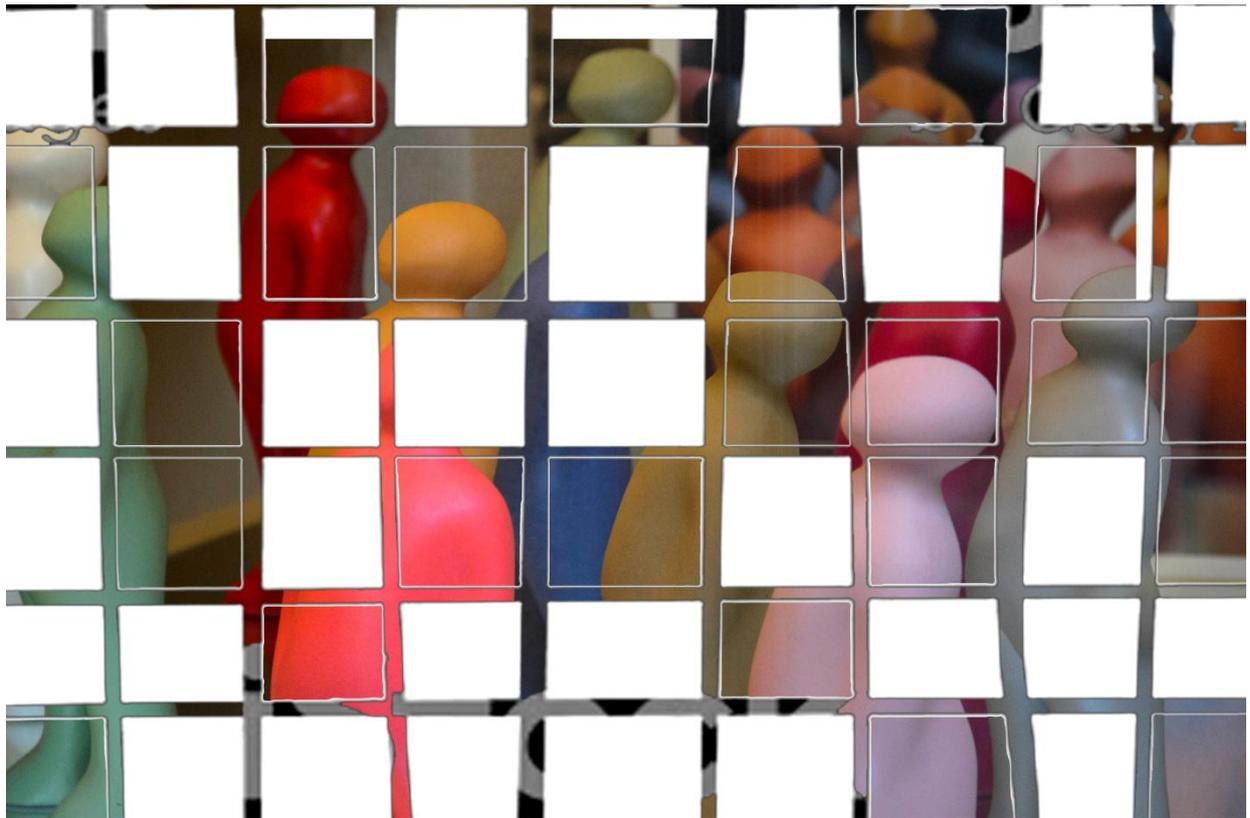


**GUIDELINES FOR
CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION
IN TEACHER EDUCATION
LINKING RESEARCH AND
PRACTICE**



Children's Identity and Citizenship in Europe

CiCe Jean Monnet Network, 2017

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The central thrust of education for citizenship asks some of the key questions surrounding our education system – what is education for? What is the role of the school in developing positive attitudes amongst young people? How can controversial issues be raised in the classroom? and how do we develop critical citizens? These questions do not have definitive answers but one of the real bonuses of the discussion which took place around education for citizenship was precisely that the focus was on the whole nature of education and exactly what should our education system be trying to develop in young people. At the same time, and in some ways counter to this, there has been a renewed emphasis on target setting, particularly concentrating on exam results, which can tend to distort the nature of schooling and can mean that wider issues are relegated to the background; as teachers have concentrated on the exam targets and PISA comparisons, issues such as citizenship tend to get squeezed from the school day (Davies, 2000; Gillborn and Youdell, 2000; Cowan and Maitles, 2010), despite some welcome rhetoric from government on the importance of citizenship and of instilling a respect for lifelong learning.

In interviews with headteachers in the West of Scotland, for example, it was stark how little schooling had changed over the last decades for those able students in senior school – their timetable was completely dominated by academic subjects and exam preparation. And, exam preparation consisted mainly in rote learning activities. And, with high stakes testing now being introduced for even very young children (in Scotland, as young as 4), the dictates of PISA testing regimes may impact even on play based learning. It remains critical to the appraisal of teachers how well their_students perform in the national examinations. Nonetheless, over the last 20 years

there has been much good practice and some negative experiences, some of it highlighted in this article.

Citizenship learning

Citizenship is a compulsory element in most democracies throughout Europe, North America and the Pacific (Crick, 2000; Ostler & Starkey, 2005; Print, 2007; Kiwan, 2008). Research suggests that political education in schools in western democracies emphasises political institutions, rights and responsibilities of citizens, debates on current issues and moralism in various combinations (Borhaug, 2008). The largest international survey so far is the ICCS/IEA study (Schulz *et al.*, 2010) involved some 140,000 students (about 14 years of age) and 62,000 teachers in 38 countries. In terms of content areas, the topics that the ICCS countries most frequently nominated as a major emphasis in civic and citizenship education were human rights (25 countries), understanding different cultures and ethnic groups (23 countries), the environment (23 countries), parliamentary and governmental systems (22 countries), and voting and elections (20 countries). Topics less frequently nominated as a major emphasis were communications studies (14 countries), legal systems and courts (13 countries), the economy and economics (12 countries), regional institutions and organisations (12 countries), and resolving conflict (11 countries). Only five countries nominated voluntary groups as a major emphasis. However, another finding of note is the significant decrease in civic content knowledge scores between 1999 and 2009 in a number of countries that had comparable data from both civic education surveys: only one country had a statistically significant increase in civic content knowledge among lower secondary students over that decade. This is a bit

worrying as the decade was meant to be one permeated by education for citizenship and in that context we might have expected an increase in this kind of knowledge and understanding.

Impediments notwithstanding, students were far more likely to report school-based civic participation than involvement in activities or organisations outside of school. On average, across participating countries, 76 percent of ICCS students reported having voted in school elections and 61 percent reported voluntary participation in music or drama activities. About 40 percent of students said that they had been actively involved in debates, taken part in decision-making about how their school was run, taken part in school assembly discussions, or been candidates for class representative or the school parliament. Involvement in groups helping the community and in charity collections was the most frequent form of participation among lower secondary school students across the ICCS countries. On average, about a third of students reported that they had been involved in this way in the past. The extent to which students engaged in these activities across countries varied considerably, which may be due to cultural differences. For example, the percentage of students reporting participation in groups collecting money for a social cause ranged from a very low 8 percent in Korea to 60 percent in Belgium (Flemish). However, a study such as our one to be tempered with an examination of the specifics of the countries. When we examine the ideas around citizenship and civics in specific countries, then common themes and differences become clearer.

In USA there is a well established 'civics programme' in schools with direct instruction about democracy, political institutions, rights and responsibilities. Hahn (1999) and Torney-Purta (1999) found that the

focus was on facts and vocabulary rather than on controversial issues and that US youth had a general but not detailed understanding of government and political process. Print (2007) points out that even the most ardent advocates of citizenship education comment that in recent years it has failed in the USA. However, Hahn (1998) refers to the fact that in the US many teachers make deliberate efforts to have students follow the news and have class discussions which can lead to enhanced student understanding of current affairs and political issues. Whilst Manning and Edwards (2014) found some evidence of a correlation between volunteering in high school and voter registration, they tempered it with a conclusion that civic education courses played no statistically significant role in voting. Lin (2015) is far less confident that increased citizenship learning is being developed in USA. Whilst there are some strong examples, such as the Student Voice programme, evaluations of which suggest increased student interest in politics with increased school participation opportunities, it is not widespread. Further, Lin found that there were wide discrepancies in terms of citizenship learning opportunities, with more being found in schools in areas of middle and higher income. Levinson (2010) calls this a civic empowerment gap and is problematic.

Borhaug, (2008) describes the timetabled political education national curriculum in Norway, which aims to encourage students to be critical of political and social structures and learn how they can influence democracy through various forms of political participation. In his study of upper secondary schools he concludes that voting was the most thoroughly taught form of political participation. He describes the importance of the mock elections in schools running in tandem with Norwegian elections where all the political parties send representatives to schools to present their parties'

policies to students. Results of the mock elections receive extensive media education and on debate and discussion of issues highlighted in the media, he points out that little attention is given to other forms of participation e.g. pressure groups, petition, writing to newspapers, direct action etc. Additionally issues of human rights, tolerance, freedom of faith and expression were not systematically taught.

Print (2007) points out that Australia's national citizenship education programme with its extensive and well prepared curriculum materials could at best be described as marginally successful in raising levels of democratic engagement in a country where voting is compulsory. In spite of the programme 50% of students surveyed in the 2004-7 Youth Electoral Study felt that they lacked the knowledge to understand party politics and key issues.

In England citizenship education has been compulsory, assessed and inspected since 2002. However authors such as Breslin (2000) and Ostler and Starkey (2005) express concerns that assessment and citizenship education do not sit well together. The Crick Report (QCA, 1998) set out three strands: social and moral responsibility; community involvement and political literacy with learning outcomes in skills, aptitudes, knowledge and understanding for all key stages (QCA, 1998).

However Lister *et al.* (2001) point out that apart from a few exceptions in general schools have made little contribution to the development of political literacy. Kiwan (2008) highlights the fact that schemes of work to develop participatory skills are not sufficient because they fail to address issues of inequality, which can lead to disempowerment and lack of motivation to participate. A further shortfall is highlighted by Ostler and

Starkey (2000a) and 2005) who state that commitment to human rights and the skills for challenging racism, which are essential attributes of a politically literate citizen are not addressed. In addition the Conservative Government has decided that the subject called Citizenship should be removed from the timetable and a whole school permeation model adopted, but there are worries that this would lead to citizenship being downgraded in the eyes of students, parents and teachers. And, threatened from 2017 is a scenario where all schools in England will be academies or free schools; this will mean that schools set their own agenda and there will be no need for citizenship in the curriculum.

In Wales there is a statutory curriculum of citizenship with clear learning outcomes at key stages with the emphasis that pupils become literate in political and economic realms, for example by Key Stage 3 pupils are expected to understand issues relating to democracy in Wales, know the rights and responsibilities of a young citizen and how representatives are elected and what their roles are (Philips, 2000). In The Republic of Ireland Civic Social and Political Education is a certified subject; there is a similar concept based subject in Northern Ireland (Hammond and Looney, 2000).

In Scotland, Maitles (2000) pointed out that with the advent of the Scottish Parliament political education in schools became an important goal for politicians, a point echoed by LTS (2002, p. 6) who state the importance of 'the ability to understand and participate in the democratic process'. In Scotland citizenship is explicit in the Responsible Citizenship capacity of Curriculum for Excellence, (Scottish Executive 2004). Knowledge, skills and values are to permeate the curriculum rather than be taught as a separate subject. However, Torney-Purta *et al.* (1999) point to a general

dissatisfaction with cross-curricular approaches where citizenship issues are to be discussed by every teacher but are the responsibility of no teacher.

In Greece, the curriculum follows the integrated philosophy of the Interdisciplinary Single Curriculum Framework (DEPPS); each subject is organized into six levels, each corresponding to a school grade, specifying educational objectives and thematic units. They are complemented by a 'Flexible Zone' where interdisciplinary projects and cross-thematic and creative activities are developed.

Citizenship is taught as an autonomous subject at grades 5 and 6 of the primary school¹ (3hours per week) and grade 3 of the Gymnasium². In primary school, the subjects taught include: Nation and State, Citizenship and active citizenship, Democracy, elections, political participation, rights, civil society, the function of institutions EU as an institution, people and culture in Europe, International Organizations. Current issues, such as the refugee crisis, are discussed in the classroom, trying to connect theoretical knowledge with students' everyday experience, recognizing the situated nature of knowledge. Students search and work out sources and material and they are engaged in various projects regarding E.U., the rights in education. In the Gymnasium, teaching focuses on issues such as: social groups, mobility, stratification and change, social roles, institutions, socialization, social control etc.

¹ The primary school forms part of compulsory education and comprises grades 1 to 6, covering ages 6-12.

² The Gymnasium forms part of compulsory education, is a three year lower secondary school, comprising grades 1 to 3, covering ages 12-15

In Latvia citizenship education is not a separate subject, but in 2016/2017 the school aims were developed to promote: an understanding of duties and rights and a sense of belonging to the values of Latvia, Europe and the wider world. This was to be developed alongside a cognizance of national identity and state, loyalty to the Republic of Latvia and the constitution and patriotism. The schools of Latvia strive to develop attitudes to oneself, other humans, nature, work, society and the state. Citizenship is promoted through all the school subjects.

The policy argues that these are the key values: life, human respect, freedom, family, matrimony, work, nature, culture, the Latvian language and the state of Latvia. Further characteristics, such as responsibility, diligence, courage, fairness, virtue, kindness, commiseration, contentedness, equilibrium of temper, solidarity, justice and tolerance are to be developed. All schools follow the recommendations elaborated by the Ministry of Education and Science, yet each school possesses an opportunity to develop its own content of syllabus and educational in accordance with the needs of the school.

Teaching civic education entered Italian secondary schools in 1958 and was entrusted to history teachers. The elementary school programmes of 1985 spoke of Education for democratic co-existence. Directive no. 58 of 8.2.1996 from the Ministry of Public Education specifies that the objectives of civic education are pursued by all teachers, by extracurricular activities, and by history teachers. In the Annex to directive 58 special emphasis is on the value of civic education in the curriculum and, eventually, in an independent discipline, in which the culture of the Constitution may surface, a Constitution that makes up the heritage of values, ideals, expectations and guarantees necessary to understand the historic and

social process of forming the Italian State. Law no.53 of 28 March 2003, an educational reform, indicated education to the fundamental principles of civil co-existence among the purposes of all schools. It is subsequently articulated into six educational aims: citizenship, road safety, environment, health, nutrition and affective behaviour.

During the 2008-2009 school year, the teaching of *Citizenship and Constitution* was introduced from pre-school to upper secondary school, the intention being to promote the formation of social awareness and critical consciousness. With law no. 169 of 30.10.2008, the culture of citizenship and constitution took on a permanent, structural character in Italian schools. The concept of citizenship has gone through various definitions; prevailing in Italian schools is the idea of uniting it with the Constitution, thereby reinvigorating the map of values, in which it is recognised, on a national level, orienting towards Europe. More recent is the concept of active citizenship, interpreted in terms of participation and social and civil action in the local, national and European community.

The Swedish national school system is based on democratic foundations. All education in Sweden should focus on the importance of creating respect for human rights and the democratic values on which Swedish society is based. Furthermore, the unique value of each person should be encouraged by everyone working in the school. " *The inviolability of human life, individual freedom and integrity, the equal value of all people, equality between women and men, and solidarity between people are the values that the education should represent and impart...The task of the school is to encourage all students to discover their own uniqueness as individuals and thereby actively participate in the life of society by giving of their best in responsible freedom.*" (The National Agency for Education, 2013)

These fundamental values are supposed to underpin all teaching in Swedish schools and they are to promote active citizenship education as well. In the Swedish school system there is not a special subject concerned with citizenship education and there is not any syllabus for citizenship education, but the fundamental values are supposed to be integrated as across curricula content. Some course syllabuses connect more close to these fundamental values such as Civic Education and Religion Education, but it should be part of the basic underlying values that shall be part of the overall task of the school. Many themes integrated in citizenship education are presented as cross curricula themes. In the various teacher training programmes found throughout Sweden we can find the concept citizenship education written in syllabuses for various subjects in the various teacher programmes.

According to a research project aimed at mapping the teacher education programmes in Sweden regarding sex education, the indicators for the empirical exploration were 30 key words that were supposed to cover the broad knowledge area for Sexual education, but some of these are also often considered to be part of citizenship education, i.e. human rights, children's rights, equality, democracy, ethics, relations, values, identity, discrimination and of course citizenship and citizenship education. Some of the findings of this project are that several of these concepts connected to citizenship education are written in several syllabuses for the various teacher programmes, in central educational courses as well as in specific subject courses. They are found at all levels of education, ranging from Pre-School education, to compulsory school and to upper secondary school. So, even of Citizenship education is not a specific subject on its own in the

Swedish school system, it is nevertheless formulated as central among the fundamental values written in the portal paragraph in the National curricula (2013) for both compulsory school and upper secondary school.

Although there is limited evidence as to the impact on young people's formal democratic participation, the mass participation in the Scottish independence referendum process in 2014, the very significant voter turnout, particularly in the 16-25 age group, the involvement in the process of many schools either debating the issues or holding mock referendums, the releasing of the genie of 16 and 17 year olds being allowed to vote and the recruitment of many young people by political parties all suggested that there was a significant citizenship involvement. This potential of youth participation was also seen in the clear involvement in young people in Greece against austerity in 2010-2014, in Spain through PODEMOS, in Ireland through People before Profits campaign and in USA through the galvanizing impact of the campaign to have Senator Bernie Sanders nominated by the Democrats for the 2016 presidential election, the mass campaigns for human rights in the wake of the election of Donald Trump as President in 2016 and a generalized outpouring across the world of youth concern for refugees and asylum seekers, particularly following pictures of drowned children.

However, it needs to be tempered by events such as the BREXIT vote in the UK, where the majority of under-35s voted Remain, and the Trump victory in the USA and support in many European countries for parties of the far or populist right. Many of these movements show a disinterest, distrust and indeed dislike of citizenship, human rights and liberal ideals – even if they can be seen as a rage against austerity and an unfair world. The rise in

antisemitism, anti-Roma and islamophobia across Europe is particularly challenging for citizenship educators.

It must be remembered that education for citizenship in its right-based context has a relatively short history. In Britain, for example, it is 30 years since the Advisory Committee known as the Crick report produced its document, in the light of the election of a Labour government in 1997 and David Blunkett in charge of education; and 15 years since the Scottish Executive Review Group developed its conclusions for Scotland. This was set against a backdrop of political and constitutional development, including the introduction of the 1998 Human Rights Act, a growing interest in the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child, the establishment of a Scottish Parliament and a Welsh Assembly and the creation of an assembly and elected mayor for London (Osler and Starkey, 2001; Deuchar, 2004; Maitles and Deuchar, 2004). In wider philosophical terms, across Europe, perhaps the renewed interest in the citizenship agenda has emerged from a more general renewal of interest in values in education and also the perceived need for a more participative approach to school organisation (Ruddock and Flutter, 2004; McBeath and Moos, 2004; Maitles, 2005).

However, one of the ironies of education for citizenship over the last few years is that the attempt to develop a healthy respect for issues such as integrity, honesty, self-sacrifice and compassion is problematic at a time when these very virtues are under critique at the very highest levels of the institutions of the state in many countries. If our young people do not perceive our politicians, bankers, police and media as having these qualities, then there are problems for education for citizenship

programmes. The sometimes demonization of young people and complex issues around war, immigration and asylum seeking means that education for citizenship is paradoxically both more difficult and more essential.

How much can be expected of schools?

Academics and commentators continue to question the motives behind the introduction of citizenship education. Yet, most would agree with Hahn (1998 and 1999) and Print (2007), who believe that it is the responsibility of schools to teach about democracy and prepare students to be effective democratic citizens. Kerr and Cleaver (2004) point out that many teachers view citizenship education as a politically fashioned quick fix. Writing about civic education in Greece, Makrinioti and Solomon (1999) pointed out that it is vulnerable to political and social conditioning and can be used as a way to promote political propaganda, a point echoed by Hahn (1998). Rooney, (2007) takes this issue further urging us to be wary of citizenship education which he argues can be viewed as a programme of behaviour modification and that it is not the responsibility of teachers and schools to solve political and social problems or issues of low voter turnout and political apathy. Indeed he points out that citizenship education has thus far failed to reconnect young people to the political system or improve participation rates, although in circumstances where voting seems to make a difference (referendums for example) there is evidence across Europe of a wider involvement of young people..

Several authors (Lister *et al.*, 2001; Whiteley, 2005; Kiwan 2008) highlight the fact that there is no empirical evidence of a direct correlation between citizenship education and formal political participation. Indeed David Kerr,

interviewed by Kiwan (2008) stated that it would be difficult to measure the effect of citizenship education programmes on political participation. However it could be that citizenship education is still in its relative infancy or perhaps developmental phase and not enough evidence is yet available. Nonetheless, it is to be hoped that students who have been through education for citizenship programmes, will have the skills to take decisions around their choices in terms of participation or indeed whether they wish to participate; that non-involvement will be informed abstention.

Whiteley (2005) points out that the expected improvement in civic engagement with the introduction of citizenship education is offset by other factors including the widespread feeling that governments don't deliver on promises. There are many factors out with the school that influence political engagement, such as the influence of family and peer group (Kennedy, 2007). Political engagement and efficacy is also dependent on levels of education, intelligence, exposure to media, socio-economic class and the hidden curriculum of the school (Hahn, 1998; Torney-Purta, 1999; Lister *et al.*, 2001; Kerr *et al.*, 2004; Whiteley, 2005; Print, 2007; Kiwan, 2008).

Further, whilst there is general agreement as to the desire to have a politically aware citizenry, it must be noted that there is no universal agreement as to the value of citizenship, political literacy, activism or pupil voice in schools *per se* (Lundy, 2007; Whitty and Wisby, 2007; Thornberg, 2008). Rooney (2008), for example, argues that to believe that these kinds of initiatives can be developed in the current school system undermines the very nature of education and makes teachers responsible for the ills of society.

Case study 1: Single Issue Politics and Young People

One of the main drivers behind the introduction of education for citizenship is the perceived lack of interest and involvement of young people in public and political life (Kerr and Cleaver, 2004; Benton *et al.*, 2008) and low election turnout figures for 18-24 year olds (Maitles, 2005; Rooney, 2007; Kiwan, 2008). Another factor is the fear for the state of democracy and the decline in trust of politicians and institution of government (Whiteley, 2005). However, rising engagement with single-issue politics such as the Iraq and Afghanistan wars, world poverty, environmental and animal welfare issues, would appear to suggest that young people in western democracies although alienated from formal politics and voting are active and interested in single-issue campaigning politics where they can see results from their actions (Cornwall and Coelho, 2007; Dahlgren, 2013; Hahn, 1998; Lister *et al.*, 2001; Maitles, 2005; Schulz, 2010; Torney-Purta *et al.* 1999;).

Kiwan (2008) cites research by Pattie *et al.* in 2004, which found that individualistic participation is common, challenging assertions that people are politically apathetic. Many schools have responded to this through the establishment of eco-schools committees, fair trade groups and a focus on development education programmes. However, media images in a global age also allow children to become exposed to many more controversial social, political and humanitarian issues than ever before, and evidence has illustrated that pupils are keen to discuss such issues and that a programme on citizenship education needs to respond to this (Maitles and Deuchar, 2004).

World events such as support for asylum seekers and refugees campaigns have led to many primary and secondary-aged pupils becoming actively engaged in community fundraising and awareness campaigns around the alleviation and elimination of poverty in the developing world. Some schools have established forums to respond to pupils' strong views about the need to wage a war against poverty and to enable them to reflect critically upon social and political developments in the media (Dahlgren, 2013; Deuchar, 2004).

Indeed, although a positive driver towards education for citizenship stems from attempts to promote democratic citizenship, human and participation rights at local, national and global level - rights which are enshrined in international convention such as the United Nations Rights of the Child and the Human Rights Act (Ostler and Starkey, 2000(b); Spencer, 2000; Verhellen, 2000; Kerr and Cleaver, 2004; Benton *et al.*, 2008) -- Print (2007) points out that such involvement in single issue can be episodic and should be treated with caution. Additionally there are concerns that democracies have invested more resources into education while experiencing a decline in participation, and there is a logic that better educated people might be more distrustful of politicians and decide not to vote or join political parties (Rooney, 2007). Further, we must be aware that many schools see charity activities per se as a way of developing global citizenship. And even within this, there can be a lack of any understanding as to how the money is used and rarely any discussion around the causes of poverty.

Holden and Minty (2011) in their study of some 200 school students in England found that the students could name a charity or discuss charity

work or ecological work they had been involved in, but had little understanding of the broader issues, such as the complex reasons behind world problems. Further, that they saw this as the key element that the school encouraged in terms of citizenship; nearly all discussions were on personal choice (fair trade, no littering) rather than any real discussion on poverty or wider ecological issues.

Democracy and pupil rights

Inside the school, there is the thorny issue of whether one only learns about democracy or also lives it. If we take the 'living' model, then there are implications for our schools and indeed for society as a whole. Firstly, there is the difficult issue of whether democratic ideas and values can be effectively developed in the fundamentally undemocratic, indeed authoritarian, structure of the current typical high school (Arnstine, 1995; Puolimatka 1995; Levin, 1998, Maitles, 2010), where many teachers, never mind pupils, feel that they have little real say in the running of the school.

For schools, it means there should be proper forums for discussion, consultation and decision-making involving pupils and Article 12 of the United Nations Convention on the rights of the child states that young people should be consulted on issues that affect them. However, the experience of school councils is not yet particularly hopeful and is discussed below. Further, the issue of democracy in the classroom is rarely raised, never mind implemented, in the school setting. Finally, in terms of rights, the whole issue of inequalities in society and their impact on the educational attainment and aspiration of school students must be taken into account, as outlined below.

Pupil Councils, democracy and citizenship

'Active citizenship' has attracted the interest of researchers particularly in relation to increased student participation and the promotion of schools as democratic institutions (Harber, 2002; Kerr and Cleaver, 2004). It had been hoped that the advent of Pupil Councils would enable pupils to gain an enhanced understanding of the principles of democracy and their roles as active citizens, however, they do point out that in many schools too few pupils are involved. Kerr *et al.* (2004) in their citizenship education longitudinal case study found that only 12% of pupils had been involved in pupil councils. Additionally Cruddas (2007) and Kennedy (2007) point out that there is little opportunity for disadvantaged and marginalised students to participate and thus many voices go unheard, are sidelined or ignored because they are outside the norm.

Several authors (Davies, 2000; Lister *et al.* 2001; Cruddas, 2007; Kennedy, 2007; Lundy, 2007; Print, 2007) highlight that students view pupil councils as ineffective and tokenistic. Cruddas (2007, p. 482) describes them as 'a form of benevolent paternalism'. Lundy (2007) states that such tokenistic opportunities to participate can be counterproductive because student voice is often not taken seriously due to the scepticism of adult concerns about giving students more control. These authors point out that students do not value pupil councils because the school appears not to value them. Concerns raised by students are that teachers predetermine issues they are allowed to influence, student voice is not communicated to those who have ultimate influence over decision-making and consequently nothing ever

changes. To sum up, the key critique is that the councils give the pupils voice but not agency.

Active Learning and Citizenship

The argument for education for citizenship and democracy is underpinned by a learning style that can be summarised as 'active learning'. In terms of classroom approach, there is much recent evidence that, when asked, pupils prefer active learning opportunities (Save the Children, 2000 and 2001; Burke and Grosvenor, 2003; Rudduck and Flutter, 2004; Maitles and Gilchrist, 2006). This is not something new. John Dewey argued some 90 years ago that 'give the pupils something to do, not something to learn; and the doing is of such a nature as to demand thinking; learning naturally results' (Dewey, 1915, p. 3).

The children interviewed in the sources above claimed that they enjoyed learning most when they were learning by doing; this could be practical or creative activities, talking and learning activities, school trips, speakers and contacting pupils in other countries through the internet. The word used most often to describe good lessons was 'fun'. Similarly, in her study of Swedish 11 year olds, Alerby (2003) found that the word 'fun' was used to describe positive experiences, although one cynical pupil summed up his experience as being 'during the break we have fun'.

The issue of interdisciplinary learning has been a problem in secondary schools, which has led some schools to take pupils off timetable to develop rich tasks (Maitles, 2010). Firstly, it concentrates the learning experiences of the pupils in a way that cannot be done in the formal timetabled pattern; secondly, it suggests that the key learning experiences in education for

citizenship are best developed in a cross curricular method, where a number (and in best if a large number) of subjects have an input; thirdly, there is evidence of deeper learning through these kinds of experiences (Dewey, 1915; Hannam, 1999; Ritchie, 1999; Save the Children, 2000 and 2001; Burke and Grosvenor, 2003; MacBeath and Moos, 2004; Rudduck and Flutter, 2004; MacIntyre and Pedder, 2005; Maitles, 2005; Maitles and Gilchrist, 2006).

Hannam (2001) attempted to examine the impact of more democratic structures and participation in schools on measurable indices in schools. A sample of 16 schools was identified on a set of criteria as being more than usually 'student participative' and 12 agreed to participate in the study. Headteachers, other senior managers, teachers and 237 pupils were interviewed and senior managers and the students also completed questionnaires. The overwhelming view of headteachers and other senior managers was that student participation enhanced pupil self esteem, motivation, willingness to engage with learning, attendance rates and attainment at GCSE. Teachers in these 12 schools echoed this and added that working with these pupils was a major source of job satisfaction. The pupils regarded motivation, ownership, independence, trust, time management and responsibility as being of particular importance. Both teachers and pupils talked of improved relationships.

So far, the evidence has been anecdotal and based on experience and feelings. Yet, when compared to 'like' schools (using the QCA/OFSTED free school meal bands), the overall rates of exclusion was significantly lower, attendance was higher and there were consistently better than expected attainment at all levels of GCSE; indeed, the gap between these 12 schools

and their 'like' schools tended to increase year on year. The small scale nature of the survey warns us from over generalizing and there is a need for significantly expanded international research. But the premise seems sound – schools that encourage democracy and participation 'perform' better in every indices, including attainment.

A 2015 study by the Children and Young People's Commissioner for Scotland found that seven secondary schools in areas of multiple deprivation had higher than expected levels of attainment. Further investigation established that: in these seven schools, across all arenas of school life, pupils had substantial opportunities to formally and informally take part in a variety of meaningful activities, to take responsibility for events, make contributions to school life and have their views considered in matters that affected them! This participative ethos was closely bound up for learners in *'creating a sense of belonging at school, and bringing a rights-based dimension to educational experience.'* It would appear that where schools invest in creating opportunities for true participation, dividends can include increased motivation to learn and improved attainment for learners.

Even if this overstates the case, there are clearly some advantages to this approach. So, why is it not more widespread, indeed the norm? For the individual teacher, it takes courage, skill and confidence to develop active learning and genuine participation and we need to explore the whole area of both the initial training and continuing professional development of teachers. Further, there are the anxieties of parents, who tend to judge a school by its exam results solely and believe that a traditional rote learning, direct teaching strategy leads to 'good' exam outcomes. This is further

exacerbated by politicians and inspectorates suggesting that active learning is chaotic and might not work. And, there is also a conditioned expectation by many pupils of being directed rather than becoming independent learners.

Yet, the problem is that many teachers feel vulnerable, overburdened and disempowered. One of the teacher interviewees in Gale and Densmore (2003) commented that once a policy comes out it is discussed at senior policy committees, discussed at high school senior/middle management levels and when it gets to the class teacher, most say 'I don't want to know about the politics, just tell me what to do'; they thus get 'someone else's way of interpreting that policy into their classroom'. Gale and Densmore go on to argue that there are three factors at work explaining this crisis of professionalism.

Firstly, educators' isolation from each other, so that there is, in their opinion, too much 'competitive individualism' and too little shared discussion; secondly, the closing down of serious debate, in terms of the belief that classroom teachers can influence that debate. It is fuelled by both work and time intensification; thirdly, and a result of the first two, there is a 'reduction in meaningful work' and teachers' and teacher educators' expertise is frequently dismissed and areas of education and working through issues and, perhaps, problems are appropriated by management.

The ICCS/IEA study of some 62,000 teachers in 38 countries found that the highest percentages of teachers viewed "promoting knowledge of citizens' rights and responsibilities" as the most important aim of education for

citizenship was found in Bulgaria, Chile, the Czech Republic, the Dominican Republic, Estonia, Guatemala, Indonesia, Ireland, Italy, Malta, Mexico, Paraguay, Poland, the Republic of Korea, the Russian Federation, the Slovak Republic, and Thailand. In contrast, in Cyprus, Finland, Latvia, Liechtenstein, Lithuania, Slovenia, Spain, and Sweden, the highest percentages were found for 'promoting students' critical and independent thinking.' The aim most frequently chosen by most teachers in Chinese Taipei and Colombia was 'developing students' skills and competencies in conflict resolution.' Only minorities of teachers viewed 'supporting the development of effective strategies for the fight against racism and xenophobia' and 'preparing students for future political participation' as among the most important objectives of civic and citizenship education.

We must keep in mind that education for citizenship is still in its relative infancy and, indeed, the debate as to its direction and effectiveness even younger. Even when teachers are convinced of its value, the perceived needs of the curriculum, the constant flux of reform and the lack of time available can conspire to ensure that it is not well done and the pupils get more cynical about democracy, citizenship education and the motives of educators. In the words of one of Chamberlin's (2003) interviewees, 'education for citizenship? Only if you haven't got a life!'

Hearts and minds

Initial training of new teachers and the continuing professional development of existing teachers needs to concentrate on winning hearts and minds to education for citizenship. Whilst education for citizenship is now a part of the curriculum in initial teacher education programmes,

there is no evidence that it plays more than just a relatively cursory part, with many students able to avoid deep discussion or thought on the subject. It needs to permeate the curriculum of initial teacher education and be developed enthusiastically by tutors, particularly as student teachers and those on the probationary year are exposed to some cynical views. Maitles and Cowan (2010) in an analysis of primary probationers found that, whilst there is much interesting work developing, particularly in areas relating to pupil rights, eco areas, pupil councils (and consultation) and community involvement, dependent on the role of leadership in the school, there can be a key problem in that other priorities can force out citizenship initiatives.

If student teachers are the future, the evidence from experienced classroom teachers suggests that there is a need for significant continuing professional learning in the area. Ruddock and Flutter (2004) maintain that teachers lack confidence about handling aspects of citizenship education, and as Dunkin *et al.* (1998) show in their (admittedly tiny) study of four teachers who opted into a pilot study implementing an experimental unit of work on education for citizenship, *'particular controversial content is likely to be excluded, especially if teachers lack confidence in their own mastery of that content'*. This means that there is a need for both day courses in the universities or the localities on education for citizenship and modules on this built into undergraduate student teacher and masters programmes.

The implementation and impact of education for citizenship initiatives depends on whether one sees the glass as half full or half empty. This book has suggested that there is excellent work going on to develop young people's interest, knowledge, skills and dispositions in areas of citizenship

and democracy; yet it is very limited, indeed rare, to find examples of genuine democracy based on children's human rights. It is a matter of hearts and minds. No amount of hectoring and/or government instructions can counter this; as Bernard Crick, the person who has most lobbied for education for citizenship in schools, put it 'teachers need to have a sense of mission...to grasp the fullness of its moral and social aims' (Crick, 2000, p. 2).

There is much to be positive about. We need to do more research into the effectiveness of citizenship in the development of positive values. However, it is also clear that we have to keep some kind of realistic perspective on the influence of education for citizenship or any kind of other civic or political education. Education for citizenship throws up the central questions as to what sort of education we want. However, whilst there are clear benefits from education for citizenship programmes, we must be clear that no programme of education can either guarantee democratic participation nor an acceptance of societal norms. Other factors, particularly socio-economic ones, impact strongly, particularly where it is perceived that governments have let down the aspirations of the population.

Case studies: teaching and researching citizenship

In this section we look at specific commissioned research case studies, looking at specific examples of the impact of teaching about citizenship in Italy and Latvia and research in Greece as to the positive impact of learning

about refugees, a case study from Scotland outlining the impact of citizenship learning in high school and from Sweden looking at citizenship education in teacher education. These countries are of particular importance as there are specifics of refugee numbers, independence movements and post-communism.

**Case study2:
The School of Barbiana founded by Don Lorenzo
Milani.
‘The oldest of those teachers was sixteen’**

The subtitle “The oldest of those teachers was sixteen” was taken from the book *Lettera a una professoressa* (Letter to a teacher) (1967: p. 12) about the School of Barbiana (1956-1968), a classic of modern teaching literature. A book about social criticism and redemption, in which the microphone is passed to those who are usually silent. No submission to the injustice of a school system that feels no regret about children who miss out and that places poor people under the condition of being unable to further their studies. It is one of the most translated books in foreign countries. Just to quote a few, we recall translations into: French, English, German, Spanish, Maltese, Turkish and Chinese, and many others are in progress. Soon the book will celebrate its half century of life. Born in the mind and actions of Don Lorenzo Milani (1923-1967), Prior of Barbiana starting from 1954, this School was a constant presence during the educational path of young teachers, who, due to various circumstances, approached a reality, from which they learned both the basics rooted in the Gospel and the Constitution and teaching practices that became a lesson across time and beyond place in which it originated. We know that there are examples of this school outside of Italy that take inspiration from Barbiana. There are

significant achievements in Spain and China, supported by persons who met Don Milani and by those who found reasons for an unpostponable political commitment in his teachings, that is to say, by those who take the path of democracy through actions of non-violence, civil disobedience and social justice. Within this context, too, Gandhi was the Spiritual Guide par excellence.

A group of students from the degree course in Primary Education Sciences at the Università degli Studi Roma Tre decided to go see the School in person on 4 November 2016, exactly on the day we remember the flood of Florence fifty years ago. Although every part of the protocol was observed, at the end of the day, intense and with a wealth of knowledge and emotions, everyone felt that a great and unexpected achievement had been made. Each person returned home with an inestimable treasure and became, in turn, a repository of what one priest and some simple kids, farmers and mountaineers had created day after day, becoming their own teachers and then role models, examples of truth, honesty, equality, and civil participation, coining with '*I care*' the wish to be a presence and make oneself heard.

Visiting the School of Barbiana means knowing first-hand the teaching invented for children who have been cut out of the official school circuit. Don Milani invited craftsmen to instruct the children and teach them the tricks of the trade; he opened the doors to everyone who wished to teach and offer knowledge. He understood that, to create a good school, it was necessary to educate to truth, to learn what is good and fair from those who experienced the values of existence personified in tangible work, in which the genius of each person emerges and humanity takes concrete shape. The

carpenter taught how to make bookshelves; the engineer guided through measurements, calculations, conduits, pipes and bridges; the wealthy visitor established a network of aid; the ambassador talked about distant countries and the

Prior himself was always teaching, continuing lessons about love, rights and civics, hereby placing a hand on our constitution, too often forgot, but learned by his children on a daily basis. The *Sentiero della Costituzione* ("Path of the Constitution") (2011) that leads to the school is a remembrance and guide for everyone. The workshop with tools, almost waiting for the new Gianni, leading character in the eternal story of the outcasts, the chapel with the mosaic of the radiant Holy Schoolboy (Santo Scolaro), with his gaze deep in the Gospel, being read avidly, are symbols of the culture that became art in the industrious hands of those who are now worried about what will happen on 1 January 2017, when the grant of the Curia will end. Hope emerges strongly because Don Lorenzo Milani taught that, when faced with death, one does not run away, and that one rises every day and resumes working with the children, with conviction and passion. Just as he did during the final years of his life. *The world is not to be left as it is*. To understand the message, turn to the closing of the *Lettera a una professoressa: School of Barbiana Vicchio Mugello* (Firenze). Teachers who do not look their students in the eye may find the university that they did not have the fortune to encounter in the vicarage and workshop. This is what we felt and saw. There is no more evidence, but it left its mark, an indelible mark, as cultural heritage to be safeguarded, according to the vision of the one who gave it its initial boost.

Case study 3:

The training of pre-school and primary school teachers at the *Università degli Studi Roma Tre*, Italy

The training of pre-school and primary school teachers at the *Università degli Studi Roma Tre*, Italy, entails a five-year study period and provides for the compulsory teaching of intercultural pedagogy and citizenship in the third year of the course. As part of the course students complete a survey that includes both focus group discussions and a questionnaire consisting of closed questions, through which students report on their university preparation, school internship experience and professional expectations as pertains to citizenship education. The *Questionnaire* comprises three exploratory areas: trust; goals of education; human rights. The *Focus group* resumes the three exploratory areas of the questionnaire, exploring the meaning of citizenship education and the identity of a good citizen.

Comments

The following general considerations can be drawn from the areas of the survey:

1. One can observe a substantially positive position towards the prospects of teaching CE; it is deemed that both school and university curricula should be boosted by introducing more opportunities of active training linked to the experiences in the daily lives of the children, parents, families and the local community.
2. There are general complaints about a lack of connection between the theory and practice of CE.

3. Teachers at school and university should work more on matters of human rights, social justice, political and social issues, tolerance and cultural diversity.
4. At school there are high levels of responsibility with respect to the importance of CE.
5. Teachers are substantially careful when working with children, even beyond the usual school homework.
6. Trust in change is felt considerably, particularly for the possibilities that may await today's children, who are being educated to become tomorrow's good citizens.
7. Knowledge of the regulations is important, but not exclusive, because the concept alone is not enough to building the common good: experience is needed, exchanges are needed and an open, welcoming way of thinking is needed.
8. Theoretical training is assisted by the practice of citizenship and opening up is united with organisation.
9. Teachers have vital tasks concerning education to be a good citizen and encouragement to do something for others.

The expectations of the positive effects of CE are high as concerns the possibilities of improving society, and the criticism concerns the structural inefficiencies in both Italy and Europe.

Case study 4: Students' attitude to citizenship in Latvia

To try to determine Latvian students' attitude to citizenship, we used a focus group of 3 students, involving seven questions.

1. What do you know about Citizenship education?

If you mean by it a separate pedagogy branch in Latvia, I can say that I know nothing about it. I know that such a phenomenon exists in other countries, but I haven't heard about anything like that in Latvia (1st).

I have learned about Citizenship education due to a questionnaire, which was done in RTTEMA (2nd).

Citizenship education has, therefore, three main objectives: educating people in citizenship and human rights through an understanding of the principles and institutions [which govern a state or nation]; learning to exercise one's judgement and critical faculty; and acquiring a sense of individual and community responsibilities (3rd).

2. Where did you find info about CE?

In such a context I have not come across any information at all. As far as I know, then something is done in the framework of organizations (boy-scouts, young-guards, girl-scouts), and there are idiosyncratic events organized for enhancing citizenship, either before state holidays, or in the framework of state holidays (1st).

Advice and internet sites given by the interviewer are needed for finding information about citizenship. Only few know about it, only those who are researching this issue (2nd).

From Internet (3rd).

3. What do you understand by the term Citizenship Education?

I think it is education aiming at raising citizenship awareness development in learners (1st).

Shaping attitudes towards one's state and other states (1st).

Citizenship education can be defined as educating children, from early childhood, to become clear-thinking and enlightened citizens who participate in decisions concerning society (3rd).

4. What experience of citizenship education did you gain in your school?

The only school experience I have got at Latvian history lessons at primary school, where we were told about riflemen, fights for independence etc., but those were just facts told, therefore, I think that it has not promoted citizenship awareness development anyway. Then going to the Latvian National hockey team's game and marching along Riga's streets with flags after scoring a victory – raise citizenship awareness much more, at least in my case (1st).

Citizenship awareness up-bringing is not a compulsory subject, but it is integrated into other subjects. (History, Culture, Social science.) Laws are not being taught. There are discourses about problems at educational class lessons. Various problems are discussed at open discussions. Teachers' model convinces about the significance of the discussed content (2nd).

3rd respondent. No answer!!!!

5. Is citizenship education personally significant to you?

Yes, it is. I consider myself a patriot of Latvia (1st).

Citizenship awareness is fostered at music, history lessons. It is crucial that graduates know about Latvia after graduating from secondary school. I remember that I had to play the National Anthem in the school. It was so impressive that I remember it now being a student. I think how to share it with my learners in practice (2nd).

Yes, of course (3rd).

6. What is your attitude to your country, the European Union countries and other countries?

1st I associate myself with Latvia, feel myself as a citizen of Latvia. Of course, I feel compassionate with people being killed by terrorists somewhere in Europe. I feel compassion, but the level of citizenship I have reached is not so high that I would go to defend borders of the EU, if there is no direct threat to Latvia; nevertheless, Latvia is a member state of the EU. The same opinion I have about other states, but in case of Latvia being endangered, I will do anything to defend its independence and my family (1st).

Citizenship problem is significant. I respect my country. I am a patriot of my state. I will stay in Latvia for life, because I am needed here (2nd).

Positive (3rd).

7. What do you understand by "good citizen"?

I understand that "a good citizen" respects the state, where he lives and teaches the same to his/her children, actively participates in the life of his/her state both by manifesting his/her opinion at the elections and by defending the independence of this state in case of necessity. One who is a patriot of this state? But there will be no such "good citizens" till the state itself will start respecting its inhabitants. And I believe that Citizenship education will yield fruit only in such a case, if the state gives something in return. (1st).

One who knows, where he/she stands. Knows what may be done, what cannot be done. One who is aware of his/her significance in the society? One who has found balance between his/her value of the EU and value of Society? One who continually broadens his/her viewpoint (2nd)?

A person who have respect for others, and their dignity, in the same way as the self-respect of a free autonomous individual, springs from each individual's personal ethic, the will to 'live together, with and for others in just institutions (3rd).

Comment: What is clear from the answers in this small scale case study is that citizenship has a very strong nationalist, patriotic and state focus in Latvia. This is perhaps not surprising given the historical context of Soviet control and post-communism. Further, the respondents had had very limited involvement in their own school and ITE with citizenship education. Whilst it is important not to take too much from the views of 3 students, this conclusion is backed up in the larger scale comparative study below in case study 5.

Case study 5: Italian and Latvian ITE student perception of their citizenship learning in teacher education

Firstly, learning about citizenship competences in teacher education is compulsory in Italy, but optional in Latvia.

In terms of the effectiveness of citizenship education learning in their courses, both samples show a similar evaluation. Latvian students are slightly more positive and Italian students more critical in the help they receive to develop their CE learning.

In terms of their perception of what might constitute better practice in CE, the results are similar for both countries: a large percentage of students would suggest a primary school teacher should pay attention to human rights knowledge.

As regards their understanding of how universities prepare them for active citizenship, Latvian students think their University is better at developing their linking of theory to practice, whilst Italian students appreciate the opportunity of action research while they are studying.

In terms of their understanding of the importance of EU key competences, Latvians give more consideration to skills for civic competence (as highlighted in case study 3 above) and Italian suggest full respect for human rights as the educational priority.

Case study 6: Refugee Education in Greece

In 2016 the Greek Ministry of Education (MoE) had to devise a policy to cope with the educational needs of the 13.677 refugee children of schooling age (age 0-17) currently stranded in Greece, most of them in the regions of Attica (4.628) and Central Macedonia (5.581). The ministry intended to provide primary and secondary education for all refugee children and to facilitate access in tertiary education for eligible young adults. The issue of refugee education became quickly highly politicized with some parents' associations mounting protests against government plans.

Drawing on the experience of minority schools, special 'Reception' Classes were organized as part of the formal compulsory education system. The classes run, as of October 10th 2016 daily, from 2-6 p.m. To avoid protests the list of the approximately 70 collaborating schools was not made public. The children are receiving instruction in Greek, until they are sufficiently fluent to enroll in regular schools. Their curriculum also comprises

computers, math, arts and physical education, as well as English language courses.

Towards the development of a policy for Tertiary Education.

A significant number of the refugees are expected to seek access to a Higher Education Institution. The Greek MoE, in collaboration with the Council of Europe and the University of Athens, organized a Summer School, hosted from 18-28 August 2016 in the campus of the International Olympic Academy, in Ancient Olympia. The project's objective was to facilitate access to university and inclusion in society for refugees who will enter the higher education system in Greece, or another European country (if relocated). It piloted a flexible pedagogical model, addressing the needs of this highly diversified target group (18 -30 years old), designed to provide decision makers and higher education stakeholders with first-hand information regarding the profile and needs of refugees residing in Greece.

The summer school was planned for 40 students. Of them, 2/3 were refugees and 1/3 Greek students, which were expected to act as 'peers' for refugee students and - in the future - as intercultural mediators between the administration and refugees. The educational programme included, seminars in European Culture, workshops on language (Greek and English), workshops on human rights and citizenship, and presentations/discussions concerning European universities and studies. It included physical education and a cultural component. Academics from Europe and Greece participated on a voluntary basis.

Comment: Instructors and trainers from Greece and other European countries were included to reflect the cultural political and educational

diversity of Europe. The project revealed a different world-view held by the majority of refugees, a different perception of history (especially after WWII) and a need for training in languages and intercultural mediation in order to facilitate both the access of these prospective students in higher education institutions and their inclusion in society. The MOE will organize follow-ups in the coming year, upon evaluation of the pilot project. It will be considered a success if 30% of the participants in the 2016 Summer School gain access to universities by 2018-19.

Case study 7: citizenship education and values in Scotland

Rooted in human rights, the project 'One World', took place in a predominantly white school in an area of the West of Scotland with high unemployment. First year students were joined by associated primary schools and were taken off their regular timetable for twelve days and set the following schedule of events:

*Days 1-2: 'What does it mean to be human?' this involved leadership and peer pressure issues, in particular the responsibilities of the individual to challenge racist ideas. Activities were led by both teachers from the school and representatives from external organisations;

*Days 3-6: 'Human Rights workshops'; these involved both external organisations and subject departments. For example, Maths teachers developed work around percentages using the 'small earth' project, designed to develop awareness of global sustainability; English teachers focused on supporting students to research and write about inspirational people;

*Day 7-8: UNICEF 'rights respecting school' activities;

*Days 9-10: trips and workshops outside school relating to Scotland, diversity and racism;

*Days 11-12: 'The Holocaust and Genocide'; this involved the Anne Frank Trust, and workshops on the Holocaust and more recent genocides

A values and attitudes survey was devised, to examine student attitudes towards political trust/efficacy; diversity/multi-ethnicity; immigration/racism; equality; general hopes for the future and responsibility for tackling racism. This survey was issued to students immediately before the initiative started and very soon after it ended. Survey 1 involved 111 students (55 Male and 56 Female); survey 2, 107 students (53 Male and 54 Female).

In almost all areas relating to values and attitudes there was improvement and, in the cases of Jews, Muslims, Catholics, English and Women, substantial improvement. In the other 2 cases, Blacks and Disabled, it was virtually the same. This backs up findings from Maitles and Cowan (2006 and 2007) who found that students in transition from primary 7 to secondary 1 were more tolerant and understanding after learning about the Holocaust. Interestingly, the attitudes towards English people were lower in both surveys than towards any other group. There are a number of possible reasons for this, highlighted by Maitles and Cowan (2006 and 2007). Nonetheless, it seems that as far as diversity is concerned, the students came out of the initiative with a stronger support for diversity.

As regards, multi-ethnicity, welcomingly, in most areas the results suggest a positive general outlook. Attitudes towards Jews, Asians and Poles improved over the initiative; attitudes towards Blacks and Chinese stayed

constant. Worst overall were the attitudes towards the English. They were the most negative in both surveys and actually were less positive after the initiative than before.

The research also attempted to gauge the attitudes towards both collective and individual responsibility for dealing with racism. The results were positive. In particular, a large increase in the %age believing that society as a whole should challenge racism and a welcomingly high response to individual responsibility in both surveys.

Comment: There can be issues when examining this kind of evidence as to whether one sees the glass as half full or half empty. For example, should we be pleased that over three-quarters of the students felt that they had personal responsibility for challenging racism or worried that 25% think that racism has nothing to do with them? Overall, there is evidence of a general improvement in values and attitudes after the students undertook the initiative, although in most issues (excepting attitudes towards gays and English people) there was a high(ish) level before the citizenship initiative. Nonetheless, the fact that in the vast majority of categories, students were more positive after than before suggests that the initiative was worthwhile. The caveat to this is that we can only see the improvements as short term; a longitudinal study would be necessary to determine longer term effects and it is extremely difficult to eliminate variables over time in this kind of research.

However, the research can be of value as we evaluate the best ways to develop citizenship in young people. There are two particular points to consider: firstly, the involvement of every subject in the school can take

citizenship education and in this case Holocaust education out of a potential isolation and place its understanding at the heart of the school. The fact that this happened is important for developing one of the aims of the Scottish Curriculum for Excellence and a central plank in most school curriculums – that there should be cross curricular active learning experiences for deeper learning. Secondly, the twelve days spent on out of class activities, involving outside speakers and trips, gave the students some interesting learning experiences. For example in their Genocide awareness days, the impact of a Rwandan school student outlining aspects of the Rwandan genocide and the workshop by two senior students at the school outlining their experiences of Auschwitz as part of the Lessons From Auschwitz Project, was powerful for the students and helped their understanding of some of the issues.

From this small scale piece of research, the two areas that may need some examination in terms of overall strategy are attitudes towards English people and gay people. Negative attitudes towards both are problematic and may not be challenged anywhere in a way that other aspects of discrimination are. Welcomingly, girls are much more relaxed towards the issue of gays, suggesting that boys' sexuality is far less well developed; it would be very difficult for any boy to 'come out' as gay in a situation where only some 40% of boys think there should be equality for gays. However, it is our contention that this is a pedagogical issue; it is the responsibility of the class teacher to ensure that the homophobic attitudes do not dominate in a classroom where the vast majority of the girls and half the boys do not agree with it. In this sense lessons about the Holocaust, which would also include the murderous intent of the Nazis towards gay people, can be powerful.

Case study 8: Citizenship Education in Teacher Education in Sweden

As noted above, there is no school subject called citizenship education in the Swedish school system, but there are important formulations regarding central concepts within Citizenship Education in the first paragraph of the National Curricula for both Compulsory school and for Upper secondary school. So there are central values for Citizenship Education underlying the overall National Syllabuses that should underlay all teaching in the Swedish system. In the various teacher training programmes found throughout Sweden we can find the concept citizenship education written in syllabuses for various subjects within the various teacher programmes.

As a case study from Sweden one good example of a teacher training course is organized at the Faculty of Education and Society at Malmö University. This course, *“Global challenges in a Subject Context”*, is compulsory for all teacher students on the level for grade 7 to 9 in compulsory school as well as for all for teacher students in Upper secondary school. It is probably the only one in Sweden that has as its specific aim to focus on Citizenship Education as one part. This course encompasses six weeks of a full time study programme and it is composed by three themes that is integrated in the course; sustainability, interculturality and citizenship education. The aim of the course is that the students shall develop their cross-disciplinary knowledge of the three themes. The students shall also develop their ability to define and analyse actual current global challenges in order to participate in active citizenship both as teachers and as citizens.

The students participate in a series of lectures on each of the three themes integrated in the course and these are followed by seminars where literature is analysed and discussed and these focuses on human rights values, solidarity, ethics and other themes central in citizenship education (i.e. Ross, Dooly, and Hartsmar 2012, Hartsmar and Liljefors Persson, 2013). After their teacher education the teacher students will be responsible for the work with democratic values in the school so concepts like equality, justice and inclusion is emphasized, as well as political, ecological, economical, cultural and social questions and these are the basic aims that are in focus of this course. These central concepts and values are studied within this course in relation to the three themes; sustainability, interculturality and citizenship education.

The students formulate research questions on the basis of actual current events and situations in the local as well as global society and with relevance for the school context, such as the controversial issue regarding the current international situation for refugees and migrants in the world. And they write minor, or shorter, scientific texts and make posters for their examination within the course. One of the examination tasks is constructed as a scientific conference during which the students present their findings either in presenting papers for each other or presenting posters about their result. This cross curricula course is much appreciated and has received both national and international attention and it has been part of the compulsory cross-disciplinary courses for students in teacher training at Malmö University in Sweden since 2012.

Conclusions

The argument developed in Section 1 indicates there is still much to be done about the inclusion of civic education, particularly in connection with ensuring its impact in communities and political participation. Several dimensions of school policies and practices as well as wider issues of trust in the political classes pose serious challenge to an authentic embrace of citizenship education. Impediments include school curricular prioritising exams and examinable subjects and the rise of autonomous academies who may opt out of including civic education.

Surveys indicate decline in knowledge about and understanding of civic values among young people across several countries. Our case studies, Greece, Latvia, Scotland and Italy and Sweden of citizenship education in school and ITE offer some hope for ways in which it can be embedded.

At present political issues across Europe including issues of trust, colour the extent to which a position of optimism is warranted about the enduring impact of citizenship education. Our historical case analysis of the School of Barbiana demonstrates the immensity of the benefits from field visits to these inspiring sites of cultural heritage. The recent refugee crisis across Europe and the response of the Greek government demonstrates ways in which new visions can emerge out of complex challenges in the contemporary world. The Greek government pursued inclusive educational ideals in the face of some opposition to accommodate displaced children

and young persons into its educational infrastructure. The policy goal is to foster their social mobility and future inclusion at both school and higher education levels. Summer schools and innovative pedagogies played key roles in this endeavour. Whilst, there is reason to celebrate, that the glass of citizenship education is half-full, events, as has been shown, have transpired to make its teaching problematic. Its development needs strong forceful leadership and direction.

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The CiCe Jean Monnet Network is a consortium of universities with interest in how and what people learn about their society, a partnership that grew out of the CiCe Erasmus Academic Network, which had been in existence in various forms since 1998 with the support of the European Commission.

Closely related to the Network is the CiCe Association, an independent body of individuals and institutions with academic and practical focus on citizenship education and identity formation in young people in Europe and the world.

The CiCe Jean Monnet network links 25 institutions in network from 17 states that are involved in training education professionals (teachers, social pedagogues, early childhood workers, youth workers etc) and concerned with citizenship education and the development of identities in young people.

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