuses. In this sense, education for citizenship, irrespective of the nature of the future Education Act, must occupy a central place within the curriculum.

'We have the historical responsibility [...], of preserving the best of the world we have inherited, in a society where social diversity and political apathy increase, so that the future generations can have the civic habits and virtues which make the desirable active coexistence and participation of citizenship possible.' (Bolívar, 2005)

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Promoting active citizenship in schools and communities in England: emerging lessons from policy, practice and research

David Kerr

Introduction

The last two decades has witnessed a fundamental review of the concept of citizenship and what it involves in communities in the United Kingdom (UK), Europe and globally. This review has encompassed countries, communities at local, national and regional levels as well as cross-national organizations such as UNESCO, European Union (EU) and Council of Europe (CoE). A central feature of debates about public education and educational policies has been the increasing stress on the importance of citizenship education. This has led UNESCO, at an International Bureau of Education conference in 2004 to identify 'education for active and responsible citizenship' as a priority for action in order to improve the scope and quality of education for all young people. Meanwhile, the Council of Europe launched its 'education for democratic citizenship' (EDC) project in 1997, culminating in the designation of 2005 as the *European Year of Citizenship through Education* around the slogan 'learning and living democracy'. Not to be outdone, the European Commission has identified the development of European citizenship as a priority area for the EU, and recently launched an action programme, entitled *Citizens for* Europe, to promote increased civic participation and a stronger sense of citizenship, as well as a scoping study to provide indicators of active citizenship.

Meanwhile, contemporary discussions about citizenship education have also taken place in a number of academic disciplines. These disciplines include political philosophy, where discussions have focused on the significance of citizenship education for the formation of the common citizenship identity (Callan, 1997; Feinberg, 1998; Gutmann, 1999; Macedo, 2000), sociology of education (Hahn, 1998; Ichilov, 1998; Arnot and Dillabough, 2000) and education policy studies (Crick, 2000; Beck, 1998; Audigier, 1996; 1999; 2000). Citizenship education has become an important topic in discussions about the role of public education in modern democracies.

This fundamental review of the concept of citizenship has been brought about by the impact of the rapid pace of change in modern societies, in political, economic and social life, and the need to respond. The pace of change is having significant influence on the nature of relationships in modern society at a number of levels, including those between individuals, community groups, states, nations, regions and economic and political blocs. This period of unprecedented and seemingly relentless change has succeeded in shifting and straining the traditional, stable boundaries of citizenship in many societies (Young, 1990; Kymlicka, 1995; Cogan, 2000). A series of major events across the world, such as the fall of the Berlin Wall, the bombings in America, Bali, Madrid and, more recently, London, the Iraq conflict and the populist revolutions in Georgia and Ukraine, has resulted in important social and political changes which have, in turn, triggered considerable discussion and debate. These discussions and debates have raged within and across national, academic, professional and practitioner boundaries.

The cumulative effect has caused experts and policy makers to reflect anew on the meaning and role of citizenship education in the curricula of public educational systems and, in particular, on its influence on the formation and development of democratic, political culture in society. As a result of such reflection, discussions about citizenship education in public education have become enjoined with wider debates about approaches to issues such as human rights, equality, tolerance and social justice. Citizenship education has become strongly linked to contemporary discussions about the pressure of changes on the nature of relationships between differing groups in society as well as those between the individual and the state. Indeed, the pressure has become so great that it has triggered a fundamental review across many societies of the concepts and practices that underpin citizenship.

The review has concentrated on four particular dimensions of citizenship, namely:
• rights and responsibilities
• access
• belonging
• other identities.

These dimensions are interrelated and have been dubbed by some commentators as the 'new dimensions' of citizenship (Jenson and Phillips, 1996; Gagnon and Page, 1999). They are viewed as the dimensions that are most in need of redefinition in modern society. The

review has focused, in particular, on how these dimensions should respond to four particular issues concerning citizenship in modern societies. These are the issues associated with:

- diversity – of living in increasingly socially and culturally diverse communities and societies
- location – of the nation-state no longer being the 'traditional location' of citizenship and the possibility of other locations within and across countries, including notions of 'European', 'international', 'transnational' or 'cosmopolitan' citizenship
- social rights – of changes in the social dimension of citizenship brought by the impact of an increasingly global economy
- participation – of engagement and participation in democratic society at local, national and international levels.

The last issue is of particular relevance in many countries in Europe, including England, at the moment, with growing concerns about the lack of interest and involvement of young people and young adults in public and political life, what has been termed a 'democratic deficit' (Jowell and Park, 1998; Putnam, 2000; Curtice and Seyd, 2004).

This issue of a 'democratic deficit' has been given added focus in the UK following the May 2005 General Election. Provisional figures suggest that overall turnout was around 61 per cent of the electorate, the third lowest turnout since 1857 (Electoral Commission, 2005). More worryingly, the lowest turnout amongst age groups was of those aged 18 to 24 years old, at 37 per cent, down two per cent from turnout in the 2001 general election. There was a four per cent decrease in the number of 18 to 24 males voting in 2005 compared to 2001. The figures for turnout across age groups suggest a 'staircase effect', with the highest turnout among those voters aged 65 years old and over at 75 per cent, dropping steadily with each age group, to the lowest turnout among 18 to 24 year olds. This has raised concerns among political scientists in the UK that the 'staircase effect' may be replaced in time, unless action is taken, by a 'conveyor belt effect', with a levelling off of participation rates as older voters die off and are replaced by younger cohorts who vote at much lower levels. Part of the proposed action is to introduce citizenship education for children and young people in schools and colleges, to both educate them about the roles and responsibilities of being a citizen and inculcate them with a disposition to participate in civic and political life.

It is not always easy to address these dimensions and issues relating to citizenship because of the inherent tensions between them. However, the review of citizenship has begun to see its traditional boundaries reshaped in order to respond to the rapid pace of change in modern society. The attempts to redefine citizenship have had a considerable knock-on effect on citizenship education. They have triggered and influenced debates about the definition and nature of citizenship education and the role to be played by schools, curricula and teachers, parents and communities. Reshaping citizenship has also meant reformulating citizenship education at the same time (Kerr, 2001). The two go hand in hand. This has been the case in many countries and contexts, including in the United Kingdom (England, Scotland and Northern Ireland in particular) (LTS, 2000; Crick, 1998) and in Europe (Birzea, 2004; Kerr, 2004; Mikkelsen, 2004; Pol, 2004; Losito, 2004; Froumin, 2004). It is no coincidence that effective, active citizenship education has been included as a fundamental goal of education systems in the curriculum reviews that are underway in many countries. Schools, curricula and teachers have been given a significant role in helping to actively prepare young people for engaging with and participating in modern society.

Policy background and actions

Citizenship education has moved rapidly up the policy agenda in the past decade in four of the countries that make up the United Kingdom. As with countries in Europe, citizenship education is being reviewed and revised as part of overall reforms of education systems in England, Northern Ireland, Scotland and Wales. What is interesting in reviewing developments in each of these countries is the impact that history, culture and societal and educational context has on current policy developments. Though all the UK countries are united in their overall aims for citizenship education as part of the curriculum, the frameworks they use to meet these aims varies considerably from country to country.

- In England, citizenship was introduced as a new statutory subject in schools in September 2002
- In Northern Ireland, local and global citizenship will be a new statutory subject in schools from 2007
- In Scotland, values and citizenship is one of the five national priorities for education
- In Wales, citizenship is part of the statutory provision for personal and social education.

In England, the review has centered on the work of the government appointed Advisory Group on *Education for Citizenship and the Teaching of Democracy in Schools*, set up in 1997 and chaired by Professor (now Sir) Bernard Crick (Kerr, 1999a and b; Crick, 2000). The Crick Group (as it is more commonly known) was invited to set out the aims and purposes of citizenship education and the teaching of democracy in schools and a framework for how it could be successfully delivered, both within and outside the formal school curriculum, and through links between the school and the wider community.

Citizenship education in schools

The explanation as to why the Crick Group was set up lies in a complex interplay of factors, some deep-seated and others more immediate. Perhaps, above all, the main reason was that by the late 1990s there was broad support in England, from within and outside the education system, for a review of this area. The time was right. The conditions necessary to sustain a review were in place. There was growing concern, in particular, about the rapidly changing relationships between the individual and the government and the decline in traditional forms of civic cohesion: what has been termed a 'democratic deficit'. This was supported by increasing calls for action to address the worrying signs of alienation and cynicism among young people about public life and participation, leading to their possible disconnection and disengagement with it. Such signs are apparent in a number of industrialised nations across the world, though there is debate as to whether they are a natural feature of the life cycle - engagement increasing with age - or a more permanent phenomenon (Jowell and Park, 1998; Wilkinson and Mulgan, 1995; Putnam, 2000).

The final catalyst for action was the existence of a strong political will. This had not always been present in past policy approaches, particularly in the early 1990s, and goes some way to explain their failure. The political will came not just from the new Secretary of State for Education and Employment, David Blunkett, a long-time supporter of the area, but also from the new Labour Government supported by the other major parties. The political will, combined with growing public and professional calls for action, paved the way for the establishment of the Crick Group.

The Citizenship Advisory Group set out to strengthen citizenship education and, in so doing, defined '*effective education for citizenship*' as comprising three separate but interrelated strands. These are to be developed progressively through a young person's education and training

experiences, from pre-school to adulthood (Crick, 1998, pp. 11-13) namely:

- social and moral responsibility: '…children learning from the very beginning self-confidence and socially and morally responsible behaviour both in and beyond the classroom, both towards those in authority and towards each other'. This strand acts as an essential pre-condition for the other two strands
- community involvement: '…learning about and becoming helpfully involved in the life and concerns of their communities, including learning through community involvement and service to the community'. This, of course, like the other two strands, is by no means limited to children's time in school
- political literacy: '…pupils learning about, and how to make themselves effective in, public life through knowledge, skills and values'. Here the term 'public life' is used in its broadest sense to encompass realistic knowledge of, and preparation for, conflict resolution and decision-making, whether involving issues at local, national, European or global level.

The Citizenship Advisory Group sought to establish a 'light touch' flexible but rigorous framework, which would encourage schools and colleges to develop effective and active citizenship education in ways that best suited their needs, context and strengths. Within the framework the onus is on institutions, in partnership with their local communities, to develop meaningful citizenship education practice and experiences for all young people.

The definition of citizenship education put forward by the Crick Group deliberately has strong echoes with the past. The Group took into consideration the definitions of citizenship education put forward, in the late 1980s and early 1990s, by the then Conservative Government. The Conservative Government championed the individualism of the free market and placed an emphasis on the importance of civic obligation or 'active citizenship' (Hurd, 1988; Macgregor, 1990). The Conservative Government urged individuals to take up actively their civic responsibilities rather than leave it to the government to carry them out. It backed up the call with policies that encouraged greater private ownership and the privacy of consumer rights in all areas of life, including education.

The new Labour government, which came to power in May 1997, championed a different approach to citizenship and citizenship

education. This was a definition associated with the communitarian movement with a particular emphasis on 'civic morality'. This is part of the wider philosophy of 'new Labour' based on the civic responsibilities of the individual in active partnership with the state. The Labour Government is urging individuals to act as caring people aware of the needs and views of others and motivated to contribute positively to wider society. This is part of what is commonly referred to as the 'Third Way' (Giddens, 1998 and 2000).

The Crick Group's final report contained a bold statement that the central aim of strengthening citizenship education is to effect:

'no less than a change in the political culture of this country both nationally and locally: for people to think of themselves as active citizens, willing, able and equipped to have an influence in public life and with the critical capacities to weigh evidence before speaking and acting; to build on and to extend radically to young people the best in existing traditions of community involvement and public service, and to make them individually confident in finding new forms of involvement and action among themselves'. (Crick, 1998 p.7)

The Advisory Group's report was well received and, following the revision of the National Curriculum, citizenship education has been incorporated for the first time in the school curriculum between the ages 5 and 16 (QCA, 1999). Citizenship is now part of a non-statutory framework for personal, social and health education (PSHE) and citizenship at key stages 1 and 2 (for pupils age 5 to 11) and a new statutory foundation subject at key stages 3 and 4 (students age 11 to 16). Schools have therefore been legally required to deliver citizenship education from September 2002.

The Citizenship Order at key stages 3 and 4 defines *the importance of citizenship* as a new foundation subject in England as to give *'pupils the knowledge, skills and understanding to play an effective role in society at local, national and international levels. It helps them to become informed thoughtful and responsible citizens who are aware of their duties and rights. It promotes their spiritual, moral, social and cultural development, making them more self-confident and responsible both in and beyond the classroom. It encourages pupils to play a helpful part in the life of their schools, neighbourhoods, communities and the wider world. It also teaches them about our economy and democratic institutions and values; encourages respect for different national,*

religious and ethnic identities; and develops pupils' ability to reflect on issues and take part in discussions.' (QCA, 1999 p.12)

The new Citizenship Order has programmes of study for citizenship and an attainment target based on three elements:
• knowledge and understanding about becoming informed citizens
• developing skills of enquiry and approach
• developing skills of participation and responsible action.
It is intended that these three elements are interrelated in order that teaching should ensure that *knowledge and understanding about becoming informed citizens* are acquired and applied when *developing skills of enquiry and communication* and *participation and responsible action.*

The Citizenship Order differs from those in other national curriculum subjects in being deliberately 'light touch'. It sets out a barebones but rigorous framework for what is to be taught and learnt but then leaves it up to the professional judgement of those in schools – leaders, co-ordinators and teachers - , working in partnership with local communities, to decide how best to approach the framework. Approaches will be dependent on factors such as school ethos and culture, staff interest and experience, local community context and the background and interests of students. There is not an officially agreed and laid down directive as to how all schools and colleges should approach citizenship.

The following sets out the programme of study for Citizenship at key stage 4 (i.e. what should be covered for students age 14 to 16 years olds in two years of schooling). It highlights the 'light touch', rigorous yet flexible framework with which schools are working.

Programme of study: Citizenship Key Stage 4 (students age 14 to 16)

Knowledge and understanding about becoming informed citizens
1) Pupils should be taught about:
   a. the legal and human rights and responsibilities underpinning society and how they relate to citizens, including the role and operation of the criminal and civil justice systems
   b. the origins and implications of the diverse national, regional, religious and ethnic identities in the United Kingdom and the need for mutual respect and understanding

c. the work of parliament, the government and the courts in making and shaping the law
d. the importance of playing an active part in democratic and electoral processes
e. how the economy functions, including the role of business and financial services
f. the opportunities for individuals and voluntary groups to bring about social change locally, nationally, in Europe and internationally
g. the importance of a free press, and the media's role in society, including the internet, in providing information and affecting opinion
h. the rights and responsibilities of consumers, employers and employees
i. the United Kingdom's relations in Europe, including the European Union, and relations with the Commonwealth and the United Nations
j. the wider issues and challenges of global interdependence and responsibility, including sustainable development and Local Agenda 21.

Developing skills of enquiry and communication
2) Pupils should be taught to:
a. research a topical political, spiritual, moral, social or cultural issue, problem or event by analysing information from different sources, including ICT-based sources, showing an awareness of the use and abuse of statistics
b. express, justify and defend orally and in writing a personal opinion about such issues, problems or events
c. contribute to group and exploratory class discussions, and take part in formal debates.

Developing skills of participation and responsible action
3) Pupils should be taught to:
a. use their imagination to consider other people's experiences and be able to think about, express, explain and critically evaluate views that are not their own
b. negotiate, decide and take part responsibly in school and community-based activities
c. reflect on the process of participating.
(QCA, 1999 pp15-16)

The policy process has moved on considerably since 2002 both in terms of citizenship education and education, in general. It has been marked by a new emphasis on influencing and informing the actions of individuals, including those of children and young people, in the institutions (such as schools) and communities in which they live. There has been a particular push to strengthen and link communities, including schools to the wider community.

Citizenship in 16–19 education and in communities

This push is mirrored in policy for citizenship education which, since 2002, has widened beyond schools to encompass other education and training phases and the wider community. For example, following the second Crick report (FEFC, 2000) a series of pilot development projects was started in 2001 to explore what an entitlement to citizenship education might look like for all young people involved in the 16-19 education and training. Meanwhile, the Home Office has launched a major policy initiative around the concept of civil renewal (Blunkett, 2003a and b).

Civil renewal is at the heart of the Home Office's vision of life in 21st century communities. It takes place where people become actively engaged in the well-being of their communities and are able to define the problems they face and tackle them together with help from the government and public bodies. The Home Office views civil renewal as comprising three essential ingredients:

- active citizenship – people who take responsibility for tackling the problems they can see in their own communities
- strengthened communities – communities who can form and sustain their own organisations, bringing people together to deal with their common concerns
- partnerships in meeting public needs – public bodies who involve local people in improving the planning and delivery of public services.

The new policy emphasis on individuals, strengthening and linking communities, consultation and partnerships is also evident in general education policy. The launch of the Children Bill (GB, 2004) aims to put children and families at the heart of policy, with services built around those who use them (such as children) rather than those who deliver them. The Children Bill has been followed by a flurry of policy initiatives and statements to bring service providers, including government

departments, into line with the new agenda. The DfES has been particularly active in this respect over the past year through:

- issue of Working Together (DfES, 2004) guidelines to all schools which outline the ways in which children and young people can be involved in and consulted on many school issues.
- launch of the Five Year Strategy for Teaching and Learning which includes the key principles of 'greater personalisation and choice' and 'building partnerships' including with volunteers and voluntary organisations.
- commitment to deliver Every Child Matters strategy through five outcomes in schools, one of which is 'pupils making a positive contribution to the life of the school and community'.
- promotion of 'A New Relationship with Schools' which is based on a single conversation, a new inspection system, increased school self evaluation and greater use of school improvement partners as 'critical friends'.

Though the term 'citizenship education' is not mentioned specifically in the text of these policy statements and reforms, being superseded by terms such as 'active citizenship', 'personalised learning' and 'community capacity', it is writ large in the processes by which the intended outcomes of these policy initiatives are to be achieved in practice. The new policy agenda suggests that there will be increased consultation with children and young people in the coming years and greater encouragement and incentives for them to become actively involved in the processes of change at all levels of the education system.

As a sign of its continued commitment in this area, and soon after its general election victory in May 2005, the government launched *Together We Can: The Government Action Plan for Civil Renewal* (Home Office, 2005). *Together We Can* sets out eight key public policy areas and 62 action points to be carried out across 12 government departments in order to strengthen citizens' engagement in delivering success across those policies. The action plan will be reviewed every two years. The eight key public policy areas are:

1. ensure children and young people have their say
2. strengthen our democracy
3. revitalise neighbourhoods
4. increase community cohesion and race equality
5. build safer communities
6. reduce re-offending and raise confidence in the criminal justice system

7. improve our health and give voice to vulnerable people
8. contribute to sustainable development locally and globally.

These eight policy areas are broad ranging and the recent outrages in London have given added focus and impetus to a number of these areas. However, there is a clear acknowledgement in the action plan of the particular contribution that citizenship education will make in relation to the first two key policy areas.

Emerging lessons

As has already been underlined, the introduction of the new statutory subject Citizenship, in 2002, marked the beginning rather than the end of the policy process in England. Indeed, citizenship education has continued to attract considerable interest and activity from policy-makers, practitioners, researchers and commentators in the three years since. So what are the emerging lessons from the experience of introducing citizenship education in England?

Most of the interest has been preoccupied with emerging definitions and curriculum approaches to citizenship in schools and colleges, particularly given the lack of a tradition of citizenship in the curriculum in England. Questions, such as - How well has citizenship education been understood by senior managers and teachers? How is it being delivered in schools and colleges and how well? What are the emerging issues and challenges for schools, colleges and teachers? How can these issues and challenges be overcome? – have dominated the literature (Kerr *et al.,* 2004a; Kerr and Cleaver, 2004; Gearon, 2003; Deakin-Crick *et al.,* 2004).

The emerging lessons can be grouped into three categories. First, those lessons connected with the policy process and, in particular, the formation of policy. Second, those lessons arising from the drive to turn policy into effective practice in schools, colleges and communities. Third, the lessons or challenges emerging from the growing evidence base about citizenship education in England. Each of these categories is explored in turn in what follows.

Policy process
The experiences in England have underlined a number of important lessons concerning the political process surrounding the review of citizenship and citizenship education in societies. The first lesson is the need to have a strong political will to act as a catalyst for action. It is

doubtful if the citizenship initiative in England would have progressed without the personal and political commitment of David Blunkett MP. The second lesson is to have that political will reinforced by general support at public, professional and political levels for action in relation to citizenship education. This broad support for action legitimated the political remit. The third lesson is to establish a clear remit for any group reviewing citizenship and citizenship education and to ensure that the membership of that group is broad-based. The Crick Group benefited from having a clear remit and timescale for action. Though set up under a Labour Government, the membership was deliberately broad, containing those with political expertise from across the political spectrum alongside those with public and professional expertise in education and communities. Having the Speaker of the House of Commons as the Group's patron confirmed the support of the leaders of all the political parties and pre-empted accusations of political or party bias. The fourth lesson is to set out a clear definition of citizenship education and a forward looking vision of its aims and goals, set within a lifelong learning perspective. The goal of citizenship education 'changing the political culture' in England, starting in schools and encompassing all forms of education as well as communities, has been particularly powerful and enduring. The fifth and final lesson, and perhaps the most valuable, is to recognise that the policy process is the beginning rather than the end of the process of developing effective policy and practice in citizenship. Policy needs to be continually reviewed and adapted and to be supported by a clear implementation strategy.

Policy to practice

Policy-makers have recognised that the report from the Crick Group and the new curriculum Order for Citizenship, by themselves, are not sufficient to encourage the development of effective citizenship education in schools and beyond. Instead, there needs to be a systematic and concerted implementation strategy to bridge the potential implementation gap between policy and practice and to begin to lay the foundations for the development of effective practice.

These are still early days for citizenship education in England and policy-makers and support agencies are working hard to meet the considerable development needs of school and college leaders, co-coordinators and teachers in introducing the new subject of citizenship. Accordingly, developments have taken place in four strategic areas over the past four years, namely:

- Drawing up more detailed advice and guidance on Citizenship for schools, colleges and teachers. This includes: producing schemes of work for each key stage which offer teaching and learning activities, ideas for developing pupil participation and a Teachers' Guide; providing guidance and advice on post-16 citizenship (QCA, 2004); producing a framework for the inspection of Citizenship in conjunction with OFSTED (Office for Standards in Education) and setting up a new dedicated website for Citizenship with resources, case studies and information.
- Funding the production of resources to fill gaps in the relation to the Citizenship curriculum Order identified by teachers. DfES commissioned a mapping exercise of existing resources mapped against the topics and areas in the non-statutory guidance for citizenship in primary schools and the new statutory Citizenship Order in secondary schools (Kerr et al, 2000). Using the findings from that mapping exercise, DfES funded a series of curriculum development projects involving the leading non-government organizations (NGOs) working in citizenship education, to produce resources to fill in the main gaps in relation to the new Citizenship Order. These resources have been made available to schools and teachers.
- Encouraging the growth of professional and training 'communities of practice' in Citizenship. New, one-year, initial teacher training courses in Citizenship have been set up by the Teacher Training Agency (TTA) in a number of higher education institutions across the country. This now means that there are almost 200 newly qualified Citizenship teachers available to get jobs in schools each year. Those involved in running the courses have been brought together in a new, dynamic and rapidly expanding Citized network. Meanwhile, a new subject association, the Association for Citizenship Teaching (ACT), has been established to meet the needs of all those interested in citizenship education, mirroring associations which support other longstanding curriculum subjects. The association has grown rapidly and currently produces a termly journal, runs an annual conference and works with a series of local and regional citizenship networks across the country. DfES is also currently funding a new grade of specialist teacher, the Advanced Skills Teacher (AST), to help develop effective subject practice in schools and through partnership working with other schools in the local area. There are now a group of specialist citizenship AST teachers.
- Setting up a stronger research and evidence base for citizenship education. Kerr (1999a) in the national case study of England, as part

of the IEA Civic Education Study, drew attention to the 'huge gaps that currently exist in the knowledge and research base which underpins this area in England' (p.9). With citizenship education moving rapidly from a policy proposal to a real school subject there is a need to strengthen this base. Accordingly, the DfES has commissioned the National Foundation for Educational Research (NFER) to undertake a Longitudinal Study in citizenship education over eight years. This is tracking a cohort of over 18,000 young people who entered secondary school in September 2002 and, as such, are the first students to have a continuous statutory entitlement to citizenship education through until they are age 18, to ascertain what are the short and long-terms effects of citizenship education on students' knowledge, understanding, attitudes and behaviours. It also commissioned NFER to carry out a three year national evaluation of the post-16 citizenship pilot development programme from 2001 to 2004. Meanwhile, there are a series of smaller evaluations and research studies involving individual school case studies underway, which contribute to this evidence base (Watchorn, 2003; Hannam, 2001; Deakin-Crick et al., 2004).

Research and evidence base – what do we know to date?

The research and evidence base for citizenship education in schools, colleges and communities is being strengthened all the time and many of the previous gaps in knowledge and understanding are rapidly being filled in (Cleaver *et al.,* 2005; Whiteley, 2005; Craig *et al.,* 2004; Kerr and Cleaver, 2004; Kerr *et al.,* 2004a). As a result, there is a consensus emerging from this evidence base that provides answers to questions concerning the definition of citizenship education that schools and colleges are working with, how they are approaching this new subject and the challenges they are encountering in attempting to transform policy into effective practice. This evidence base is providing a growing sense of realism about the current state of citizenship education in schools and colleges in England.

The consensus from this evidence base, to date, includes:

Implementation gap:
A recognition that there is a gap between the vision of the policy makers, as laid out by the Crick Group and in various curriculum frameworks for citizenship education, and the ability of those in schools and colleges to understand, act upon and own that vision in practice. This implementation gap is not just at national level but also at individual

school and college level. Research findings from the Citizenship Education Longitudinal Study reveal differences in attitudes between school leaders, teachers and students to citizenship delivery (Kerr et al., 2004a). School leaders are the most positive about citizenship practices in the school or college i.e. what is planned; teachers are less positive than school leaders about practice i.e. what is actually delivered and students are the least positive about practice i.e. what is actually received. There will probably always be a gap between what is planned, how it is delivered and how it is received at national and institutional level, the challenge is narrowing the gap to an acceptable level. Interestingly, one of the major findings of the Council of Europe's All-European Study on EDC Policies (Birzea et al., 2004) was of a similar 'implementation gap' between intended policy and actual practice in this area in Europe. It will take time to close this gap in England and Europe.

Definition:
Redefinition of citizenship education away from the three strands in the Crick Group report – social and moral responsibility, community involvement and political literacy - to a growing conceptualisation of citizenship in schools as comprising three interrelated aspects – the new three citizenship 'Cs': Citizenship in the curriculum – how it is delivered as a separate subject, through links with other subjects and through tutorials and collapsed timetable events; Active citizenship in the school culture – how it relates to wider democratic processes and practices in the whole institution, including opportunities for student participation through formal mechanisms, such as school councils, and informal daily practices; and active citizenship through links with the wider community – how the school links with partners in the local community as well as those at national an international level. Practitioners find it more helpful to talk about these three 'Cs' of citizenship, as they fit better with the reality of daily practice in schools and colleges.

Approaches:
An acceptance that provision is uneven, patchy and evolving but that types of school and college approach to citizenship education appear to be emerging. Figure 1 below outlines these types (Kerr et al. 2004a).
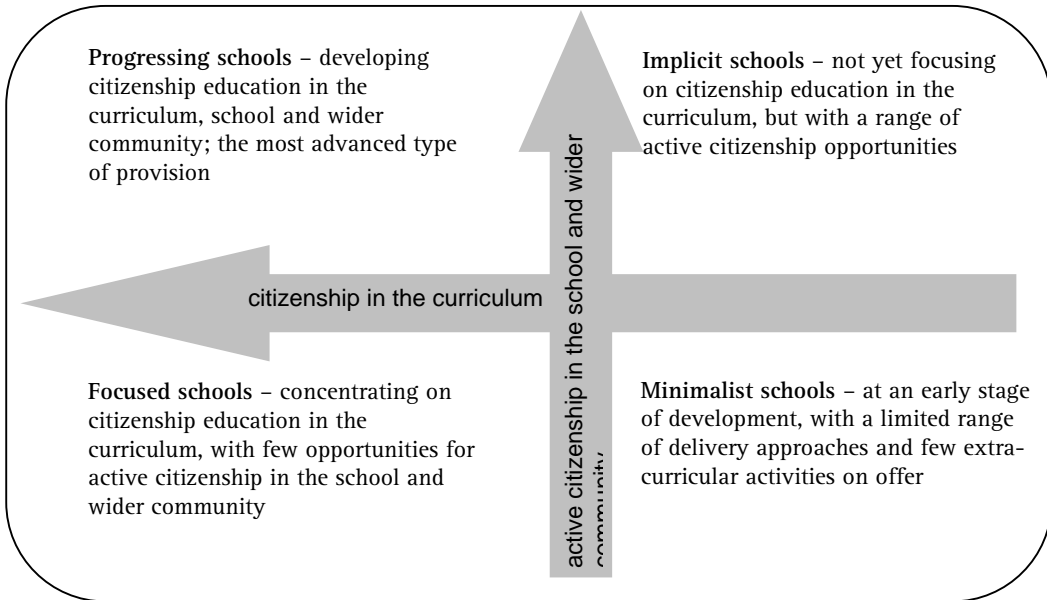
Figure 1. Four approaches to citizenship education.

This typology is based on a nationally representative sample of 112 schools involved in the Citizenship Education Longitudinal Study. The sample highlighted that schools divided roughly a quarter (25 per cent) into each category in the typology. This raises the interesting question of how to interpret this finding. It can be interpreted in two ways. The first is based on a narrow, 'judgemental' view. This concludes that in three-quarters of the schools surveyed (i.e. with the exception of the progressing schools) there are considerable weaknesses in the approach taken to citizenship education, particularly when compared to the aims set out in the citizenship education policy documents. This view places the emphasis on uncertainty, confusion and lack of confidence and understanding concerning citizenship education in schools. The second is based on a broader, 'developmental' view. This concludes that, given these are still early days for citizenship education, in three-quarters of schools surveyed (with the exception of minimalist schools), a positive start has been made in approaching citizenship education with considerable potential for development and improvement. This view emphasises uncertainty, confusion and a lack of confidence but within the broader contexts of experimentation, real decision-making and signs of progress. The developmental view suggests that if schools can

recognise both the strengths and weaknesses of their current approaches to citizenship education they can continue to develop and improve. This is apparent in the potential of focusing and implicit schools to become progressing schools in a short space of time, if the former widen their focus to include citizenship education in the school and wider community and the latter concentrate more on citizenship education in the curriculum. These two views present the classic dilemma as to whether the approach to citizenship education in schools in England is a half full or half empty bottle at present.

Factors:
The identification of and agreement about key school and college level and learning-context level factors that work together to support, promote and champion citizenship education (Kerr et al., 2004a; Craig et al, 2004). Schools and colleges appear to be most successful in developing citizenship education where there is:
School and college level factors
- A clear, coherent and broad understanding of what is meant by citizenship education and a recognition of the need to develop it through three interrelated components, citizenship in the curriculum, active citizenship in the school as a community, and in the wider community
- Supportive school/college ethos and values systems that dovetail with the goals of citizenship education
- Strong senior management support, with senior managers promoting citizenship education through active involvement in planning and delivery approaches in partnership with a strong, well respected coordinator
- Positive relations at different levels including among staff, between teachers and students, among students and with the wider community
- Equal status and value accorded to citizenship education alongside other curriculum subjects and areas of school experience
- Evidence of on-going processes of reflection, planning, action and review in relation to citizenship education
- Recognition of the need for staff training and development in order to build confidence and improve teaching and learning strategies and identification of training priorities
- Sufficient time and resources allocated to citizenship education in terms of curriculum space, teaching staff, teaching and learning resources and staff training and development opportunities.

Learning context level factors

- Dedicated and enthusiastic coordinator who is well respected and has the skills to champion citizenship education with teachers and students as well as teach it
- Range of delivery approaches, including a regular dedicated, curriculum time slot for citizenship whether as a discrete element or as modules within a PSHE programme. These approaches need to be coherent and well organised and ensure that effective links are made between the curriculum, school/college and wider community components of citizenship education
- Growing staff confidence about what citizenship education entails, including adequate subject knowledge and expertise in a range of active forms of learning. The more confident and enthusiastic staff are about citizenship education the more likely they are to develop effective practice and transmit that enthusiasm to students, teachers and community representatives
- Recognition of gaps in teacher knowledge, understanding and skills in relation to citizenship education and plans for staff training and development to address these issues
- Emerging assessment strategies for recognising student achievement that are effective, realistic and manageable
- Active involvement of students in the school/college as a community, through a range of structures and initiatives, such as school or class councils, peer mediation schemes message pastoral systems and extra-curricular activities, which are based on trust, respect and dialogue
- Opportunities to learn about and experience citizenship education in a range of contexts including not just the classroom but also through whole-school/college processes and activities and experiences involving the wider community.

These factors suggest that the development of citizenship education is not the result of one particular factor but rather is the outcome of a complex, multi-layering of factors, influences and individuals. Though no one factor is dominant the development of effective practice depends on the influence of key individuals in schools and colleges, notably school and college leaders and the citizenship co-ordinator. The attitudes and actions of these key individuals will remain at the heart of the progress of citizenship education in the coming years.

Challenges
A recognition of a number of key issues and challenges that need to be tackled in order for citizenship education provision to become more

visible, coherent and effective. These include addressing the challenges of definition, ownership, training and development, assessment and active citizenship among others (Kerr et al., 2004a). The evidence base confirms that the situation in schools, concerning plans for and delivery of citizenship education, remains fluid, flexible and uneven (Kerr and Cleaver, 2004; QCA, 2003). It also confirms the growing evidence that a number of schools appear to understand what is meant by citizenship education and are forging ahead with confidence in their planning and delivery, while others are beset by varying degrees of ambiguity, uncertainty and ambivalence (QCA, 2003; OFSTED, 2003 and 2005). In particular, some schools remain unclear about definitions of citizenship education, in terms of what the core citizenship curriculum is and how their existing practice can contribute to it, and that this leads to a variety of approaches to citizenship education in different schools (QCA, 2003; OFSTED, 2005). The typology of schools underlines this diversity of approach and highlights a continued confusion in some schools, particularly those classified as 'implicit', between what Gearon (2003) terms 'explicit citizenship education', as set out in the National Curriculum Order, and its relationship to 'implicit citizenship', the contribution of PSHE, values and school ethos.

There are also particular challenges to the successful implementation of citizenship education that remain to be tackled. These include providing adequate teacher training, given that much of the current training has been taken up by citizenship coordinators and not been widely disseminated to other staff (QCA, 2003; OFSTED, 2003, 2005). Teacher training and professional development is an identified need in many schools and colleges, and there is a concern about the current quality allied to a lack of awareness as to what is available. Assessment and reporting also remains a major point of contention and concern with no real consistency across schools and a lack of teacher confidence in this area. This has led OFSTED (2003) to conclude that 'assessment is currently a weak aspect of citizenship and few schools have progressed very far with it'. Schools and colleges are also finding that active citizenship is one of the hardest aspects of citizenship education to develop and implement within schools and colleges, and more especially, in the wider community. This has raised questions as to whether schools and other institutions in society are ready to provide 'real' active citizenship opportunities for all young people, given prevailing cultures and structures that remain largely hierarchical and undemocratic. Finally, the evidence base on schools and colleges appears to support the conclusion in the first annual literature review from the Citizenship

Education Longitudinal Study (Kerr and Cleaver, 2004) that '*the wider debates about definitions of citizenship and citizenship education are mirrored in the deliberations in schools about how best to approach citizenship in the curriculum. However, what is not clear is the extent to which the deliberations in schools are directly influenced by these wider debates*' (p.27). Certainly on-going questions remain, in many schools, as to what is meant by citizenship education, among not just school leaders and teachers, but also students.

Interestingly, in terms of narrowing the implementation gap and tackling the challenges associated with the gap, these emerging findings from the research and evidence base are already being scrutinized and acted upon by policy-makers, support agencies and practitioners. This underlines the importance of making the findings from the research and evidence base readily available to a wide range of audiences. There has been a particular push in the last year on meeting the training and development needs of teachers and in setting clearer indicators in terms of standards and expectations. For example:

- DfES has launched a major initiative to promote greater CPD (continuing professional development) activity for teachers and schools in citizenship education. The initiative includes three strands. First is the appointment of a national citizenship CPD co-ordinator and three regional co-ordinators. Second is the development of a practice-based citizenship CPD handbook and third is the launch of a pilot citizenship CPD certificate for those teaching and leading citizenship in schools and colleges.
- TTA (Teacher Training Agency- now renamed the TDA, Training and Development Agency for Schools) is funding a major project, entitled *Citized*, to develop and share expertise among all those involved with citizenship in initial teacher education. With its new remit for CPD there is likely to be increased collaboration between TTA and DfES concerning citizenship CPD activities.
- QCA (Qualifications and Curriculum Authority) is focusing on improving understanding of what pupil and teacher assessment in citizenship means in practice through a series of pilot projects as well as monitoring the progress of the new GCSE Citizenship Studies short courses at key stage 4.

Providing new insights
There are also new and exciting insights emerging from the Citizenship Education Longitudinal Study concerning students' development of

citizenship dimensions and the influence of various 'sites' of citizenship, including that of schools and colleges (Cleaver *et al.,* 2005; Kerr, 2005). They are based on a national survey of 6,400 students in Years 8, 10 and 12 (students age 13 to 14, 15 to 16 and 17 to 18 respectively) in 237 schools and 50 colleges. The views, attitudes and experiences of students, three years after the introduction of statutory citizenship education in schools, are a new and fascinating dimension which has been missed from the research and evidence base to date. They remain interim findings at this stage which require further investigation.

These new insights can be grouped around three areas of further investigation: students' development of citizenship dimensions; school influences on students' development of citizenship dimensions and the influence of other 'sites' of citizenship (particularly the wider community) on such development. Each of these areas is examined in turn.

Students' development of citizenship dimensions
The findings reveal some potential new insights into students' development of citizenship dimensions across different age ranges and educational stages, which have not been found in existing surveys and studies. They suggest:

- Students' development of citizenship dimensions is neither even nor consistent. Indeed, there may be a considerable 'dip' in this development in the later years of adolescence among both male and female students. The findings reveal drops in citizenship knowledge; student efficacy; personal efficacy; active student participation; levels of embeddedness among the Year 10 students who took part in the survey, compared to those in Years 8 and 12.
- Students' development of citizenship dimensions is also influenced by their personal, family and community characteristics, among other factors. For example, the findings suggest a clear relationship between home literacy resources and feelings of empowerment, levels of trust, engagement, community attachment and commitment to volunteering and participation. In short, higher levels of home literacy resources relate to higher levels of empowerment, trust and so on. There may also be differences in attitudes and behaviours between male and female students as well as between those from different ethnic backgrounds. For example, Asian and Black students in the sample had the most positive views about volunteering compared to other groups.
- Students' sense of belonging and attachment to the different communities in their lives may change over time. It is noticeable in

the survey that students' sense of belonging to the school community increases with age in comparison with their attachment to other communities. They are much more attached to the school community in the later years of their schooling than to other communities. This may be the result of their increased seniority and status in the school community and the associated privileges and responsibilities that go with such seniority, or may conversely reflect their increasing detachment from their families and local communities as they reach adulthood.

School influences on students' development of citizenship dimensions

The findings also suggest that what goes on in schools, in classrooms, corridors and grounds, can have an influence on what students *think, know* and *do* in relation to citizenship education and wider citizenship issues. In particular:

- Students in all year groups associate citizenship more with rights and responsibilities and issues of identity and equality than with formal political processes (see Figure 2 below). This may be influenced by the nature of the teaching of citizenship they receive in schools and the topics that are and are not covered. It is perhaps no coincidence that the topics least taught – voting, elections, government and the EU – are those that students least associate with the concept of citizenship and the groups and institutions that students trust the least.
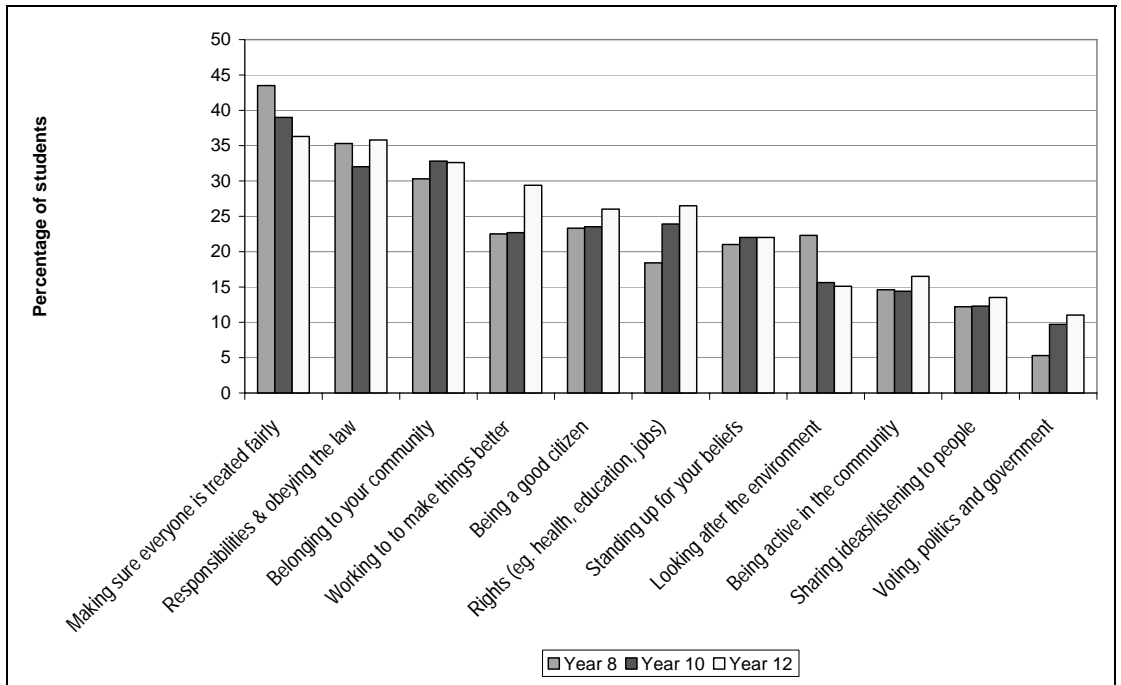
Figure 2 – Most common student definitions of citizenship

N = 2467 Year 8, 2091 Year 10 and 1842 Year 12 students
Source: Citizenship Education Longitudinal Survey Cross-Sectional
Survey 2004

- Students in all year groups also report that citizenship is more noticeable to them in schools than in 2002, with just over two-thirds (68 per cent) saying that had experienced it. This is perhaps a recognition of the growing use and acceptance of the term in the curriculum and by teachers, co-ordinators and school leaders in their interactions with students.

- When compared to the results of the first cross-sectional survey (2002), there has been an apparent drop in students' citizenship knowledge scores; particularly for students in Year 10. However, this may be more a reflection of the nature of what is, and is not, taught in schools than on the ability of students' to comprehend citizenship topics and issues. The knowledge items in the survey tested knowledge about political and legal processes and institutions, including those concerning voting, political representation and legal rights. These are precisely the citizenship topics that students report they are taught least about.

- The apparent reduction in students' knowledge scores suggests that schools and teachers may lack the expertise and confidence to teach the core knowledge component of citizenship (focusing on the legal and political system, government, political parties and voting processes) and/or that they do not recognise that this core component is distinctive from anything else in the curriculum, therefore needing to be focused on directly. Thus, the fact that citizenship is currently taught by a range of teachers from different subject backgrounds, and through a number of different subjects and areas, most notably PSHE, rather than through discrete citizenship lessons may exacerbate this situation in schools.

Influences of other contexts and 'sites' on students' development of citizenship dimensions

The findings also make clear that school is only one of the contexts or 'sites' that have an influence on students' development of citizenship dimensions. They underline:

- The potential influence of personal, family and community characteristics on students' development of citizenship dimensions. For example, the findings suggest a clear relationship between home literacy resources and feelings of empowerment, engagement, community attachment and commitment to volunteering and participation.
- The potential impact of cultural and community influences on students' development of citizenship dimensions. The findings hint at differences in attitudes between those from different ethnic backgrounds. For example, Asian students in the sample had the highest levels of student efficacy compared to other groups while Asian and Black students had the most positive views about volunteering compared to other groups. The influence of community and culture on students' attitudes and behaviour, alongside other influences, is something that requires further investigation.

Combining new and existing insights

Combining what we already know from the existing research and evidence base with the new insights from the Citizenship Education Longitudinal Study has three important outcomes.

- It confirms the complex nature of young peoples' citizenship experiences and attitudes and the range of factors and influences that can impact on their development. A much deeper understanding of the impact of the interrelationship between a number of

contextual characteristics or factors, the different contexts or 'sites' of citizenship education including the school, the family, peer groups, and students' local and wider communities, and the various actors that take part in the (formal and informal) educational processes at these different 'sites'. These characteristics, contexts or 'sites' and actors all impact on students' understanding and attitudes to citizenship education and wider citizenship issues.

- It suggests possible changes in this interrelationship and its impact on students' development of citizenship dimensions across a number of age ranges and educational stages. Students' development of citizenship dimensions is neither even nor consistent. Indeed, the interim findings suggest that there may be a considerable 'dip' in development around Year 10, when students are age 14 to 15. These findings require further in-depth investigation in other elements of the Study in the coming years.

- It underlines that schools do and can have a strong influence on students' development of citizenship dimensions. There are already signs, from students' experiences of the first two years of statutory citizenship education in the curriculum and from the three years of the post-16 citizenship development projects, that these school and college experiences are having an influence on students' conceptions of citizenship, students' civic knowledge and on their sense of efficacy and empowerment.

The interim findings also suggest that schools have the potential to have an even greater influence in the future, particularly if the trajectory of students' development of citizenship dimensions over time proves to be correct. If students feel a greater sense of belonging to the school community with age (see Figure 3 below), and at the same time they show a maturing sophistication of views, greater interest in politics and increased use of the media, then the school has the potential to take this understanding and provide increased opportunities for students' to participate and engage actively in the school community and to develop *student voice* and *student efficacy*.
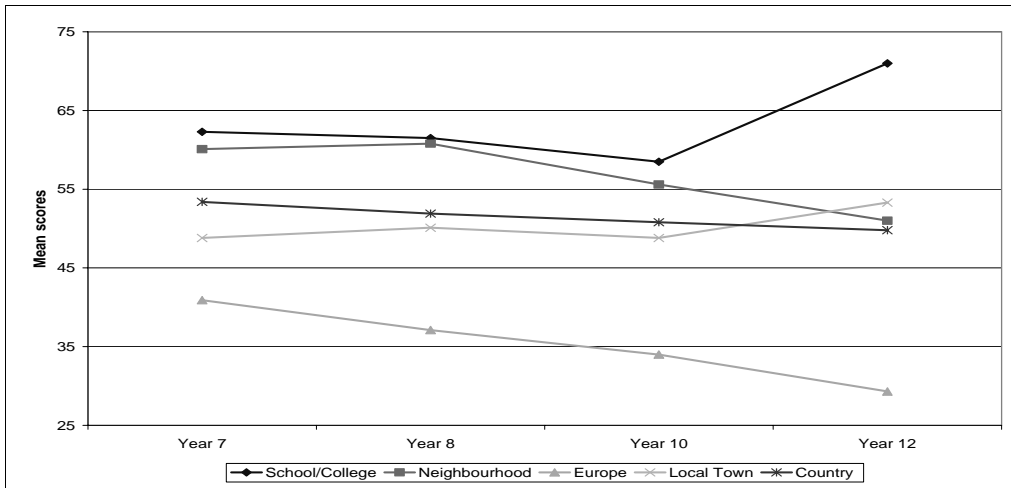
Figure 3 – Students' feelings of belonging to different communities

Final comment

While current developments in policy and practice in citizenship
education in England provide considerable food for thought for those in
other countries, both in Europe and across the world, it is important that
they are seen within the wider review of citizenship education which is
taking place globally. Developments in England are a rapid response to
the parallel and common challenge we ultimately face of how to develop
the notion among young people that they, as individuals and in
collaboration with others, can make a difference in society. A true
measure of citizenship education will be the extent to which it succeeds
in building this notion of **student efficacy** for young people, particularly
in school as highlighted in the IEA Civic Education Study (Torney-Purta
et al., 2001; Kerr *et al.,* 2002), as well as at home and in civil and
political society. I believe it remains our most important parallel and
common challenge for citizenship education. If we succeed young people
will help to redefine citizenship education in the process. However, this
will not be an easy task for as Kennedy reminds us in meeting this
challenge we have to consider the issue of

*'how to prepare young people for democracy in contexts that are quite
different from those that have been known in the past'* (Kennedy, 2003)

This is a challenge not just in England but wherever citizenship
education is reviewed, revised and implemented. It is also important to

understand that it is a constant, on-going challenge not a one-off. Only time will tell how well we have responded to this challenge in England. The evidence will lay in the attitudes, actions and behaviours of young people. Only then will we be able to judge how far the central aim of strengthening citizenship education, as set out by the Crick Group, to effect *'no less than a change in the political culture of this country [England] both nationally and locally'* has been achieved. All we can say, at present, is that a promising start has been made but that these are early days for citizenship education and there are still a number of issues and challenges to be addressed.

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Patterns in developing citizenship in Wales

David Kitchen

Introduction

This chapter considers how citizenship is viewed by the government in Wales and how that is reflected in the curriculum and in the practice of schools. The first part of the chapter takes an overall look at the situation, concluding with the findings from two case studies. The second part of the chapter consists of the two detailed case studies themselves.

Getting a Welsh perspective

The distinctive features of citizenship in Wales are arguably best understood by starting with a look at *Building Excellent Schools Together (BEST)*. This White Paper, published in 1997, was 'devoted exclusively to improving education in Wales' and stands as a clear forerunner to the devolved responsibilities of the Welsh Assembly which were to follow. As such, it is not surprising that it set out to highlight what is distinctive about the country. In the very first chapter, the importance of the way communities grow together is highlighted. This happens prior even to the first mention of schools themselves. The policy document asserts:
'We judge the quality of our society by the condition of the weak as well as the strong. Each of us, whatever we do, can contribute to creating a society which is dynamic and productive, offering opportunity and fairness for the many and not just the few in Wales.'

That juxtaposition of 'opportunity' and 'fairness' is characteristic of the Welsh approach to education. It is not enough to give young people chances in life; it is equally important that they share properly in the common good they help to create.

BEST also went further than this. It spoke of the importance that young people 'learn respect for others, whether from similar or different backgrounds,' and added that they should learn 'how to resolve disagreements humanely'. To put it another way, a grudging respect is simply not enough. There is a real need to understand the essential humanity of the person who opposes you. That sets a noticeably higher standard for citizenship than mere involvement in communities.

Finally *BEST* made the connection between moral attitudes and 'a successful democratic society'. Two of the moral attitudes identified were ones that might be expected in most documents. 'Responsibility' and 'commitment' are key elements in building a community in which everyone is involved. However 'determination' and 'generosity' were also included. Both add an interesting element. 'Determination' offers a reminder that things that are worth having within a community are usually not easily won, a common theme throughout Welsh history. 'Generosity' highlights the expectation that what is won will be shared in a kind, welcoming and inclusive manner, a recurring expectation in Welsh culture.

These distinctive features tell a reader something about how Wales tends to view itself as a society and what it is therefore eager to achieve through its education processes.

Current position

The referendum of September 1997 provided a mandate for the establishment of a National Assembly for Wales and the devolution of power that took place in July 1999. The Welsh Assembly has, from the start, emphasised the need for open government and for the involvement of all its citizens in that process. The significance of citizenship in Wales has been re-affirmed in several ways recently.

In October 2004, the Welsh Assembly Government published its vision for public services, called *Making the Connections: Delivering Better Services for Wales*. The first of the four principles for better services in this vision statement involves citizens. They must be 'at the centre' of both the thinking about and the delivery of services.
The document identifies four strands in putting the citizen at the centre of government policy and practice regarding services:
* better access
* greater responsiveness
* democratic accountability
* stronger participation.
The desire of the Welsh Assembly Government to see people involved includes the arrangements made for young people and for schools. The 'Extending Entitlement' programme has, for example, a set of universal entitlements for all 11-25 year olds.

The list concentrates on health, education, employment and community participation. It includes, for example a statement about how young people should have a say in decisions that affect them, based on the Treaty on the Rights of the Child. They are given:

The right to be consulted, to participate in decision-making, and to be heard, on all matters which concern them or have an impact on their lives.

A representative group of young people then got the chance to put the entitlements into words that make good sense to 11-25 year olds. Their version of the entitlement shown above reads like this:

Being Heard
It is your right to have the opportunity to be involved in making decisions, planning and reviewing an action that might affect you. Having a voice, having a choice even if you don't make the decision yourself. Your voice, your choice.

This is a lively, effective and helpful statement of the right that is being given. The young people's version also makes very clear what is and is not being offered: you may not get your own way but you will get to be heard.

The entitlements are one of several developments in youth democracy. These include a youth forum in every local area of Wales and a national youth assembly that meets residentially four times a year with 10 sub groups continuing the work all year round.

The commitment to active citizenship for all young people in Wales is seen very clearly in a consultation document called *Pupil Involvement in decisions that affect them and Establishment of School Councils in Primary, Secondary and Special Schools*. The title may be long but the proposal is simple: every school in Wales with pupils aged eight years and upwards should set up a school council. The consultation phase of this work is now complete and legislation is currently being framed in order to make this a legal requirement.

The school councils are intended to have a range of functions related both to the school and to education more generally within their local area. Some of the suggestions are entirely what might be expected:
• school uniform

- playground issues
- bullying policies
- school meals
- after school activities.

However, other suggestions go beyond what many schools and local authorities have consulted on with pupils in the past. These include:
- duration of school terms
- curriculum organisation
- arrangements for dealing with complaints
- action planning after school inspections
- education of pupils who are not in schools.

Secondary school councils are also to be given the power to elect two members of the council to the governing body of the school. Pupils will choose their representatives who will be in their final years at school. Although they will be non voting members, they will have a right to speak and to receive minutes plus other papers regarding governing body matters.

Radical proposals such as these have understandably met with a mixed reaction. Some people have embraced the changes wholeheartedly without a moment's pause. Others have expressed sympathy with the idea of involving young people in theory but have held the view that a change of this nature is impossibly idealistic and will simply lead to difficulties and disappointments all round.

Case Study 1 looks in detail at what one large secondary school has achieved in the past four years in its school council activities. Current members of the council are interviewed and provide an insight into the successes and the challenges of their work.

Developing the curriculum

The effect of citizenship in schools in Wales is not limited to matters of school democracy. The curriculum offers a range of opportunities to involve pupils in their own communities and on much wider scales. These arise out of several subjects including geography, languages and religious education. The widest scope for citizenship, however, is provided by personal and social Education.

The Qualifications, Curriculum and Assessment Authority for Wales (ACCAC) published guidance for this subject area in 2000. It complemented the government policy documents that had preceded it and showed how citizenship might be embedded in the personal development of pupils. In the very first paragraph, the framework observed how good teaching of personal and social education (PSE) can: *'encourage not only positive attitudes to society but a greater participation in the community and the democratic process.'*

The emphasis was not so much on teaching citizenship but on the process of becoming fully-fledged citizens. The background to the framework noted the role of the subject in: *'empowering pupils to be active, informed and responsible citizens, aware of their rights and committed to the processes of participative democracy and the challenges of being a citizen of Wales and the world.'*

This linkage between the role of the individual young person in a local and a global context is significant. There is a clear and growing understanding that it is inadequate to be a good citizen within a person's local community if the rest of the world is then effectively ignored.

That message was re-inforced with ACCAC's publication in 2002 of *Education for Sustainable Development and Global Citizenship*. Much of the publication was given over to case studies of good practice but it also included two sets of questions. These were designed to help schools to audit their current position and to consider what to do next. The case studies and the questions together provided a clear indicator that much good work had been initiated but that much remained to be done.

The evidence about the curriculum

Evidence about how schools are responding to the growing importance of citizenship is not always easy to collect. Many teachers in Wales tend to be reluctant to tell others about good practice in their own classroom. Formal inspections commonly cover less than one week in every two hundred.

However, recent research by ACCAC revealed a wide range of positive and imaginative practice in developing citizenship. The schools identified in the work generally showed a broad understanding of what citizenship could mean and often focused, in particular, on active tasks for students. The role of citizenship as an integral part of personal and social

development was found to be a significant strength within Wales. In addition, the study revealed that schools which have already got established school councils benefited from the increased student involvement.

The sample looked at in this work was essentially self-selecting, reflecting those who had shown an interest in taking part. As such, you would expect the result to reflect the more positive practice in schools and colleges. However, the research made amply clear that the very best of current practice reflected a high degree of commitment by the learning institutions, the staff and the learners themselves.

Case Study 2 considers in detail how one medium-size secondary school has achieved the active involvement of its pupils in the community as citizens. Pupils provide an understanding of the challenges they met and a view of the outcomes achieved. They also reflect on the necessary conditions for such projects to succeed.

Learning from the case studies

The examples speak for themselves but it is worth looking at the common strands that arise from these studies of very different schools.

The first observation is that young people have to be trusted, if active citizenship is to work in practice. When they are trusted, pupils welcome the independence they are given with a passionate enthusiasm. In turn, that independence appears to breed a responsible and realistic outlook.

Secondly, the role of the teacher is a critical factor. In both cases, there was an absolute and unflinching determination that the projects should be the property of the pupils. Only a genuine recognition of the pupil's central role could generate any sort of success. There was also a quiet and unobtrusive encouragement of those young people with the necessary leadership qualities. There was also a sense that pupils could bring a whole range of abilities to projects and that all of those skills were to be valued.

The complications of working in real citizenship situations did not seem to deter the young people. Students, in both case studies, experienced large doses of hard work and frustration. This did not deflect them from the work in which they were involved. The message was that the

frustrations were a price worth paying for the excitement of actually being involved in things that mattered.

Finally, the effect of involvement was to create energised young people who were not only proud of what they had done but were also ready for the next challenge. This could be in terms of a school activity but, in several cases, students admitted that the experience in school had given them new impetus in what they chose to do beyond school. They were building new skills that would have lasting value throughout life.

Key messages for active citizenship

The messages in the case studies are many and varied. The following points, however, appear to be central to active citizenship in schools.
- the power of pupils to influence the direction of a project is essential
- pupils appreciate honesty in explanations about the limits of their power
- staff must be enthusiastic but also willing to delegate to pupils
- giving young people responsibility makes them more responsible
- projects need annual review and renewal
- schools must be willing to take risks
- the results of active citizenship are not always predictable
- not everything will work out well but pupils are generally realistic about that
- success in citizenship in school teaches transferable skills
- the benefits for pupils include enhanced self confidence and a strong sense of achievement.

Case study 1

The first study looks at a large suburban secondary school of over 2000 pupils, which has been running school councils for the past four years. It is no great surprise to note the sheer range of subjects that the council has covered in that time. These include:
- the state of the toilets
- school behaviour policy
- lockers
- bullying policy
- links with other schools
- price of sweets in the canteen
- format of school reports
- cycle sheds

- timing of the school day
- parents' evenings.

The scope for this school council is extensive. If an issue relates to the school and the local community, it can be on the agenda. The only exception is that the discussion of individual staff is not allowed. The young people appear to be as definite about this limitation as the adults. It is seen as not appropriate and not fair to be drawn into matters relating to individuals. There seems to be a genuine desire in the student body to run their business in a way that will strengthen rather than jeopardise their position.

Staff roles

For the staff, one of things that they have had to get used to is the idea that the pupils control the agenda of meetings which the adults may be allowed to attend. The headteacher delegates one of his senior colleagues to be the link member of staff. That person attends the council by right. Others must wait to be invited. Although some staff might perceive this as frustrating, the council members jealously guard the right to choose what to debate and with whom as a key feature of their independence and status.

It is worth observing that the member of staff who has a right to speak and be heard at the school council, does not make great use of that opportunity. Instead he sees his role as a 'facilitator' and is 'delighted' that he is able to take 'a more and more passive role' as the pupils grow in confidence.

In this respect, the student and the staff perceptions are alike. Pupils appreciate having a staff member who does not take the limelight but who 'just chips in' now and then. The nature of the contribution is often factual. There is no problem, for example, in choosing to discuss the price of sweets in the canteen but the fact that the catering contract still has two years to run is a constraint that needs to be noted. As one pupil observed, 'It's not quite so frustrating when you know why.'

Benefits for students

The benefits that the pupils see in having an active and independent school council are many and varied. A high value is placed upon the sense of ownership. More than one member of the council described it as 'exciting' to experience the level of involvement that they had been given.

This effect is most clearly seen in a case where there is a tangible outcome to the debate. A good example is the recent provision of secure bicycle sheds. It is hoped that these will encourage more young people to cycle to school rather than to be brought by car. For one member of the council, this was the culmination of raising the matter in the smaller year councils for many years. He observed that it was immensely satisfying to look at the new facility and to know that 'I was a part of that happening.'

Naturally, not everything has worked well. The pupils were generally positive about the chance they were given in the consultations about the timing of the school day. However, there was a level of frustration that their suggested changes to parents' evenings had run up against issues relating to teachers' conditions of service and hence did not get the full discussion that many felt they deserved.

As the movement for greater pupil involvement gathers pace, a key issue for schools will be to structure consultation in such a way that the process increases a sense of enfranchisement rather than alienation.

Benefits for schools

The benefits of active student citizenship are not, of course, simply for the students themselves. Their involvement allows a school to understand much more clearly the perceived strengths and weaknesses of what it does. The results of that are not always what one might expect.

In the case of this school, the consultation on school reports showed a clear desire for a return to more old-fashioned styles and values. Pupils 'hated' the tick boxes that were a part of the current system and disliked the banks of standard phrases that created what they saw as a regrettable 'uniformity' in reporting output. What the pupil representatives wanted was a simpler and more personal system, the kind that most schools abandoned more than a decade ago!

A greater benefit for an institution derives from student engagement in major policy developments. This can be especially true in cases that may affect their daily lives within school. The most visible example of this was the opportunity to have some input into the school's new behaviour policy. Although the pupils did not believe their ideas had been fully reflected in the arrangements that were implemented, they remained positive about the fact that they were consulted. Staff observed that this

engagement with the pupils made the implementation of the new policy more straightforward and an easier experience all round.

Making a school council work

As the council has developed, so has a sense of what makes this kind of active citizenship work. A key feature is the need to avoid standing still. There were several complaints that the council used to 'do the same things every year.' There was 'too much talk, not enough action'. One pupil noted: 'You need to keep changing the agenda. Don't just go on repeating it.'

The result is that the structure of the council has changed as well as the subjects it talks about. The current council has given much of the work to committees which cover three very different areas:

*   specific project development
*   environmental matters
*   links with other schools/institutions.

This allows pupils to concentrate on a particular interest and ensures that the group working on something is of a manageable size. A key advantage of the student council's new structure is that it helps to relieve the pressure on individual students. Becoming active in citizenship can create a serious workload problem. The time required to be an active member of the council featured in comments by a number of pupils:

*   'when you need more time, you don't always have it'
*   'it takes up your lives'
*   'time just gets swallowed up'
*   'you really need a sabbatical to be chair'.

Out of context, these might be seen as essentially negative responses. In reality, they were expressions of realism to set beside the obvious and passionate commitment to the process of making things happen.

Threat or partner?

The school council, in this case study, has found its feet and recognised its influence. It might be feared that, in such circumstances, a council could become increasingly strident and unreasonable. This has clearly not been the situation here. There is a common sense approach to what the council does. The pupils attribute this to the fact that they have been listened to and have seen a range of changes:

*   'most of what we want is carried through'
*   'when we don't get our way...usually there's a reason for it'
*   'you have to be realistic'.

Success, it would appear, is breeding a desire to set achievable goals for the future. One of the older pupils expressed it wisely: 'ideas are becoming more sensible because we achieve more that way.'

Ownership

In the midst of all these activities, this school council has chosen to change its name. It is now known as the Student Forum. The name change indicates the desire to make a new start with the modified structure that the pupils have designed themselves. However there is good reason to think that it is more than simply a routine piece of re-naming.

The change from 'school' to 'student' highlights their sense of ownership of the organisation. The replacement of 'council' with 'forum' highlights that sense that the student body is more than a place for a quick consultation. Instead it is somewhere that ideas can be brought and considered thoroughly from a range of angles. The name change may not seem significant to every person but it indicates quite clearly the direction in which this particular student body is moving.

The overall impression is that this council is immensely proud of what it has done without underestimating the difficulties associated with its achievements:

- 'You've got to work with everything else in the school but most of the time our views are taken seriously'
- 'It can be really difficult to get everyone agreed but it's interesting to see things develop'
- 'It's quite hard to tackle the issues but it's good to be involved'
- 'When we have a project or an aim, we put all out efforts into it'.

The message that is repeated most often concerns ownership. The chair of the school council summed it up in seven words: 'If it happens, it's because of you'.

Case study 2

The second case study looks at a secondary school of approximately 800 pupils in an area of light industry on the outskirts of a medium-size town. The main occupation in previous generations was coal-mining.

The active citizenship work here has grown out of an important local issue. The school lives in the shadow of a local coal tip. Although the tip is checked regularly and is said to be safe, it creates a shadow above the community. Some local people have grown to have a certain amount of affection for this man-made hill. Many others would like to see it removed. The question of how to remove it and of what would go in its place had produced very little agreement.

The prospect that something might be done about the great mound of waste left over from a century of mining caught the imagination of a group of 15 year old students. They were studying for a qualification in citizenship studies. Instead of choosing a general issue such as racism or poverty as their project theme, they decided to focus on what they might achieve on this local issue. It is important to emphasise that this was a class decision rather than one made by the teacher.

The process required by the examination syllabus is four-fold:
- plan
- gather information
- take action
- evaluate.

With the help of a grant from a community fund, the students set out to inform the residents about what was going on and to discover their views through a questionnaire.

The complications of involvement
The first shock for students was that very few people within the village knew anything about the proposals to take action on the tip. The second shock was the negative reactions they received. Local people thought, at first, that the students were doing the local council's 'dirty work' for them. Students had not expected to be met by suspicion and had to work hard to convince people that they were on no one person's side. They just wanted to be involved in decisions being made within their community.

The students received back approximately two hundred questionnaires. When they began to consider the issues raised, they came across a range of problems. The first one was extraordinarily simple: you cannot make coal tip waste disappear! If it was to be removed from where they lived, it would have to be taken to where someone else lived. That did not seem to be much of a solution to many of them.

The second problem was more complex. If the tip were to be 're-graded', a polite word for sorted and spread out, the question arose of what could appropriately be put on top of it. Proposals being made included new housing, a golf course, community buildings, factories and a supermarket.

There were, what the students saw as, inconsistencies in what the authorities were proposing. Some of the tip was more toxic than other parts. It was suggested that houses could be built on top of the part that was least toxic and factories could be put at the other end.
One student observed: 'How can it be unsafe to live in a house built on the more toxic part of the waste but safe to go there every day and work in a factory on the very same spot? It doesn't make sense.'

The students made contact with a range of people in their search for information including community councillors and the local planning department. An apparent breakthrough came when the students were offered an opportunity to take part in the consultation committee.

The initial surprise was the sheer length of meetings and the slow speed at which things moved forward. A committee would go on for over three hours and, in the view of students, 'didn't seem to achieve anything.'

The feedback from the students involved in this indicated very clearly some of the potential frustrations and challenges for active citizenship:

- 'things never seemed to progress'
- 'a lot was to do with mistrust'
- 'everyone seemed to hate each other'
- 'people believed that others had a secret agenda'
- 'no one was willing to compromise'.

The effect of involvement

The effect of such a dispiriting experience on young citizens might have been expected to have put them off involvement for life, especially, as one put it, 'all we wanted to do was to make the tip safe'. In fact, the experience whetted the appetite of those who had participated to do more.

The reasoning behind such a positive response is not easily explained, even by those who took part. A best guess might relate to the reality of what the young people were engaged in. They might not have got the tip sorted out. They might not have been able to change adult attitudes.

However, they had been deeply immersed in something that mattered. The work had been utterly different from the theoretical models on which so much school study is based.

Taking it further

One of the potential difficulties for a school that engages in a specific local citizenship matter is maintaining the impetus from year to year. In this case, the school found a further opportunity in the shape of a proposal to site a Waste Transfer Station close to the school. These are factory units that process the rubbish people produce. They operate as an alternative to placing waste in a landfill site.

In this case, the work that the school had already done strengthened its position. The community already recognised that the students could show a genuine and intelligent concern for major local issues. The politicians knew that the school was one of the organisations with which they needed to communicate. In this project, students met local councillors, the Public Services manager, the local member of the national parliament and the local member of the European parliament. In each case, the young people impressed the visitors by their ability to understand and debate the matter.

One of the effects of the meetings was to make the students think about both sides of the issues. At the outset, every single student had been against the waste processing site. After the meetings, some could see the importance of the work and the positive impact on jobs. They felt that this could outweigh the negative effects of the possible bad smell on a hot day and the increased number of lorries in the area.

Not everything worked smoothly. The students applied for permission to speak at the Planning Meeting about the Waste Transfer Station and were turned down. Some adults took a very long time to respond to straightforward letters or emails. There was also the difficult matter of how to respond to the opportunity to protest at the gates of the site. Could students be trusted to keep the protest peaceful and legal? The answer was 'yes' and the community profile of the school was further enhanced by the event.

In the end, the outcome of this activity was a success for the majority: the facility for processing waste was eventually sited well away from all centres of population.

This is what one student wrote in her evaluation of the campaign:

'I have learnt from this project that everyone has a voice, never mind your age, and that every voice counts and can make a difference. I might have only played a small part but collectively we made a big impact on what the result was. After taking part in this project, I have valuable knowledge on who has power and authority in the community. It has changed my views. I realise that everyone has a certain amount of power and I have now realised it is important to vote.'

The position of the minority

The students' own evaluations of their involvement in this project were positive in a variety of ways. Many felt equipped and enthused for future projects. A small note of reservation can be found in the work produced by the students who had seen value in the waste transfer station but whose minority view had not prevailed.

One of these wrote: 'I would have liked to have taken a more active role.' This student felt an opportunity had been missed for 'making people aware that the 'whole community' wasn't against the waste transfer station.' The placing of the phrase 'the whole community' in quotation marks re-inforces the sense that the majority have clearly been heard but the minority have not been given a similar voice.

Whether or not such an impression is accurate, this is a reminder that active citizenship may involve a teacher in complex and multi-faceted situations. An important challenge for citizenship will always be the need to make young people feel enfranchised, even when the argument has been won by an opposing view.

Student responses to involvement

Some of the results of this kind of active citizenship education are exactly what might be expected. Here are four typical comments from the school students:

- 'you get to know more about your rights'
- 'it informs everyone about what politics mean'
- 'it will reduce apathy in the future'
- 'some of us would not mind being politicians in the future'.

These are important successes. Wales is a country where the average age of local politicians has increased notably across the last twenty five

years. At the same time, the numbers voting in elections is on a downward trend.

A significant reservation that students expressed concerned the difference between theory and reality in adult attitudes. One boy expressed the tension very clearly: 'It's still very difficult to have real influence. Adults say that they want to get us involved but are not so keen when we actually do so.'

On the other hand, the positive results from the process extended well beyond simply understanding about democracy and trying to make it work. Here again are some of the views expressed by the young people:

* 'you see the importance of knowing the views of those closely involved'
* 'you realise that people have to make choices'
* 'there has got be more than one of you to make a difference'.

Continuing the work

The skills of communication and of working with others are given an effective platform in good citizenship work such as this. Equally important is the fact that the work seems to generate ongoing enthusiasm. The school is currently involved with a partner school in Japan through the British Council. Pupils have also helped in preparing a pilot programme for the national launch of *Get Global*, the initiative by *Oxfam* to help young people to think and act as global citizens.

On a local level, the school has established a 'Transition School Council'. This brings together pupils from the four primary schools in the area with younger pupils from the High School. The purpose is to make the change of school at eleven years of age an easier and a more positive experience. Older pupils support the younger members of the council but take care not to dominate what goes on.

The same advantages can be observed here that were seen in the campaigns about the tip and the waste transfer station. First, there is a significant growth in confidence, especially with regard to communication. One of the older pupils who had acted as a chair for the council, observed: 'At the first meeting, you couldn't get them to say two words...now they are really confident.'

Secondly, a determination grows to take on roles that are traditionally taken only by adults. In this case, the council has become involved in

producing the current version of the induction booklet that goes to all new pupils. It is interesting to note that the concern about the previous version, produced in the normal way by the teachers, was not that it contained poor information but that it was written in a way that would not encourage new pupils to read and to use it.

Finally, the school has been involved in a peer mentoring scheme that links its pupils with the local special school where pupils have significant disabilities and complex needs. The scheme is valuable in its own right but also allows those who are involved to work towards a qualification in counselling skills. This ground-breaking work has taken the pupils to Portugal for an international conference about peer mentoring funded by the Leonardo Project.

How did it happen?

The key question that this case study raises is how does a school engage so fully and actively in citizenship issues. The pupils are clear that a large part of the answer lies in the personnel. Citizenship is led in the school by a teacher who believes passionately in the right of young people to be involved in decisions that affect their community. The focus is on their right to involvement but there is also an implied obligation. Pupils have a responsibility to take part. Rights are not part of a menu that you can pick from if it suits you; they are a statement of what you should be willing to be involved in.

Both pupils and staff think that another important aspect is the attitude of the headteacher. This is not simply a matter of her willingness to fund particular initiatives. She is eager to listen and to actively support the various ventures. This is perhaps best illustrated in her agreement that pupils could attend the demonstration at the site of the proposed waste transfer station. A decision like that indicates a high level of trust in the pupils. It also shows a readiness to face the consequences of any bad publicity that might have been generated if the demonstration had turned out badly.

Although the progress made in this school has been driven forward by key people, the effect of their work would clearly not evaporate overnight if they were no longer there. The older pupils have learnt to take on many responsibilities and have found that they actually enjoy aspects of the experience. As two of the students readily admitted, what they have learnt to do within school has changed the activities that they

choose to do outside of school as well. It is as if, once certain pupils have tasted genuine responsibility, they seek it out in a range of contexts.

The best argument of all for the processes described here is the change in attitudes that active citizenship work has achieved. One seventeen year old pupil, who had no interest in politics at the start, now admits that she would be very happy to be prime minister if she were ever to get the opportunity. That is a change in perspective that is well worth achieving.

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Education for citizenship in Flanders

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Introduction

In one of the most thrilling novels of our time, 'Der Winter in Wien', the first person narrator wonders: 'into which mirror of this world did my face disappear?'. He doesn't know anymore who he is. What's his identity? We would like to link the quest for identity, formulated by the author Reinhold Schneider, to the related question: 'How are individual, collective and multiple identities constructed nowadays in the context of the transformations taking place on a local, regional and global level?' How to promote active citizenship, how to educate for citizenship? And more concretely: how are these questions being answered in Flanders? No man is an island. We are all interconnected. Philosophy, human sciences, classical studies, theology, history and also jurisprudence can be different means to assist the exploration of human beings in all their complexity. When looking at human societies, the object of our study is 'human kind', 'anthropos' and that means both ourselves as well as others, and also the dialectical relationship between the individual and the group. Is the other an - equal (?) - human being? What can we tell about ourselves and other human beings? What can we state about our society and other societies? When and on which basis can we claim a 'culture', a 'cultural heritage'?

This paper will discuss the policies and practices of citizenship education in the Flemish community of Belgium. In the first part we will present some definitions of and policy-ideas about citizenship as they were developed during the last ten years.
Part 2 is about the contemporary situation of education for citizenship in the Flemish education system. Information about the way these ideas are integrated in the curriculum and in participation in school life will be given.
The following parts describe the way policy on education for citizenship is supported and evaluated and how teacher training is attuned to it. This article ends with some possible next steps for education for citizenship in Flanders.

Educational policy

Policy context

The choice of introducing education for citizenship in the Flemish curriculum dates from the early nineties. The trigger for this decision was mainly political. General perception, partly backed up by research evidence, was that there was a strong 'gap' between politics, policy, government and 'the citizen'. Research evidence indeed indicated a strongly decreasing trust in government or authorities in their different forms. At the same time, the extreme right wing party in Flanders started its series of continuous electoral victories. In this context, members of parliament and other politicians more and more looked to education and schools as a solution to these two problems. Also, scientific research (commissioned by the Education Department) into the effect of schools on youngster's values, showed that, more than anything, opportunities to participate in decision-making at different levels in school life, contribute to positive attitudes towards ethical questions (moral tolerance), and to the prevention of ethnocentrism, etc. This inspired education policy to put a stronger emphasis on pupil participation and on education for citizenship.

In 1994, a report was published on the social debate about a draft core curriculum for junior secondary education. An important part of this curriculum was the newly proposed cross-curricular themes. One of these themes was education for citizenship. The proposals for this theme attracted a great deal of attention due to its social, political and educational importance. Following the results of this social debate, the proposals were significantly revised. In September 1997, the implementation of the curriculum for citizenship in junior secondary education started. Upper secondary education only followed in September 2002. Subsequently, in 2004, the Flemish government started its participation policy, granting more participation rights to pupils, teachers and parents.

In the meantime, the political attention for citizenship education increased. The Flemish government agreement 2004-2009 says that everybody in Flanders has to display a 'stronger and shared' citizenship. This means:
- to participate to society with respect for others
- to contribute to welfare through work and one's own efforts
- to respect fundamental rights and freedoms and the norms laid down in the constitution, in laws, decrees,...

- not to exclude or discriminate against people based on their ethnical, religious or cultural background. (Flemish government agreement, 2004-2009)

To understand the background of these four objectives and the specific context in which they are to be realised, the following statements in 'Policy memorandum Civic Integration 2004 - 2009', 'Living together in diversity':Everyone's responsibility' are important:

'The international political developments and globalisation which have been characteristic of the last few decades have resulted in various types of immigration (asylum seekers/refugees, migrant workers, reuniting families, etc.) and have thoroughly changed the composition of the Flemish population. As a result, Flemish cities and municipalities are increasingly brought into contact with new cultures, traditions, philosophies, religious convictions and social visions, so that the daily life of the original inhabitants in certain districts has been very profoundly influenced. The nature of immigration also remains subject to change. Today there are people from every corner of the world living in our cities and municipalities. Flemish society in 2004 is characterised by diversity. This is an undeniable and irreversible fact. Diversity is a reality which requires flexibility on the part of all the Flemish people, whether they are 'old' or 'new'. The diverse community requires an active approach by the (Flemish) authorities at every level of government. In fact, there are enormous challenges. The presence of so many people from different backgrounds not only means an enrichment of Flemish society, it also makes demands on social cohesion.

In its coalition agreement, the Flemish Government has committed itself to working hard to create a Flanders in which all people can live together in diversity, irrespective of their background, on the basis of equality and active shared citizenship. The final goal is the active participation of everyone in Flemish society and to achieve a sufficient social cohesion in this society to give individuals the best possible opportunities. This means that everyone, irrespective of his or her origin, should be given opportunities for development in a society which, on the one hand, creates the space for this, and on the other hand, ensures a common basis of values and norms. It also means that everyone, irrespective of their background, must respect those common values and norms and take up their own individual responsibility themselves as active citizens. This means breaking away from cultural relativism and group thinking, and evolving towards an open, diverse and modern society. After all, the

zeitgeist of monocultures is a thing of the past. We want a single society with room for differences and we want to break away from the 'them and us' mentality.

We do not want to choose for a society in which different communities simply live 'next to each other'. We do not opt either for the 'exclusion' of people from Flemish society, nor for 'shutting people up' in their own culture. Nevertheless, this sometimes happens nowadays and there is a threat of segregation and increasing irritation and lack of understanding. We cannot and must not accept this. Therefore the new civic integration policy is based on the objective of a single society (the Flemish society), in which individuals with different backgrounds can live 'together'. We want to achieve a social cohesion in which everyone's individuality and cultural identity continues to exist, but in which the prevailing values, norms and rules of our democratic political state continue to form the cornerstone of Flemish society. Therefore the Flemish Government considers that it is important that immigrants in Flanders do not give up their cultural or religious values but actually integrate these in Flemish society as an added value. The respect for diversity is integral in the fundamental values on which Flemish society is based: such as equality of all people, the separation between church and state, the freedom of expression.

These values also form the limits of diversity: living together in diversity is only possible if every citizen accepts these values, observes them and implements them. It is only in this way that we can achieve an open and tolerant society in which every individual has the space and (starting) opportunities to decide on their own life.

Although there is still a great deal of work to be done, the Flemish Government acknowledges that we are faced with an unfavourable social climate: after all, the civic integration of a number of immigrants in Flanders has not been successful and many immigrants and the original Flemish population have become very impatient. We are increasingly confronted with radical positions both on the part of the immigrants and by the original Flemish population, while we should be working more than ever on joint answers and solutions to the social problems which arise. The Flemish Government cannot and will not accept this and wishes to turn the tide with a policy on civic integration.'
Policy memorandum Civic Integration 2004 - 2009)

The role of education in working towards this 'stronger and shared' citizenship was made more concrete in the policy document of the

Flemish minister of Education 'Today champion of mathematics, tomorrow also of equal opportunities'. This policy document sees education for citizenship as a challenge, mainly for creating more social cohesion and for dealing with diversity in a rapidly changing society. Policy tools are or will be, among other things: equal access to schools, a proportionate participation of different groups in teaching staff, participation policy in schools and a specific legislative description ('statute') of pupils' rights and responsibilities. Another important tool is the curriculum which will be increasingly better supported.

Key concepts

The policy view on the key concepts of 'citizenship', 'education for citizenship', 'education for citizenship in a complex society' and 'the citizen in a democratic society' is described in the Decree (law) of 24 July 1996 on the core curriculum for the first stage of secondary education (age 12-14) and the decree of 18 January 2002 on the core curriculum for the second (age 14-16) and third (age 16-18) stage of secondary education.

Citizenship

Citizenship means being open to the political, economic, social and cultural life of the society of which one forms a part and being willing to participate in it. Citizenship therefore assumes insight into the four aspects mentioned above, as well as into the basic rules which form the basis of our legal order and of democratic system.
One important element of citizenship is contained in human rights and liberties, as laid down in the constitution and in various charters.

Citizenship assumes:
- awareness of belonging to a community of citizens with rights and obligations, including the ensuing responsibilities and tasks
- readiness to honour those rights and to comply with those obligations
- initiative to bear responsibility
- readiness to acquire attitudes such as tolerance, sense of justice, an eye for general well-being, willingness to cooperate and sense of responsibility.

Education for citizenship

Education for citizenship is intended to shape young people into critical citizens who are prepared and competent to think and act constructively in the democratic constitutional state, as it functions today within the

international community. Education for citizenship, in the widest sense of the concept, includes:

- imparting facts and insight related to:
    - economic, social and cultural reality
    - the mechanisms which define and lead to this reality
    - the political decision-making which can be used to intervene in this reality, at all levels of the community
- sensitisation to the values of the democratic system
- mastering skills for giving shape to the aforementioned knowledge, insight and sensitivity to values in one's own life.

Education for citizenship in a complex society

A person is not born with sense of citizenship: it is something which is acquired through upbringing. The school, as a social institution, is a place where children and young people have opportunities to do this. The context in which the school fulfils its educational function is that of a society which is becoming increasingly complex. This complexity is related to the following elements, among others.

The high level of technicity in various fields in society, e.g. in the scientific or political-legal field, creates a number of new possibilities, but also involves risks. A high level of technicity can lead to obscurity. After all, this can give rise to alienation or indifference with respect to social events, which can in turn put pressure on the relationship between the citizen and the state. Attempting to do something about this obscurity is precisely one of the objectives of education for citizenship. Modern communication media determine the citizen's view of social reality to a lager extent. It is important for people to be aware of this and to be able to adopt a critical position on the social problems which arise. As an individual, one forms part of entities which are becoming increasingly large. Local, regional and national realities are no longer solely decisive for the functioning of the individual. Increasingly, the life of the individual citizen is co-determined by supranational structures and mechanisms. At socio-cultural and economic level, great flexibility is expected of both men and women at present. Fixed patterns are much less in evidence and this is expressed in various areas of life, such as training and choice of study, professional activities, paid and unpaid work, job distribution in family life, commitment to social and political life. As a result of the loss of these patterns, everyday life has become more complex for many people and choices constantly have to be made. Finally, Flemish society is irreversibly developing into a multicultural society. Children, young people and adults will have to become competent to face up to the challenges presented by this multicultural

society and to use them positively, based on an attitude of mutual respect.

The citizen and the democratic society

The increasing complexity of our society imposes moral demands on all citizens. Firstly, a high level of sensitivity to and insight into the problems faced by citizens are required. This sensitivity to problems demands understanding, insight and a certain willingness to make a personal effort.

Secondly, a developed ability to form opinions is required. The citizen must be able to adopt a position with respect to the proposals which are/can be presented to remedy existing problems as far as possible. He must be able to justify this position for himself and for others, using reasonable arguments.

Thirdly, he must be able to participate in a pluralist debate. To this end, he must accept that others will adopt different positions. He will not immediately reject these different positions, but first critically assess their value. If he still cannot agree with them, he will justify this as clearly as possible for himself and for others. Moreover, he will tolerate (and even encourage) others to criticise his own positions in a similar way. Pluralist debate requires a high level of tolerance by the participants. The citizen is thus open to the arguments of his fellow men and he gains respect for their positions, even if he rejects their arguments. Above all, tolerance makes him consider the other person.

In a derived meaning, this tolerance urges one to respect the procedures and institutions which support democratic pluralism and promote the quality of democratic debates. For example, this respect is embodied in a positive bias towards the procedures and institutions of the democratic regime, at the various levels of political decision-making. In other words, it is important that the rules and institutions of democracy be respected. However, this respect does not detract from the fundamental right of the citizen to critically evaluate the achievements of the democratic regime, including the decisions taken via the procedures and institutions, using his own insight, values and standards, and to dispute these achievements if appropriate.

Following aspects characterize education for citizenship:
- emancipatory: training every young person in independence and maturity
- social: encouraging the involvement of every young person in social events

- ethical: training young people in openness to and skill in value analysis and value clarification.

In short: education for citizenship is intended to shape every young person into a democratically thinking, feeling and acting person.

Education for citizenship in Flemish education

Education for citizenship is first of all addressed through the compulsory core curriculum. This curriculum contains a number of objectives (called final objectives) for certain levels of education (end of primary and end of each cycle in secondary), formulated per learning area, subject or cross-curricular theme. The objectives are determined by a decree of Flemish Parliament. All Flemish schools are obliged to make sufficient efforts to work on these objectives. Financing and the right to issue recognized diplomas depend, among other things, on compliance with the compulsory core curriculum. At the same time, schools are free to determine their own way of implementing the cross-curricular themes: through subjects, projects, all kinds of activities, etc.

A second important element in education for citizenship is the policy on pupils' and students' participation. This is part of an integrated vision of a decentralised and participative school culture in which the participation and responsibility of pupils, parents and teachers is being developed. This policy stimulates schools to be a 'laboratory of citizenship' in which competencies necessary for a democratic society can be learned, practiced and applied. Or in the words of the well-known developmental psychologist Eric Erikson, a 'social moratorium'.

Education for citizenship in the curriculum

Primary education
In primary education, objectives relating to responsible citizenship are part of the 'world orientation' learning area (an integrated approach on learning about nature, health, environment, technology, man, society, time and space). In primary education, the final objectives are build around three main areas: socio-economic, socio-cultural and political and legal aspects. Some examples:
- Socio-economic aspects:
  pupils are able to illustrate that different types of work are open to men and women in a different way and are valued differently;

pupils are able to illustrate with their own example how the price of a product is arrived at.

- Socio-cultural aspects:
  pupils are able to illustrate that different social and cultural groups have different values and norms;
  pupils are aware that racism is often based on lack of familiarity with and a fear of things which are strange.
- Political and legal aspects:
  pupils are able to illustrate the importance of fundamental human rights and the rights of the child. They are aware that rights and duties complement each other;
  pupils are able to explain in simple terms that elections are a basic element of the democratic operation of our institutions.

Secondary education

In secondary education, there is a separate cross-curricular theme called 'Education for citizenship'. Cross-curricular themes act as a kind of 'safety net' for core objectives that are not at all or hardly raised in the subjects. In secondary education, not one single subject completely covers all aspects of such themes. Therefore, a cross-curricular approach is required.

'Cross-curricular' can have two meanings. Firstly, cross-curricular final objectives refer to competencies that do not belong to the content of one or more subjects, but which can be taught, practised and applied to it, such as learning to learn and social skills. Secondly, certain cross-curricular final objectives must also be regarded as complementary to the subject's final objectives. They render it possible to make the subjects more coherent and interconnected.

Schools are obliged to make efforts with regard to the final objectives for these cross-curricular themes, which means that they must try to realise them to the highest possible extent in their pupils. For some aspects this is possible in co-operation with external partners, such as the pupil guidance centres.

Cross-curricular final objectives are above all intended to develop the attitude of responsibility. It often involves goals for which the whole school is responsible and for which the school has an exemplary role towards the pupils.

Besides education for citizenship, there are also cross-curricular final objectives for learning to learn, social skills, health education and environmental education.

The final objectives for these cross-curricular themes are formulated by means of selection criteria and a set of general objectives.

Selection criteria
The ultimate goal of education for citizenship is the acquisition of a number of basic skills which enable young people to participate in a constructive and critical way in social life, in its widest sense. Children and young people are familiarised with a number of phenomena and mechanisms which are located in the following social fields:

- the political and legal field, which includes aspects such as power, consultation, representation of interests, decision-making, institutions and procedures
- the socio-economic field, where attention is devoted to labour, trade and prosperity
- the socio-cultural field, where aspects such as training, leisure time, family and group formation are explained.

These three social fields form the framework within which a choice is made for specific contents and situations. These contents and situations which are seized upon in education in order to work on citizenship, should be as meaningful as possible for the young people themselves. For this reason, a choice was made in the first stage for four 'realities' which concern young people of that age, i.e. the school, their situation at home (family forms), the media and democratic forms of administration. The permanent aim here is to acquire more understanding of these aspects, to become more competent in dealing with them and to develop attitudes which show respect for other people or things.
In the second stage, a choice was made for two socially relevant and topical themes: human rights, and active citizenship and decision-making.
The topics for the third stage are democratic parliaments, rendering social services and world citizenship.

General objectives
At secondary level, education for citizenship tries to reach a number of overarching fundamental objectives such as understanding of the role of the state, the community and the individual and the interactions between them, developing ability to empathise with democratic values, to

recognise and live them out in practice on the basis of the civil, political, social, economic and cultural rights of man; respecting institutions and procedures which are essential to democracy, coupled with a critical attitude towards policy and policy results, respecting the opinions, arguments and dignity of others in the multicultural society and in pluralist debate.

Final objectives
Besides the fundamental objectives the more concrete objectives are formulated in every sub-theme. They are all formulated in terms of pupil behaviour regarding knowledge, insight, skills and attitudes or a combination of these.

For the first stage (pupils aged 12-14): the class and the school (e.g. pupils know the functions and responsibilities of everyone involved in the school and can use the resources available to make known their questions, problems, ideas or opinions), family forms and individual social circles (e.g. pupils know where they can go for help if they have problems in their own social circle), media (e.g. pupils can adopt a critical attitude towards all types of reporting), democratic forms of administration (e.g. pupils can illustrate that any policy must take into account the ideas, points of view and interests of various interested parties).
More information can be obtained at:
http://www.ond.vlaanderen.be/dvo/english/corecurriculum/secondary/1grade/astream/citizen.htm

For the second stage (pupils aged 14-16): human rights (e.g. pupils have interest in and respect for human rights and are willing to actively and constructively commit themselves to their own rights and the rights of others), active citizenship and decision-making (e.g. pupils can apply decision-making to real-life school situations).
More information can be obtained at:
http://www.ond.vlaanderen.be/dvo/english/corecurriculum/secondary/2grade/cross/citizen.htm

For the third stage (pupils ages 16-18): democratic councils and parliaments (e.g. pupils can critically assess council or parliamentary decisions by comparing them to relevant information, the own opinion and the opinions of others), rendering social services (e.g. pupils can collect data on social services and institutions, what they offer and how they operate and on specific aid and information services for youngsters), world citizenship (e.g. pupils can illustrate the role of international institutions).

More information can be obtained at:
http://www.ond.vlaanderen.be/dvo/english/corecurriculum/secondary/3grade/cross/citizen.htm

Education for citizenship through active participation in school life

On April 1 2004, Flemish Parliament approved the so called 'Decree on participation'. This decree (which amounts to a law) is a legal framework for participation at school level. The school council consists of representatives from parents, staff and the local community (in secondary education also pupils). The school head has to attend school council meetings in an advisory capacity.

In primary education, a school is obliged to establish a pupil council at the request of at least 10% of the pupils aged 11-13. In secondary education, a pupil council is compulsory in all cases. A staff council and a parent council depend on the same 10% rule as for pupils in primary education.
The respective members of the school council are appointed by the pupil, staff or parent council. If these do not exist, elections have to be organised.

The school council has an *advisory* role and a *consultative* role. The school council can advise the school board (organising body) at its own initiative concerning all matters relating to staff, pupils or parents or relating to matters of the general organisation and functioning of the school. The school board is obliged to ask the school council's advice on any decision concerning the description of the school head's profile, the courses offered; co-operation with other schools or external agencies, pupil transport, the policy on in-service training, the policy on experiments and projects.

The school board has to negotiate with the school council on the school regulations; the list of financial contributions parents can be asked for during the school year; the school development plan; the framework agreement with the centre for pupil guidance; the planning of extra curricular activities; the policy on well-being and safety at school, etc.

This policy supports the implementation of the core curriculum on education for citizenship and the other way around. Participation in school life creates a favourable context for the application of the final

objectives. On the other hand, the final objectives stimulate a participation going beyond structures and formalities toward real active citizenship at school level.

Extra-curricular activities, support and implementation

Flemish schools use a variety of extra-curricular activities for the implementation of education for citizenship and other cross-curricular themes. Project work and other extra-curricular activities have been a tradition for the past 30 or 40 years but since the introduction of the cross-curricular themes (1997) they are more and more geared towards the core curriculum and are becoming more and more professional as well. This can be explained by the growing support provided to schools in helping them to implement the cross-curricular themes. There is a wide range of support here: books from the Department for Educational Development which designed the curriculum; material commissioned by the Flemish government; NGO's receiving funding from the Education Department to do targeted implementation work; Dynamo², an initiative from the Department which stimulates and helps schools to organise cross-curricular projects; in-service training; targeted and made to measure support by guidance centres, etc.
Still, generally speaking, schools use a mixture of organisational models: different forms of integration and linking with subject content (history, languages, religious courses, etc.), different forms of cross-curricular activities (projects, one-off events, etc.) and different forms of integration in the school culture (school regulation, agreements on behaviour, relations and communication at school, ways of participation to decision-making, etc.).

This statement, however, is an 'expert observation' and is not backed up by recent implementation research.

Evaluation

Pupil assessment
Schools are not obliged to assess pupils relating to cross-curricular themes, so no assessment on citizenship is required. If schools decide to do this it is based on their own choice and methods.

Evaluation of schools
The inspectorate of education controls the implementation at schools (the way the schools work on the curriculum, not the pupils' results) during

every school audit, using a specially designed instrument. This instrument is used to evaluate the school's efforts in the field of education for citizenship as well as of the other cross-curricular themes. The instrument makes it possible to draw a profile of the school in relation to its obligations. In order to achieve this, three phases, namely the development of vision, implementation, and evaluation, have been taken as measuring points. In daily practice these phases are not always chronologically followed. As with other activities, cross-curricular work is a cyclic process that can begin with any of the above-mentioned phases.

Link: http://www.onderwijsinspectie.be/SO/voet.htm. This link refers to the inspectorate website (in Dutch only).

Teacher training

There are no special requirements for those who teach and promote citizenship other than the requirements necessary to work as a teacher. However, the curricula of primary and secondary education and those of initial teacher training are attuned to each other. Teacher training at all levels, as opposed to other forms of higher education, has to comply with basic competencies describing what is to be expected from a new teacher. There is no direct reference to citizenship or to any other cross-curricular themes or to subjects in these basic competencies. They are attuned in different other ways. For instance, teachers have to be able to choose lessons goals based on the final objectives. Or they must be able to create learning and development processes from a cross-curricular perspective. Another example: teachers have to be able to prepare pupils for participation in social life by means of attitudinal learning. These and other objectives in the curriculum for teacher training help new teachers to be prepared for working with the cross-curricular final objectives.

Next steps

It is expected that policy on citizenship will become the focus of a national debate in the near future. The following elements might initiate such a debate.

- The Flemish government plans to evaluate the implementation of the compulsory core curriculum. Most likely, cross-curricular themes will become one of the major foci of this evaluation. This would offer the opportunity to look critically at the citizenship objectives as they have been formulated and, if required, to bring them up-to-date with

current educational and societal developments. Furthermore there would finally be valid and reliable evaluation data available on this topic. Questions like 'what favours or hinders successful implementation?', 'what importance do teachers attach to education for citizenship?', 'what choices do schools make in working with the final objectives?' can be answered when such evaluation research would take place.

- The UN World Action plan for Human Rights Education, starting in 2005, might also influence a possible curriculum reform and might be a lever to stronger support for human rights education as part of education for citizenship.

- There are two aspects which are only dealt with indirectly and on which there is pressure to become a more explicit and recognised part of the curriculum.
  Since the development of the final objectives, some major events and debates have taken place on the legal or judicial aspects of society. There is an explicit part on human rights in the curriculum, but the legal system as such, it's role in society and in the daily life of citizens, is not particularly dealt with. This might be called a hiatus in the Flemish core curriculum.
  Another aspect which is only dealt with indirectly in the citizenship curriculum is the European dimension. There are some references to the European dimension and there is a specific sub-theme on 'world citizenship' in the curriculum but generally the objectives can be applied at different levels (local, regional, national, European, global). In general terms, these levels or dimensions are an integral part of the citizenship concept.
  There is more and more pressure (e.g. through reporting on the follow-up of the Lisbon process, through a future recommendation on basic skills from the European Commission) to make this European dimension more explicit. This contradicts with the 'open' philosophy of the Flemish curriculum in the sense that schools can freely choose on what 'level' they apply the final objectives to. For instance, in dealing with the topic 'democratic parliament', the European level is a possibility, but also the Belgian, Flemish, etc.

Finally, another policy intention is to have a better co-ordination of the support structures and organisations, among other things in the area of education for citizenship. The number and diversity of all kinds of

initiatives is growing rapidly which makes it very difficult for teachers to find their way through such a disordered support landscape.

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European and international orientation.
A contribution to European citizenship

Wolter Blankert

Introduction

The aim of this paper is to describe how 'European and international Orientation' (EIO) can get attention in schools as contribution to European Citizenship. The concept of 'European and international Orientation' is much more concrete to schools than 'European citizenship'.

This concept of EIO was developed by Oonk in his dissertation to create a clear description of the activities that schools can undertake within the framework of internationalisation. In contrast to 'citizenship' and 'European citizenship' EIO is a very specific theme that, as a value free concept, creates little discussion or resistance. It has been after all the duty of the school that pupils orientate themselves in a large number of fields.

These two orientations, European and international, are closely related, but are not synonymous. We live in a local, regional, national, European and international context. The European Union has formalised structures with far-reaching authority, laid down in laws and institutions which influence national legislation and regulations. This makes the European Union the most formalised and supranational international structure in existence, whereby we can *no longer* refer to an international structure. A new type of semi-national structure has been created, the European structure. In a formal and legal sense, European citizenship has been in existence since the signing of the Treaty of Maastricht (1991). Whether this means that the citizens of the European Union *see* themselves as Europeans is another thing, and essentially personal.

Despite of what some might describe as shortcomings and others as respect for the dependence of member states, we live in a European context, from which we face the world.

This is why we refer to 'European *and* international orientation'.

European citizenship and citizenship

European citizenship and citizenship are naturally connected to each other. When we deal with European citizenship the emphasis lies on the European dimension of citizenship.

It is repeatedly underlined in papers of the European Union, that European citizenship is no rival to national citizenship. By no means do they rule each other out. European citizenship forms *officially* a supplement to the national citizenship. One can also say that national and European citizenship are facets of a total citizenship.

Everyone can choose how much of an alliance they have with their own region, the country, with Europe or with the world (world citizen). A *'social citizenship'* (what someone feels) leaves a lot of freedom to the individual.

Everyone can make their own division: 'I feel 50% Dutch, 10% Rotterdammer, 20% European and 20% world citizen' or maybe more realistic 100% Dutch and 100% European et cetera as well.

There is no choice with *official citizenship*. You are born Dutch or Slovenian and since the Treaty of Maastricht also European (in Slovenia since the entry of Slovenia into the EU in 2004). The bearer of a Dutch passport can read in his passport and discover at the immigration service that the passport is also of the European Union.

Every citizen from one of the member states of the European Union is therefore officially a European citizen too, whether or not they appreciate this.

To promote European citizenship you have to bring the official citizenship and 'social' citizenship closer together. Clearly this is a lengthy process, but that is what it always has been. It has taken centuries for inhabitants of Provence and Brittany to begin to feel French.

In the past national citizenship was promoted primarily through linguistic unity (in most countries), a national civil service and compulsory military service; nowadays the media plays an important role. These are precisely areas which are not regulated at European level. However, also in areas which can be considered 'European' there is a complicated interweaving of relationships between European and national institutions. At European level there is no hierarchical bureaucratic structure, the civil servants in Brussels are not the superiors of those in member states. Enforcement of policy, monitoring, the imposition of fines and so on require the cooperation of national civil servants, who do not necessarily accept direction from Brussels.

What is striking is that a national identity has been able to develop separate from the national citizenship. In the Baltic states we notice that the national identity has been able to maintain itself and even develop further under centuries of long foreign oppression.

Clearly this can happen without the powerful support of a government, at least if the forces from within are sufficiently strong enough. It can be suggested that the forces in a longer lasting European unity progressively develop as a source for European citizenship.

During the maintenance or development of a national identity the fostering of the common heritage (language and culture) has always played an important role, as well as often the stated official structures. It remains to be seen whether 'social' citizenship in the sense of 'feeling a citizen of somewhere' is conceivable without a common identity, based on a common heritage. It is clear that in Europe language does not form a part of a common heritage, but in the field of culture, all the important developments had a common European character.

Should 'European citizenship' actually be accepted by the European citizens, then more attention should be paid to European identity and that common European heritage. The latter is obvious and that is why the common heritage appears to offer a good basis for European citizenship, as a supplement to the national identity and the national citizenship.

By no means does this attention for the common heritage, exclude immigrants from outside Europe. Of course immigrants have their own background and their own identity, but this does not need to stand in the way and neither should solidarity with their new place of residence. Maybe it is easier for an immigrant with some family members in different European member states to feel 'European' too then for other European citizens.

Stimulating European citizenship in European connection

The Council of Europe has declared 2005 the 'European Year of Citizenship through Education'; however, it is about citizenship education in general and does not explicitly discuss (yet) the European dimension for its 46 member states.

The Commission document, 'Education and Training in Europe' of 2002, in which the educational indicators which arose from the Lisbon strategy are described, states under objective 3.4 that reinforcement of mobility and exchanges will contribute that people will feel connected with Europe and that through this European citizenship will get more shape.

The European Commission has funded Citizenship projects with a European Dimension in 2003 and 2004, and prepared an Action Programme 'Citizens for Europe' for the period 2007-2013, to promote active European citizenship mainly through town twinning, civil society and public policy research initiatives.

According to the treaties of the European Union a citizen of the EU has special rights. Most of these rights stand enumerated in the European constitution as well, but it is unlikely that these will be introduced in the short term after these were so convincingly rejected by the population of France and the Netherlands. For the rights themselves it doesn't make much difference.

In June of 2004 the Advise by the 'Dutch Education Council', titled 'Education and Europe: European citizenship', was published. This (national) council finds it important that the involvement of the Dutch population in the European Union should be improved and it is therefore necessary to use the national education system with an eye on a triple orientation: Europe as an object to be known, skills with which you can move in Europe and a critical assessment. With these three categories a Europe-competence should be developed.

European competencies and Elos

In March 2000 the Lisbon Council set the strategic goal for the European Union of becoming 'the most competitive and dynamic knowledge based society in the world'. Currently European expert groups are working on the objectives set in Lisbon and following Council meetings. The 'civic competences' are central to the concept of European and International Orientation.

The European Elos network of schools [a concept developed by the European Platform for Dutch Education, Elos means 'European learning environment for schools] plans to develop a 'Framework of Reference' for the specific key competences that are most relevant for 'European Citizenship'. The key competence of 'Communication in a foreign language' should of course be based on the existing EFR for languages.

For the Elos schools EIO offers the educational concept that describes all the educational activities that are aim at teaching specific knowledge, insight and skills with relation to the European and international developments.

By using the EIO concept it also remains possible to work on developments from different programmes and angles. The school is

responsible for a professional educational interpretation. This also prevents that new contents have to be continually devised for different concepts which essentially mean the same.

The pedagogical-didactical starting points are formulated as follows:

- Stimulate interest, built on matters already attended: aim for remaining knowledge of European matters which progressively expands, an indispensable condition to be able to talk and think about something with understanding
- Make some room, therefore, each year for EIO, so that you can return to main issues
- Use, if possible, current affairs as a starting point to raise European (and international) problems, for example, as a result of issues and events in Europe
- Increase the European citizenship, the involvement with Europe, by making pupils and teachers aware of what the EU stands for (standards and values), letting them feel where Europe 'touches' them, forming their own opinions and involving their position, and by being aware of what Europe actually means for everyday life
- Use the exchange activities to offer pupils a form of education that is attractive and meaningful.

So, EIO should receive attention:
- in the lessons, as fixed part of various subjects
- in special activities, as pupil exchange, a project week, an ICT project.

In the outline that concludes this article a short description is given of the subject matter under EIO which a secondary school can offer. Of course a school has numerous possibilities to bring in variations.
Three competences form the starting point. When a pupil leaves the school s/he should be able to demonstrate that s/he is capable of something (competency).
These competences (left column of the outline) are formulated so that a pupil can gradually become familiar with them. If he wants to actually speak and write with understanding, then everything that is learnt has to sttle, this means that one has to return regularly in various, preferably all, school years.
The three competences (left column) correspond closely to the competences developed on basis of the Lisbon declaration for European citizenship.

It is of great importance that the activities in the lessons and within the projects, among others with the direct contacts with foreign schools (for example via an exchange programme), have a logical connection with each other and strengthen each other. An exchange programme acquires strength if it is thoroughly prepared in the lesson. It yields more fruit if it is returned to in the lesson.
Working specifically on EIO gives pupils a clearer direction, the subject matter in different subjects is given a clearer structure this way.

The aim of the outline below is to provide a guideline for schools to implement European and International Orientation in the school.

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European and International Orientation

contribution to European Citizenship

Competences skills	Knowledge of: necessary for this competence	Attitude Critical attitude with relation to this competence	Examples
1. The pupil can talk and write with understanding and in a critical way about the process of European integration and the problems that occurred and are occurring, to which he can formulate and defend his own point of view.	The genesis, the present significance and the working methods of the EU. The institutes of the EU and the relationships with the Member States. National versus Supranational approach. Political versus Economical unification. The size of EU. The consequences for one's own existence. Main issues for the common European inheritance.	Have an eye for the importance of European cooperation and for values which Europe currently stands for, such as: peace, democratic decision making, tolerance, separation of church and state (secularism) and economical prosperity.	*1. School paper, 'Which rights and duties of a European citizen, according to the Charter of the EU, can I, as a young person, actually exercise?'* *2. Participation in a discussion evening at school on the expansion of the EU.* *3. Go through the book 'Uniting the European Family' or another book about the subject.*
2. The pupil can talk and write with understanding and in a critical way about the process of globalisation, with attention to the existing international institutes.	The function and the working methods of the UN, World Bank, IMF, WTO, NATO The globalisation process, with examples (trade, production, labour migration, economical and political refugees, terrorism, tourism, environment), advantages and disadvantages. .	Be open to measures at national level that are necessary to observe international obligations, aimed at prosperity, nature preservation, receiving refugees, preserving peace etc.	*1. Compile a CD which deals with the relationship between consumer behaviour and deforestation.* *2. Social work placement in an internationally oriented institution or company (or in the partner school abroad, but then competence 3 is necessary)* *3. Go through the book 'It is a small world' or another book about the subject.*
3. The pupil can function in an international group in a European context in the field of study or work. He is thus able to provide reliable information on his own country and culture.	Command of two foreign languages, one at level B2 and one at level B1. (this is also a *competence!*) The situation in their country, with attention to politics, geography, economy, history and national heritage. The situation in outline in the partner country(ies). ict-applications *(also a competence!)*	Be open to other cultures without renouncing one's own fundamental values.	*1. Participation in pupil exchange* *2.Participation in Comenius network* *3. Compare codes of behaviour of partner schools (culturally 'coloured'?)* *4. Training of social skills in a multicultural group* *5. Research in international groups into European influence on local community around the school ('European' products in the supermarket in cooperation with 'European' consumer-protection; cross border work mediation by 'Eures'; etc.)*

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Katalin Falus graduated first from the University of Budapest (ELTE), Faculty of Law in 1974 and received later a degree from the University of Budapest (ELTE), Faculty of Arts, Philosophy Department in 1979.
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Paloma Fernández Torres has a degree in Philosophy and Psychology and is specialist in Clinical and School Psychology. She has worked as both teacher and counselor in secondary education. Between 1980 and 1996, she was Associate Teacher at the Institute of Educational Sciences of the Universidad Autónoma de Madrid and the Universidad de Alcalá de Henares. She worked as Teaching Technical Advisor in the Department of Education of the Autonomous Community of Madrid and in the Sub-directorate of Teacher Training of the Ministry of Education and Science. She is presently working as Teaching Technical Advisor at the Center for Educational Research and Documentation of the Ministry of Education and Science.

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David Kerr

David Kerr Is Principal Research Officer at the National Foundation for Educational Research in England and Wales (NFER). He was Professional Officer to the *Citizenship Advisory Group* chaired by Professor (now Sir) Bernard Crick. The group's final report led to the introduction of citizenship in schools in England in 2002.

He is currently leading two major research projects at NFER in citizenship education. The first is a nine year Citizenship Education Longitudinal Study which began in 2001 and aims to assess the short and long-term effects of the new citizenship courses in schools on young people. The second is an evaluation of a series of pilot projects on citizenship education for 16-19 year olds. Previously, David was national research coordinator (England) for the 28 country IEA Civic Education Study, which investigated the attitudes and approaches of 14 year olds, their teachers and schools to citizenship education.

He is also the UK National Co-ordinator and on the CAHCIT Steering Group of the Council of Europe's Education for Democratic Citizenship (EDC) project. He has led a number of international seminars for the British Council on citizenship and human rights education and published widely.

David Kitchen

David Kitchen is 14-19 Curriculum Manager at ACCAC (The Qualifications, Curriculum and Assessment Authority for Wales). The work involves providing curriculum advice for schools, colleges and trainers and for the Welsh Assembly. He was previously headteacher of a large urban secondary school in South Wales and, before that, the head of one the smallest Welsh secondary schools. His academic background is in English Literature and he has co-written and edited over 40 school texts, one of which won a TES Schoolbook of the Year award. In his spare time, he writes and publishes children's poetry and is an occasional broadcaster.

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