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Beyond Description: Civic and Political Education in Europe – Dialogue and Comparison

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Margarita Jeliazkova, Tatjana Zimenkova

Beyond Description: Civic and Political Education in Europe – Dialogue and Comparison

Keywords
Art, civics, education, self-reflection, identity

When we first initiated this issue, Europe was only beginning to make sense of the Brexit referendum. Many scholars in the UK and across the continent were asking themselves the same question – how to make sense of the new developments; did we do anything wrong, did we do anything differently? We felt that, in the turbulent times of a rise of right wing movements, xenophobia, but also in times of growing heterogeneity of the societies within and beyond Europe citizenship education as a project challenge practitioners and researchers alike. On the one side, good practices need to be discovered, described and possibly used in other contexts. On the other, ways need to be found to engage in a meaningful dialogue between different actors representing different political and cultural contexts. As acutely aware as we were of the division between 'traditional' and 'post-communist' democracies, we realized that in both, the very essence of European democratic arrangements was as stake. The rapid developments in the last year confirmed the necessity to abandon the 'one-way' talk between Western and East European countries. In the face of growing distrust towards traditional politics, growing polarization and fragmentation and loss of ground by political parties, maybe it was time to learn from each other? As 'old liberal' countries in Europe faced new challenges, the post-communist experience with transforming educational systems became increasingly relevant.

Macro-political changes and changes in the agenda of political elites with respect to civic education, pose new challenges to all actors of civic education, while pointing to necessity to develop new approaches towards promoting civic education and providing competences. The further challenge is the new or re-orientation on the agency of students with respect to the contents and methods of civic and citizenship education. Students are not only citizens to be, they are citizens now, and they have their own conceptions of the political participation, of being citizens and of forming the way they learn about citizenship (Millei & Imre 2016; Zimenkova & Kilian 2016). These challenges are faced by civic education researchers and actors alike, in search of common goals, albeit departing from different systemic frameworks. This entails the need to develop adequate comparative approaches which go beyond spelling out differences, but also reveal commonalities, as a prerequisite for mutual learning. On the other hand, equally important, diversity and idiosyncrasies between different countries become explicable against the backdrop of common themes. This kind of comparative work can enable the successful adoption of good practices and approaches between countries, not only and not even predominantly at the national level, but rather at the level of specific institutional and didactic approaches.

Initially, we looked for scholarly work aimed at a systematic comparison between Western and East-European countries. As we have started to work on this edited volume, we realized that the first step towards future comparative work was to find a balance between relevant international interdisciplinary contributions to civic and citizenship education. On the one side, country reports, providing the reader with the necessary detail and depth of context to make sense of developments in particular countries; on the other side, analyses of particular aspects and levels of citizenship education, often taking a critical stance towards existing practices and policy solutions. Looking closely at these various approaches and levels of abstraction as well as their theoretical and political points of departure is necessary to engage in a more systematic comparative work in the future.

The special issue of the JSSE seeks to suggest some responses to these challenges by combining the search for workable comparative approaches with country reports and to continue and deepen the dialogue on pertinent issues of civic education in Europe. The articles in the issue present a diversity of perspectives and levels of analysis. First, a theoretically driven plea for a democratic deliberation oriented curriculum in the Netherlands (Guérin). Next, a rich and empirically informed case of implementing citizenship education in post-communist Croatia (Kekez et al.), followed by a more straightforward country report on the state of affairs in Italy (Bombardelli et al). A paper by Coleno et al highlights the sometimes troublesome connection between economic and civic-democratic discourse in citizen education textbooks. Finally, we have two articles that touch upon the theme of social justice and citizenship education in two very different ways – one demonstrates, through a large-scale macro-analysis of comparative data, how school segregation enforces undesirable social attitudes in European youth (Kavadias et al.) and the other (Gessler) uses a qualitative in-depth

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approach to draw attention to overlooked minority and refugee groups in 'mainstream' citizenship education curricula. The levels of analysis range from classroom didactic strategies (Guérin), via particular themes in civic education (Coleno et al.), through perspectives and students and teachers (Gessler, Kekez et al., Kavadias et al.) to policy implementation and macro-political processes at the national level (Kekez et al., Bombardelli).

In her article "Group problem solving as a different participatory approach to citizenship education" Laurence Guérin departs from the context of citizenship education in the Netherlands, but does not aim to produce a country report. This theoretical article suggests a method of group problem solving as an approach to citizenship education. Focusing on the articulations of democracy in the learning setting and curricula, and referring to hidden curricula, Laurence Guérin focuses on the link between the choice of a theoretical perspective on democracy influences the learning goals and educational approaches in citizenship education. The author elaborates on challenges, faced by civic educators in democratic settings worldwide, while using the theory of deliberative democracy. The question of the conceptions of democracy and deconstructing the visions of democracy, lying behind the mainstream approach to citizenship education are at focus of this highly relevant work. Here, the author goes beyond the reconstruction, but seeks to demonstrate, how the conceptions of democracy are transferred into the educational principles. To do so, Laurence Guérin has chosen an interdisciplinary approach, attaching political philosophy, cognitive and educational psychology. Having in mind the development of citizenship education approaches, which would be compatible with or supportive for the deliberative conceptions of democracy, the author poses the group problem solving as an alternative participatory educational approach to citizenship education. This approach is based on four educational principles: argumentation, connected learning, decision making and thinking together.

The readers might also be interested in reading soon empirical reports on the implementation of this model in practice (the challenging and impressive work in progress Laurence Guérin is occupied with currently). The implementation might be especially challenging for two reasons. First, the vision of deliberative democracy promoted in the paper does not seem to be supported by the majority of Dutch teaches. Empirical research suggests that most of them adhere to mainstream, rather traditional ideas of representative democracy of Dutch Society (Jeliazkova, 2015a, ch.6). Second, and probably more important, both the author's observations and practical testing of the suggested approach fall largely outside the official citizenship education curriculum in the Netherlands, which remain oriented mainly towards providing information about the working of official political institutions and traditional channels of representations and thus does not allow too much space for deliberative democratic practices in regular classroom settings. For the time being, the models are being implemented in the social sciences and sciences lessons and in the secondary schools during a project related time slot. Hence, the agency of teachers and schools as singular actors is essential in order to promote deliberative models of education. Here we detect one more idea for comparing civic education across countries, looking at the roles and own agenda of civic education actors within or despite the (set or fragmented) official curricula.

The implication for citizenship education which L. Guérin draws from her research is the necessity to discuss the conception of democracy, used by the central actors of citizenship education (and here we have references to the central questions Anka Kekez, Martina Horvat and Berto Šalaj put in their paper on the Croatian case). Generally, the challenge of addressing and enhancing agency and autonomy of the students takes up a central perspective in the paper of Laurence Guérin, creating direct links to the article of Susann Gessner on Teaching Civic Education in a Migrating Global Community and has also direct relevancy to the questions, Dimokritos Kavadias, Kenneth Hemmerecht and Bram Spruyt pose in this volume, why demonstrating the impact of how institutionalized academic segregation on democratic learning. The questions of deliberation and student's perspectives and autonomy are essential for civic educators, these questions are seemingly one of the mane common denominators civic educators share.

The same problem is faced by Anka Kekez, Martina Horvat and Berto Šalaj. In their paper on "Civic Education in Croatia: At the Margins of the System" the authors look at the ways of transformation of civic education in Croatia. Croatia as a young democracy has aligned its transition and consolidation with development of education conceptions, targeted to support the creation of a democratic civic culture. While combining the existing studies and providing own impressive analysis of documents and internet sources as well as interviews with teachers, Anka Kekez, Martina Horvat and Berto Šalaj tell a troubling tale of the rise and fall of civic education in Croatia. The authors demonstrate how, by adopting vague and non-binding policies, the Croatian political elite has displayed a lack of political will to develop a systematic and quality-based civic education. The authors claim that, even though in the most recent five-year period the need to change the educational path became part of the political agenda again, the reform process resulted in deepening the ideological divides in Croatian society. The reform changed responsibilities and agencies within the civic education: the adoption of an interdisciplinary and cross-curricular approach placed the responsibility for carrying out civic education in the hands of teachers and non-government organizations. Teachers are in desperate need for guidelines, structure and resources to incorporate civic education into their subjects, and the NGOs cannot reach a sufficient percentage of youth who then miss the opportunity to acquire key democratic competences. The most important implication of this empirically informed policy study is that it demonstrates how citizenship education can become

the focus of deep ideological divides on the very essence of educational systems, in times of trans-formation. High hopes by teachers and policy makers alike to influence social and political development in one direction or another are projected onto this one theme – civic education, turning it into a battleground of religious, nationalistic, and liberal forces. By contrast, in most Western countries, citizenship education still occupies a relatively marginal position, in spite of declarations stating the opposite. The lesson from Croatia is that in turbulent times it may not be even possible to stick to a depoliticized, 'safe' and mainstream version of citizenship education. This Croatian case study demonstrates how the agency and changing stake holders within the educational system directly impact civic education, a conclusion reinforced by the findings on the direct link between educational segregation and democratic attitudes (Kavadias et al.)

In their paper on "Segregation and socialization: academic segregation and citizenship attitudes of adolescents in comparative perspective" Dimokritos Kavadias, Kenneth Hemmerecht and Bram Spruyt deliver an impressive insight on the issue of the impact of the organization of education in European societies on the civic attitudes of adolescents. The authors take up a critical position, highlighting black spots of the civic education research, as they focus on the impact of educational systems on attitudes or democratic values. For this special issue of the JSSE, which considers the questions of comparability of civic education research across countries, the perspective, suggested by Dimokritos Kavadias, Kenneth Hemmerecht and Bram Spruyt must be considered as a crucial one. The authors use material of the International Civic and Citizenship Education Study (2009, see JSSE 1-2012 "Comparative Studies of Civic and Citizenship Education") relying on multilevel models with the goal to demonstrate the relation between the practice of segregating children on the basis of their scholastic achievement on attitudes of adolescents living in different educational systems. While having taken into consideration impressive amount of data, the authors demonstrate, how students differ in their conception of fellow citizens, according to the ways in which educational systems select and differentiate throughout school careers. The authors make a strong case about the negative impact of academic segregation on such core values of the democratic societies, like attitudes towards immigrants and ethnic minorities. This meta-level analysis bring about structural elements into the considerations of the possibilities to develop democratic attitudes, and opens up the discussions on right to participate (in education and in politics) and sense of political efficacy, which (can be) shared by the students within the highly segregating educational systems. An overall perspective on the educational system as a whole, thus moving beyond specific curricula and classroom practice, is essential in order to understand the place and the degree of influence of civic education on European youth. The paper provides tools and ideas for the utilization of large datasets for cross-national comparisons, allowing for the development of a multi-layer approach. In the light of the paper's conclusions, the exemplary research on students' agency and students own perspectives provided by Susann Gessner, Laurence Guérin's focus on deliberation, and the Italian report by Olga Bombardelli and Marta Codato, demonstrating the diversity of practices of civic education, all suggest ways to ultimately address the issue of segregation and social justice through taking democratic values seriously. One can argue that deliberative approaches towards civic education might work to address segregation, provided that the perspectives of teachers and students are carefully studied and taken seriously in new institutional arrangements. As the paper by Kekez et al. makes clear, we need to look at the institutional arrangements promoting citizenship education, and they go far beyond the direct implementation of curriculum of curricular themes. General flaws or trends in a national educations system may have a more profound influence on students' political growth and development.

In her article on "Teaching Civic Education in a Migrating Global Community: How Can Students with a Migration Background Contribute to Didactics and Civic Education Theory?" Susann Gessner addresses the learning needs and experiences of young migrants and poses pertinent questions related to the intersection of globalization, political radicalization, and citizenship education (for similar topics see JSSE 3-2015, Education for National Belonging: Imposing Borders and Boundaries on Citizenship, 3-2014, Young Europeans in an Era of Crises: Citizenship Education in a New Perspective, 3-2012, Citizenship and Community, 1-2007, Europe as an Educational Framework: Cultures, Values and Dialogues). Concentrating on the 'political' as an important category of civic education, the article touches upon the agency of the students, who are addressed as stakeholders, called for determining their own individual notions of 'political'. The article draws on qualitative research, and explores students' own perception of their learning process, especially the knowledge, interpretation and perception of civic education (lessons) by students with migration history in Germany. Susann Gessner discusses the implications of her findings for civic education didactics: mainstream didactic approaches can be enriched and improved if they take into account the rich experiences of students with a migrant background. Students perceive the content of civic education and its settings as 'outsiders', and, in this sense, their perspective can be enriching and even transformative for civic education practices in Germany. Departing from the specific experiences of young migrant students within German school civic education, Susann Gessner calls for revising the vision of the (migrant) students as contributors to the didactics of civic education and thus touches upon questions, relevant for the didactics of civic education in a rapidly globalizing Europe: how to discern, acknowledge and embrace multiple perspective on citizenship and participation? How to go beyond traditional indicators of youth engagement such as voting behavior?

The example of the Brexit referendum makes two issues visible: first, youth did not care to vote, in large numbers. Second, volatile voting, in many cases hijacked by dubious political agendas, puts the system of voting and representative democracy to a test. While touching on political agendas, this paper stands thus in direct connection to the highly relevant work by Yves-Patrick Coléno and Hervé Blanchard.

The theme of the need to take a critical stance towards dominant political ideas is highlighted from a different angle by Yves-Patrick Coléno and Hervé Blanchard. They analyze the impact of mainstream economics in "Teaching about the 'economic crisis' today. The example of French 'economic and social sciences'". Their research is focused on exemplary ways of teaching in the interdisciplinary school subject Economic and Social Sciences (SES) at French secondary schools. They show that approaches to teaching the crisis can be traced in the use of words and explanatory patterns of syllabuses and teaching material. The authors show how the hegemony of mainstream economics is preserved and how the placement of specific notions in the present lexicon is backing it. Their approach understands subject matter contents as "the product of a dual process of didactization and of axiologization of reference knowledge" which is intertwined with the values of the respective society. More generally, the authors draw upon the theoretical approach of semantic holism. Their findings reveal the predominance of standard economics approaches and of a syncretic type of presentation in the teaching resources. In general, the causation of economic crisis is often externalized and attributed to external shocks and financial excesses whereas the genuine mechanisms of the market economy are believed to secure equilibrium via self-regulation. There is, however, also some evidence of pluralism and reference to heterodox economic thinking, but these approaches are placed outside the core knowledge presented by a textbook. The paper of Coléno and Blanchard on economic crisis in education continues a key topic of the JSSE. Readers may remember the special issues 2-2013 "Crisis and Economic Education in Europe", 1-2010 and 2-2010 "Civic and Economic Education and the Current Financial Crisis" (part I and II). Sociology too is part of the subject Economic and Social Sciences, the interested reader may refer to the paper of Elisabeth Chatel "Sociology in French High Schools: The Challenge of Teaching Social Issues" published in JSSE 4-2009. The JSSE will continue to present research on pluralism in economic education, this will be the main topic of issue 3-2018.The authors focus on text analysis underscores a theme also found in the papers of Laurence Guérin and Susann Gessner in particular – namely, that current citizenship education curricula fail to adequately reflect the rapidly changing political, social and economic landscape of European countries. By adhering to ‚mainstream', ‚uncontested' topics, these curricula miss the chance to initiate and to structure discussion on the big relevant topics of our time – globalization, climate change, radicalization, migration and economic crisis.

İrem Pamuk and Akif Pamukprovide in their report on the 6th International Symposium on Social Studies Education organized annually by the Association for Social Studies Educators (ASSE), under the title "Rethinking Social Studies and Citizenship in Turkey", provide an inspiring overview to the symposium, , under the topic: "Rethinking Social Studies". The detailed summary of the symposium, the lines of argumentation and the main foci of this important event provided by both authors, give the readers of the JSSE exclusive insight into the central topics and developments of the civic education in Turkey. Within the context of our special issue, the focus on processes of globalization, (forced) migration as well student agency seem to be common denominators for civic education (worldwide). Our readers are well aware of the challenges to civic education and civic education research in Turkey at the moment. We believe that the presence of the report in this issue underscores the importance of developing and maintaining a scholarly community and dialogue on civic education not only beyond country descriptions, but also beyond Europe.

In the country report session of the issue, we present "Civic and Citizenship Education in Italy: Thousands of Fragmented Activities Looking for a Systematization", written by Olga Bombardelli and Marta Codato. The last time readers of the JSSE had a chance to read a country report from Italy was already over 14 years ago (the report can be found under Losito 2003). This impressive update we are able to publish in the current issue discusses interesting developments in Italian civic education. Overall one can say, that there is a certain interest in Italy for this educational activity, anyway it needs strong improvement. Complaints about the limits of civic and citizenship education in the Italian school system are common in the country, for example, on the daily paper Corriere della sera, Antonella De Gregorio talks about the lacking lesson of civic education and calls it „chimera subject" (De Gregorio, 2014) . The report lives up to the challenge to describe how civic and citizenship education takes place in Italy, particularly based on an analysis of the official guidelines by the Ministry in this field, an interesting view of the literature on the topic within the last 30 years. Beside official documents, the authors include informal observations of daily teaching at schools. Olga Bombardelli and Marta Codato focus on the curriculum, the school culture, as well as on experiences of participation inside schools. While investigating teacher training and other influences on teachers, the authors demonstrate impressively the diversity of the daily practice, as there are thousands of activities for civic and citizenship education without a systematic design. Again, coming back to our question of comparability within citizenship education, we face some main challenges of these kinds of approaches, when we look at the Italian report. If the curricula across Europe an beyond might be seen as comparable, then we as empirical researchers still face the question of how to approach, systematize and to compare the diversity of school (an non-school) approaches and activities, in

which students are intended to learn how to be citizens (sometimes developing agency as citizens despite the educational settings, while fighting for their own rights against the rigidity of educational institutions; cf. Zimenkova/Kilian 2016)

The volume brings together contributions, addressing different scopes of research, based on different materials, ranged from empirical studies up to theoretical contributions. Some contributions seek to develop approaches to citizenship education, relevant for all country contexts. The others seek for dialog with the 'others' – neighboring countries, other professionals, etc. The issue also incorporates contributions which demonstrate the essentiality on country specifics and further ones point to the common structures, relevant on the meta-level for all civic and citizenship education practices. Macro political developments, like globalization and glocalization processes (Sklair 1999, Swank 2002), including global migration (Cohen 2006, 2008), the rise of the nationalistic and right-wing /European-parties, the economic crises but also democratic transformations are relevant for the authors of this issue. The articles provide new essential scopes for comparison. The common denominator of the articles we gathered in this volume can be seen as a focus on global challenges civic education face, and, although many of the papers in this volume refer to the single country contexts, they shell be seen as a review of global challenges relevant for all civic educations and didactics.

Further commonalities in the contributions to this volume are the questions of deliberation and student's perspectives and autonomy; these topics are essential for civic educators and researchers in civic and citizenship education, and seem to be not only one of the mane common denominators civic educators share but also one of the main motivations to do research and to develop new educational approaches. Looking at the students'' agency and students' autonomy, we cannot but refer to the conceptions of the "political" as an important category of civic education (Zimenkova 2013), if we see "political" as empowerment, as capacity to insubordinate (Gallagher 2008) and hence the capacity to decide, whether one wants to adopt to the existing systems (of representation exemplary).

Turning back to the initial idea, comparative work might not (yet) be happening in the systematic way, against the backdrop of a shared framework and analytical instruments. Rather, comparative work in civic and citizenship education, at least at the moment, is more like making sense of the patchwork rather than searching the one best approach. The volume we present allows for associations and links across countries, themes, and levels of analysis. They are all needed if we are to move forward: in order to adopt specific didactic practices, one needs a grasp of the overall institutional and political context within which they place.

A few final questions arise and deserve to be addressed in future scholarly work:

In post-authoritarian countries, we witness a great deal of 'window dressing' and lack of commitment and political will (cf. Kekez et al.) to invest in citizenship education. Are things different in the 'older' democracies? Our preliminary answer is that, for in 'old liberal' democracies as well, contested and critically oriented forms of citizenship education are less likely to be promoted by established political elites (cf. Guérin). We believe that move towards depoliticization of civic education is essentially the same in western democracies, but developments in post-communist countries just expose it in a more acute, sharply visible way. Or is it about agency within the civic education system? (cf. Olga Bombardelli and Marta Codato). Thus, what is perceived as de-fragmentation or non-systematization of civic education in European countries might be just a sign of institutional resistance to suggested change, mainly from actors outside the mainstream educational system?

The overall question of comparison would be then: how to frame the processes of transformation, globalization, Europeanisation, social justice, in our research and practice on civic education? (cf. Susann Gessner, Kavadias et al.). How can we frame civic and citizenship education as a reflection of conflict, polarization, high hopes and emerging visions on the future of Europe?

We made an attempt to highlight some of common themes and the readers of this volume will certainly find many more interesting angles. We envy you a bit, as you will have a great journey within the current research on citizenship education, and we are certain that this will contribute to the ongoing dialogue and exchange of ideas and good practices on the pages of this journal and beyond. And it is what this issue is about.

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Laurence Guérin

Group Problem Solving as a Different Participatory Approach to Citizenship Education

- European policy makers and a large part of the citizenship education (CE) research community convey a specific idea of democracy and citizenship without discussing it.
- This hidden goal of the curriculum limits teachers' and pupils' autonomy.
- Choosing a theoretical framework has consequences for the learning goals, the chosen pedagogical approach and the kind of civic capacities pupils should practice.
- Group problem solving was justified as an alternative participatory approach to citizenship education and translated into educational principles.
- An epistemological theory of deliberative democracy laid the basis for this choice and learning activities were developed and implemented in primary and secondary schools.

Purpose: The main goal of this article is to define and justify group problem solving as an approach to citizenship education. It is demonstrated that the choice of theoretical framework of democracy has consequences for the chosen learning goals, educational approach and learning activities. The framework used here is an epistemic theory of deliberative democracy. It is argued that such an approach enhances teachers' and pupils' autonomy.
Design/methodology/approach: First, it was discussed what kind of theory of democracy lies behind the mainstream approach to citizenship education. Then, it was demonstrated how a chosen theory of democracy and citizenship leads to a specific translation into educational principles. In order to define and translate the chosen framework into educational principles and learning activities, different disciplines were drawn upon: political philosophy, cognitive and educational psychology.
Findings: Group problem solving was defined as an alternative participatory educational approach to citizenship education and four educational principles were defined: argumentation, connected learning, decision making and thinking together.
Practical implications: Educationalists, policy makers and researchers working on citizenship education should discuss their ideals of democracy and citizenship in order for these to become an object of scrutiny in the curriculum.

Keywords:
Deliberative democracy, citizenship education, group problem solving, Participation, civic education

1 Introduction

European policy makers and a large part of the citizenship education (CE) research community convey a specific idea of democracy and citizenship, as can be read in for example the Eurydice and International Civic and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS) reports. Behind this idea, there is a specific view on how citizens should relate to other citizens and the state. In other words, such policy documents use certain theories of democracy and citizenship. However, the fundamental assumptions of these theories still remain vague (Hedtke, 2013; Kennedy, 2008; Zimenkova, 2013). According to Peterson (2009), policy makers are mostly republican orientated, whereas van der Ploeg (2016) analyses their orientation as a mixture of republicanism and liberalism. Nevertheless, policy makers and numerous researchers advocating the mainstream participatory approach to CE do not always explain or discuss its connection to a specific theory of democracy or citizenship. And when they do, the analysis often remains rather superficial. Hidden curriculum occurs when the theoretical framework used, which sets out the direction for the curriculum, is not discussed and justified: "Ideology is not always immediately apparent in citizenship curriculum documents. It can be easily overlooked without a deeper examination of the theory behind the recommended practice" (Kennedy, 2008, p.11). This hidden goal of the curriculum limits pupils' autonomy: they are only confronted with one idea of democracy and a single conception of good citizenship (van der Ploeg & Guérin, 2016). As Künzli (2007) and van der Ploeg and Guérin (2016) argue: the political conceptions communicated in the curriculum have to become the object of critical scrutiny. Furthermore, clarifying the framework of demo-cracy chosen for CE enables one to define and justify the choice of learning goals, the kind of civic capacities pupils should practice, as well as the most appropriate pedagogical approach (Peterson, 2009; Parker, 2006, 2010). A good example of this hidden curriculum is the Crick report, released in 1998 by the Curriculum Authorities, describing the kind of CE that was becoming compulsory. A few years later, Crick (2007) acknowledges that civic republicanism was the theory underlying this CE.

The goal of this article is to define and justify the kind of participatory approach that enhances pupils' autonomy and to demonstrate how this can be translated into educational principles and in the school practice. In

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order to do so, different disciplines were drawn upon: political philosophy, cognitive and educational psychology. First, the (hidden) theoretical framework of the mainstream participatory approach advocated by policy makers and researchers will be shortly described and questioned. Secondly, the chosen focus on deliberative democracy will be explained and justified. Then, the process of deliberation, with group decision making as its main goal, will be briefly explained. Finally, the demands deliberation places on the thinking capacities described will be translated into four educational principles, drawing upon cognitive developmental and educational psychological research. At last the implementation in the school practice will be illustrated.

2 The mainstream participatory CE: a hybrid conception

According to Peterson (2009), England is promoting a republican idea of democracy in its conception of CE. This civic republicanism is recognisable in the overarching goal of fostering active participation in political and public life. It is also perceivable in the following features: "First, that citizens possess and should recognise certain *civic obligations*; second, that citizens must develop an awareness of *the common good*, which exists over and above their private self-interests; third, that citizens must possess and act in accordance with *civic virtue*; and fourth, that civic engagement in democracy should incurporate a *deliberative* aspect." (Peterson, 2009, p. 57).

According to Van der Ploeg (2015) European policy documents, such as Eurydice, or international research such as ICCS, are a combination of liberalism and republicanism, with the republican orientation being dominant, as it sees active participation, social cohesion and harmony as the main pedagogical goals of CE. Furthermore, the emphasis of CE is on experiencing active citizenship within a real-life context (Schultz et al., 2010; Eurydice, 2012). For Zimenkova (2013, p.48), even though Europe and several European countries state in their documents that youth should be prepared to reflect as critical citizens, this criticism should have its limits:

> "All these calls for civic activities which *do not question* the given political order (or detract from other kinds of criticism). What is expected, then, from an active political citizen is that she maintains cohesion, observes politics and (if at all) critically reflects on politics, is informed about politics and then reproduces and supports the division of labour within democracy.

The mainstream participatory approach to CE favours an obedient citizen while ruling out stronger non-conformist forms of participation, such as insubordination (Hedkte, 2013). In the Netherlands, the same kind of hidden curriculum occurs. In a recently published article, Eidhof, ten Dam, Dijkstra and Westhof (2016) state that there is a consensus in political theories about democratic citizenship goals. These authors are relevant as they have a strong influence on Dutch educational policy. Ten Dam worked for the Education Council of the Netherlands (Onderwijsraad) and Dijkstra works at the Education Inspectorate. The authors make a distinction between democratic citizenship goals and citizenship goals. The first being general goals and the second more specific goals. The consensus found in the literature is at the level of general goals:

> "A fair amount of consensus exists between various political theories with regard to the promotion of democratic citizenship. As such, these consensus citizenship goals can serve as common ground. To stimulate or sustain democracy, societies cannot depend on the existence of democratic institutions alone. A democracy is defined by its practices as much as its principles: principles are most effective when supported and practiced by all citizens. (Eidhof, ten Dam, Dijkstra and Westhof 2016, p. 3).

According to Eidhof et al. (2016), this consensus is based on a threefold virtue that citizens must possess: (1) "tolerance for diversity and civility" as well as a recognition of equal rights, (2) solving conflict in the personal, public and political spheres in a non-violent way and lastly (3) civic engagement through volunteering. In their article, the authors defend the view that *all* citizens should participate actively in civic life and also actively engage in volunteer practices. This supposed consensus, and the way it is justified, is problematic. First of all, if there seems to be a consensus among different political theories, this consensus is of a different nature. The focus of political theories on citizens' rights came under pressure in the 70-80's and a shift started to occur, leading to the recognition of the responsibility of citizens towards democracy (Kimlycka & Norman, 1994). However, the kind of responsibilities citizens should take on, and the nature of the virtues citizens should ideally possess, are subject to dispute (Kymlicka & Norman, 1994; Kymlicka, 2004). Secondly, the last virtues mentioned by Eidhof et al. (2016) define a participative approach praised by civil society's theorists. In the case of the third and last claim, this idea of consensus is only underpinned by three authors Almond / Verba and Putman who themselves are advocates of a certain kind of theory of civil society.

Democracy and citizenship are controversial issues and should be dealt with as such in the curriculum (Biesta, 2014; Van der Ploeg, 2015; van der Ploeg & Guérin, 2016). Moreover, there is also a lack of consensus among political theories as to whether the participation of all citizens is necessary in order for a democracy to function well, and the same applies to the kind of participation required. Thus, 'where', 'how' and 'how many' citizens should participate is also a matter of controversy. Some political philosophers argue that it is sufficient to sustain a democracy when only a portion of the citizens participates (Van der Ploeg, 2015; van der Ploeg & Guérin, 2016). For Eidhof et al. (2016) a good citizen is an active and engaged one. Amnä and Ekman (2014) concluded in their research that the way active and passive citizenship is defined is contra-productive, as it leads researchers to think in terms of a dichotomy. In their research, they found that some of the youths typed as passive, should preferably be considered as "standby" citizens, having a

basic confidence in democracy but prepared to come into action when necessary.

To summarize, CE is ideological driven and implementing CE in the school requires clarity regarding the theory of citizenship one uses as a framework along with its justification in educational terms. This implies that educators should make a choice, discuss it and demonstrate how they translate their approach into educational principles. Such justification is now missing. In this article, deliberative democracy has been chosen as a framework, justified and translated into educational principles.

3 Justification for a theory of deliberative democracy

Deliberative democracy is a broad concept of democracy with no consensus among deliberative theorists regarding the goals and process of deliberation (Peterson, 2009; Bächtiger, 2012; Landemore & Page, 2012). For some deliberative theorists, deliberation is not necessary to reach a consensus, but its aim lies in discussing an issue with other people, providing reasons and justifying them publicly. For others, the emphasis of deliberation lies in expressing one's values, sharing them, while respecting others' autonomy and judgment, and developing a (shared) identity. For still others, reaching a consensus and making joint decisions should be the aim of deliberation, with the emphasis on enhancing epistemic quality (Landemore & Page, 2012). This stance about the epistemic function of deliberation is supported by epistemic deliberative theories that "emphasize the instrumental properties of deliberation, namely the fact that it may and should get us to the "correct" answer", or at least, to the best possible answer to a given collective problem." (Blächtiger, 2013, p.21). The chosen focus with regard to the aim or process of deliberation has a bearing on how citizenship education should be taught. Peterson (2009) and Parker (2006, 2010) use a deliberative framework, justifying which aspect of deliberation to emphasize, why, and sometimes also how. They stress that defining such a framework helps clarify the kind of skills students should learn and how. Therefore, it gives orientation to teachers' educational practices.

If the essence of democracy is collective deliberation and decision making, then in order to make a significant contribution to collective decision making, citizens must be able to deliberate on all sorts of issues, to evaluate them, find solutions and ideally reach shared agreements (Goodin, 2008; Kymlicka, 2008). According to this view, group problem solving could be classified as fitting deliberative theories of democracy (Van der Ploeg, 2015). Group problem solving as a pedagogical approach to CE, is not only linked to proponents of a deliberative democracy, but has also been supported throughout the last century by educationalists such as Dewey and Kohnstamm, and has been implemented in the U.S. social studies curriculum, as well as in Politische Bildung in Germany (Van der Ploeg, 2015; Van der Ploeg & Guérin, 2016).

Black (2012) distinguishes two aspects of deliberation that occur in conjunction:

> "…one aspect is analytic process, which involves group members talking together in ways that allow them to develop a shared information base, clarify the key values at stake, identify and weigh the pros and cons of possible solutions, and make the best decision possible. The second process necessary in deliberation is the social interaction that develops quasi-democratic relationships among participants. This social process involves participants having equal and adequate opportunities to speak, demonstrating mutual comprehension and consideration of other's view, and communicating respect of the group members and their perspectives. (p. 61-62).

Both processes are relevant to optimal deliberation, the second, the social process, enables and supports the first, the analytic process. But this analytic process, even under optimal social conditions, can be inadequate (Bächtiger, 2010). This means that working on these social aspects would not be enough to attain the best solution for the problem at hand. Some advocates of a deliberative democracy argue in favour of enhancing the epistemic quality of the discussion.

The epistemic variant of deliberative democracy considers the content of the discussion and the epistemic quality of the solution to be the goals of deliberation. Choosing such a framework seems appropriate, as societal issues are complex and often controversial. Offering a setting for students to engage in group reflection with their peers on such issues increases their autonomy by elaborating their knowledge and by reflecting on them. Furthermore, it opens the possibility of discussing this theory of democracy with students and allows them to explore other conceptions of democracy and the idea of being "good citizens" and helps them to think through and discuss these competing views on democracy and citizenship (Van der Ploeg, 2015; van der Ploeg & Guérin, 2016).

4 The epistemic theory of deliberation

How to improve the epistemic quality of the discussions and decisions through deliberation is a matter of ongoing debate among deliberative theorists. For Landemore (2007, p.7),

> "Epistemic democrats, who focus on "truth-tracking" properties of democratic procedures, such as voting and deliberation, argue that the value of democracy is partially to be found in the epistemic quality of the decisions that democratic decision making (at least probabilistically) produces.

The question then raised is how to enhance this epistemic quality.

According to Bächtiger (2010), the epistemic quality of discussion will improve by the use of "productive contestatory techniques" which lead participants of deliberation to deepen their disagreements through argumentation, to search for inconsistencies in others'

arguments, to evaluate the validity of claims and ultimately reach a broader understanding of the issue at hand. These contestatory techniques encompass: "… three interrelated elements: questioning, disputing, and insisting." (Bächtiger, 2010, p.8). When consensus is considered an aim of deliberation, this can give rise to a search for common ground without thoroughly analysing and evaluating the disagreements and arguments, avoiding arguments that might lead to conflict, failing to share all information on the issue. For Landemore and Page (2015), it is the deliberation task that defines what kind of communication would be most efficient. Landemore and Page (2015) distinguish three different tasks: aggregative preferences, problem solving and predictions. Depending on the task at hand, the process and outcomes of deliberation will vary. For issues in which citizens view their disagreements as fundamental and for which they can give good reasons for various positions, for example abortion, aggregation could one efficient way of reaching a decision. In the case of problem solving, striving for a consensus is the most adequate procedure because the aim of deliberation is to work out different solutions and decide which is the most appropriate. Whereas for predictive tasks requiring no agreement, for example when discussing the possible impact of certain policies. Contestatory discussion techniques, such as those proposed by Bächtiger (2010), would be best suited, as they encourage participants to compete in producing predictive models which ideally lead to "more accurate collective prediction." (Landemore & Page, 2015, p. 20). The objection raised by Bächtiger (2010), namely that a premature search for common ground may compromise epistemic quality, should be considered when engaging students in discussing during a deliberation. This means that students should be encouraged to deepen their positions, explicitly discuss their disagreements and share their knowledge thoroughly before embarking on a search for potential solutions and consensus. In short, exercising how to deliberate can include "productive contestatory techniques", even in the pursuit of consensus.

To sum up, Landemore and Page (2015) and Bächtiger (2010) agree that the primary goal of deliberation is to increase the epistemic quality of the discussions, finding solutions and making decisions on the problems citizens face. This implies that the educational approaches used should focus on enhancing the quality of discussion among students and the quality of the solutions proposed. In that case, the content is paramount. Choosing such an epistemic theory of democracy maximizes students' autonomy, because they will have to acquire certain knowledge in order to understand and deliberate on the issue.

I am, however, not claiming that learning how to share values is not relevant. Listening to others respectfully, accepting different points of view, equity and trust, are important conditions that facilitate the process of group problem solving. But within this framework, the attitudes students are required to learn are functional in the sense that they enable them to attain a good quality of discussion among themselves. According to the literature on collaborative learning, students should receive training in order to successfully develop such listening skills, to learn to respect others' arguments and have enough trust in other students to engage in discussions and share their points of view (Baines, Blatchford & Chowne, 2009).

Our focus is on developing the thinking capacities students need to engage efficiently in group problem solving. As Parker (2006, 2010) emphasises, schools are the first institution students are exposed to, allowing them to engage in deliberation with students from different cultural, ideological and familial backgrounds. In CE, too strong focus on social interaction could come at the expense of learning how to argue, to reach sound judgments and make good decisions. There is an over-whelming amount of research showing that argumentation skills take time to develop, that the quality of people's judgments and decision making is often poor, due to thinking biases and heuristics, and that group thinking is not always efficient (Baron, 2008; Perkins, 2009, Kahneman, 2003; Stanovich & West, 2007). Now that the theoretical framework for CE has been chosen, justified and discussed, let us continue by considering the kind of thinking skills citizens require in order to deliberate.

5 The process of deliberation

The point of departure here, is that the content of deliberation concerns a wide range of issues relating to the common good of citizens and to making decisions as to how to solve such issues. This means that citizens may deliberate on issues ranging from political to environmental, from local to (inter)national. The goal of such deliberation is not per se that citizens change their opinions, but that they develop an informed view on the issue at hand in the awareness that there are potentially several defensible positions concerning this issue. An outcome of such deliberation might be that no consensus or solutions are possible due to irreconcilable points of view or judgments. In this case, citizens either have to reach a consensus on how to deal with these differences or opt for aggregative forms of decision making, as suggested by Landemore and Page (2015). I also assume that citizens have the opportunity to inform and prepare themselves prior to taking part in such deliberation. I will distinguish three phases in order to achieve a more accurate description of what is required of citizens. First, citizens can prepare themselves for taking part in the deliberation. Second, in (small) groups, they have to explain their position to each other. Third, they must reach a common analysis of the topic under deliberation and make a decision.

Preparing for deliberation

Deliberating with others requires that individuals are able to justify their point of view on the issue in such a way that others can understand them (Gutmann & Thompson, 2004). Here, two things are needed: (a) that a position is taken on the issue and (b) their ability to explain it to themselves and others, even to strangers. Let us examine (a) and (b) more closely. Participating in a

deliberation should lead one to reflect on one's own position and be able to justify it. If an opinion is held on the matter, the underlying reasons have to be made explicit. One engages in evaluating and judging one's own reasons – are these reasons supported by evidence and/or can they be organised and structured as a logical set of arguments? Is there a need for new or further information or evidence? If so, this has to be gathered and evaluated to determine its credibility and adequacy. The new information needs to be interpreted, analysed and evaluated, inferences have to be made and integrated within the argumentation. This process can result in improving, revising or changing one's earlier position. The amount of preparation, either the search for additional information or the examination of one's own argumentation, may, of course, vary. This depends on the complexity of the issue and the level of one's relevant knowledge and expertise, the willingness to do so and the time available. During this process, citizens can take their time to think things through, or choose not to do so. Therefore, they can reason at their own pace and level, practicing internal deliberation.

Explaining one's own position

Once the actual deliberation commences, there is less time to think and individuals also have to respond to others' reasoning: citizens must react to others' positions, give counter-arguments, deal with others' reactions to their own position and react to them. But first of all, each member must be ready to explain their position. This means assessing the appropriate kind of explanation and the level of complexity other members of the group can handle. This evaluation depends on the complexity of the issue discussed and the level of knowledge one believes others possess. Therefore, if a person presents an argumentation too complex to be grasped in the light of other members' lack of the required knowledge, then further explanation is called for. This demands the ability to tailor one's explanation to meet the required level, as well as some degree of pedagogical insight, which is not always easy when dealing with complex issues. Moreover, the issue must often be deliberated with strangers. The arguments not only have to be comprehensible, they ideally should also have a certain validity in order for them to be considered as relevant or worthy of discussion by other members of the group. And if he/she fails to convince others of the relevance of the arguments, then they must find new ways of explaining their position. Each group member presents their position, which is then to be evaluated by the other members, for instance by constructing new counter-arguments if in disagreement, or, if in agreement, by supplementing the position by adding new arguments, or by leaving it as it is. Ideally, this process can give rise to a revision or improvement of one's own position in the light of more valid arguments, by gaining a deeper insight into the issue at stake.

Deliberation and making a decision

The objective of bringing people together to deliberate is to reach a justified decision (Gutmann & Thompson, 2004). This means that members of the group have to make a judgment as to an appropriate decision. In order to do so, different possibilities have to be developed with regard to resolving the issue. In the deliberation process, the judgments or points of view brought forward by the participants are sometimes insufficient to reach a decision and so new information may be called for. To this end, experts may be consulted, or group members may seek additional information themselves. This new information must then be evaluated, inferences have to be made based on the new evidence and integrated in a coherent way. In the light of the new information, possibilities can either be explored, revised or abandoned. In order to make a decision concerning an issue, various possibilities have to be evaluated and the best judgment is then determined, based on the new insights. In order to make a judgment, criteria have to be set (Baron, 2008; Black, 2012; Landemore & Page, 2015). These criteria, set by the members deliberating, can either be ethical or factual or both, but, whatever the case, they must be supported by group consensus. Evaluating possibilities also entails attempting to foresee the various associated consequences. Both direct and indirect consequences have to be considered. In other words, the process involves making predictions and attempting to take into account predetermined and undetermined factors. Again, the complexity involved in making predictions varies. Therefore, in some cases the issue could be relatively easy to solve, whereas in other instances, making any kind of realistic prediction may prove much more challenging. When no real agreement is attainable due to the nature of the issue group members must decide on how to deal with such differences (Gutmann & Thompson, 2004).

6 Deliberation and its critics

In short, deliberation requires that citizens be adequately informed, be able to develop and reach reasoned judgments, that they develop different scenarios and make predictions relating to these, that they make judgments regarding the best solutions and ultimately make collective decisions. The question raised, is whether all this is asking too much of citizens, as it places high demands on their rationality. Another potential criticism is whether deliberative theory of democracy, especially the one with group problem solving as its goal, rule out a more agonistic perspective on citizenship (Mouffe, 2013).

Placing too heavy demands on rationality is a common criticism voiced by opponents of a deliberative democracy (e.g. Gastil & Levine, 2005; Nabatchi et al., 2012). As already mentioned, research on rationality has shown that human thinking often suffers from various thinking biases and heuristics, such as oversimplification, confirmation bias, one-side bias and framing effects, potentially leading to poor judgment and decision making (e.g. Baron, 2008; Kahneman, 2003; Perkins, 2009; Stanovich & West, 2007). This irrationality does not mean that citizens are unable to develop good thinking skills. In fact, research on thinking skills has demonstrated that in-

formed views can be reached through deliberation (Fishkin, 2005; Pincock, 2012). Research on citizens' deliberation gives grounds for some degree of optimism. For decades, various national and international initiatives have been developed, aimed at organising deliberation among citizens, such as deli-berative polling, citizens' jury or the National Issues Forum (Gastil & Levine, 2005; Nabatchi et al., 2012). Leighninger (2012) listed 18 different initiatives. The research results of such deliberations show that participants can enhance their deliberation skills, although this does require thoughtful preparation: offering carefully gathered information on the chosen topic, delivering an unbiased presentation to parti-cipants, inviting experts to speak, moderating small group discussions and coaching small groups to reach agreements (Gastil & Levine, 2005; Nabatchi et al., 2012).

The second criticism is that group problem solving and deliberation places too much emphasis on consensus seeking procedures. It might even be reduced, as Hedtke (2013, p. 58) puts it, to "political and social functionalism", leaving no room for contestary forms of citizenship, such as agitation, conflict and protest (van der Ploeg & Guérin, 2016; Biesta, 2014). One response to this criticism is to emphasise that seeking a consensus is by no means an essential goal of group problem solving. Attempting to understand the issue at hand and others' positions can lead to a better understanding of the irreconcilability of differences and help to clarify why no common ground can be found. Then, if it is still necessary to make a decision regarding the issue at stake, alternative ways to decide should be explored. Another, more serious objection to deliberative democracy is that it comes at the expense of diversity and minority rights, because it compels minority citizens to adopt the majority procedural rules. But in all political conflicts, there comes a point where the most effective strategy involves influencing the majority opinion and hence engaging in deliberation. Otherwise, the only remaining option is to end the conflict by exercising power and this will be at the expense of minority rights.

In the following sections, I elaborate four educational principles that can be used to guide teachers in developing learning activities aimed at exercising students' group problem solving skills. These principles have been developed using literature from the fields of cognitive, developmental and educational psychology.

7 Educational constituents of group problem solving

The educational consequence of the deliberative concept of democracy, focusing on epistemic quality and with group problem solving as its goal, is that students, both individually and together with their peers, reflect on all kinds of complex societal issues, develop well-grounded positions and make decisions on how to solve them. Gradually, students recognise that every solution has its drawbacks and that solutions found generally give rise to new and unforeseen problems. In such a democracy, citizens embark on a continuous process in which there is no such thing as an ideal end state. Such an approach not only places demands on the students, but also on the teacher and on educational arrangements. As a consequence, students should have sufficient knowledge and thinking skills to form their own judgments and make their own decisions.

Although the goal of deliberation is to reach a justified and shared decision, argumentation is at its heart: citizens use argumentation in order to adopt a position, to defend or explain it and, together with others, to discuss the merits of potential solutions (Landemore & Mercier, 2010). Therefore, teaching students how to reach sound judgments through argumentation is important. While arguing with each other, citizens have to be able to take different perspectives relating to the issue at stake. Being able to consider the actors' different interests and perspectives is necessary in order to develop an understanding of the problem and its possible solutions that take such interests into account. Not only do students have to connect different interests, but also various types of knowledge, as the issues are often multi-dimensional. In addition, these issues can be controversial with no straightforward solutions. Once several potential solutions have been developed, students make a decision. The decision making process is complicated, as students could conceivably disagree on a potential solution. During the deliberation, students jointly determine which criteria, to their knowledge, the solution must meet. This means that special attention should be devoted to group work and particularly to sustaining and achieving a good level of exchange and encouraging students to think effectively together. I deduce four educational principles corresponding to the key aspects of the deliberation process: argumentation, connected learning, decision making and thinking together. In order to define the content of these principles, I used the work of cognitive and educational psychologists who have developed concrete learning materials together with teachers and researched their educational strategies in primary and secondary schools. For the principle of argumentation, I used the educational strategies of Kuhn, Hemberger and Khait (2013); for connected learning, I drew on the work of Künzli and Bertschy (2007, 2007); for decision making, I am indebted to Swartz, Costa, Beyer, Reagan & Kallick (2008); and for thinking together, to Dawes, Mercer and Wegerif (2004). These educational principles lend themselves to guiding teachers in their efforts to implement group problem solving within CE.

Argumentation

Argumentation, as an educational principle, has three major goals: learning the rules of reasoned argumentation, learning how to integrate evidence in argumenttation and understanding that through argumentation a better informed view or sounder judgment can be achieved than the one formerly held. This implies that students exercise, not only how to formulate a good argument but also how to assess the quality of such arguments.

Students become acquainted with argumentation techniques and exercise argumenting in groups. Kuhn et al. (2013) distinguish three aspects of argumentation that

students find difficult, as they require cognitive effort and take time to master. The first aspect is that students have to distinguish opinions from reasons and understand that reasons may differ as to their logical soundness, their validity, acceptability or reliability. Reasons must also be evaluated and interrelated in a logical way. The second aspect is to bear in mind that others may choose alternative positions on an issue, for which they have their own reasons and arguments, and these can be legitimate ones. Engaging in a thorough examination of the arguments brought forward by others, reflecting on counterarguments, weighing them and comparing them with one's own arguments, helps students to think things through. Equal time should be allocated to strengthening one's own position as to scrutinising others' positions. This encourages reflection on others' arguments and engagement in productive disagreement discussions. Finally, students have to integrate evidence into their argumentation. Thinking about evidence also requires one to consider knowledge and the kind of evidence that can be derived from different kinds of knowledge. Evidence can strengthen or weaken students own arguments but also others' arguments and that the same evidence can be used in different contexts and even to support opposing positions.

Connected learning (Vernetzendes Lernen)

In connected learning, students take different perspectives on an issue and interrelate these perspec-tives (Künzli, 2007, p. 56). They identify and differentiate perspectives, identify and analyse primary and secondary consequences of an act and, lastly, interrelate different perspectives (Künzli, 2007; Bertschy, 2007). The perspectives can differ with regard to the knowledge dimension (different kinds of knowledge lead to different kinds of insight and opinion), the interests of actors (different actors have different interests) and the kind of relevant factors involved, such as social, economic, ecological, local and global aspects. Which factors have to be incorporated in the analysis of the issue, depending on relevancy, geographical range: local or global, or time perspective: past, present or future.

Students need to understand that these different perspectives can give rise to conflicting insights and opinions, subject to the interests of the actors, their social background, their views on the issue and their relevant knowledge. Not only may their interests clash, the issue itself can be conflictual, depending on whether it is viewed from a predominantly social, economic or ecological perspective. Each actor, and their interests, should be studied and embedded in their social, cultural, economic and, if relevant, ecological context.

Decision making

Two distinctions have to be made with respect to decision making: (1) reaching consensus and (2) supporting the decision making-process. Regarding the first point: should students be asked to reach a consensus? Not doing so can compromise the work because students would tend to avoid disagreement (Mercer & Littleton, 2007). Therefore, students would neither learn how to deepen other students' perspectives, understanding the disagreement, nor how to integrate these in their own thinking, potentially leading to the development of superficial solutions (Mercer & Littleton, 2007). On the other hand, there are issues that cannot be resolved. Forcing students to attain a consensus on such issues can result in compliance or the pretence of consensus. And so, while Mercer and Littleton (2007) claim that asking students to reach a consensus, as an educational objective, may provoke better and deeper discussions among students, Bächtiger (2010) believes to the contrary, that the wish to attain a consensus can lead to a superficial analysis of the issue under consideration. As mentioned earlier, students should not prematurely seek common ground, but first scrutinize different positions and the argumentation on which these are based. When they are unable to reach a consensus due to divergent judgments or fundamental disagreements, then students could learn how to achieve a consensus on how to deal with disagreement. But before reaching a decision, students are required to discuss and analyse the pros and cons of each alternative.

With regard to the second point: supporting the decision making process, educational approaches have been developed dealing with how to make decisions in the case of complex issues involving multiple criteria and predetermined and undetermined factors. These approaches support the decision making process, for instance: developing criteria for decision making, applying these to the different alternatives, tracking consequences and summarising results (Perkins, 2009). The models used to help students structure their decision making process must be a mixture of both quantitative decision making processes, such as listing the pros and cons for different alternatives that have been developed, and narrative approaches in which a line of argument is developed in order to support the possible solution.

Thinking together

Thinking together on how to solve a problem involves explaining one's positions to others, provoking and sustaining discussions, scrutinising possible solutions, weighing them up, reaching a common understanding on how the problem is to be solved and, lastly, making a decision together (Mercer, 1996, 1999). In short, thinking together should aim at achieving a shared understanding of the problem and how to solve it. The heart of thinking together is the students' exchange of ideas. This means that students have to argue, challenge each other and reach sound relevant judgments together. Mercer (1996) calls this exchange "Exploratory talk".

In order to achieve this level of exchange, students first work together by developing certain social skills, building their confidence and their trust in other group members. Special attention should be paid to communication skills such as listening, turn taking, posing and answering questions, requesting and offering explanations (Baines, Blatchford & Chowne, 2009). Students can develop these social and communication skills by practising specific

skills each time they work together and by jointly defining the ground rules of their exchange. The teacher can organise a briefing and debriefing loop, concentrating on one central communication skill per group work session. Students also need to sustain a discussion and share both their knowledge and thinking strategy while working together. This requires that students explain their points of view in such a way as to be understandable to others and that other group members ask questions until they all understand one another (Webb et al., 2008). The teacher's support is crucial in this process. The teacher can model the students by asking open questions aimed at stimulating and sustaining exchange within the group. Moreover, they should all have something to contribute to the group; this means that each group member should be equipped with some kind of prior knowledge on the issue. This can be achieved by having students do preparatory research on the issue in groups of two.

Research shows that learning how to think (together) effectively requires a great deal of practice, time and patience (Kuhn et al. 2013; Swartz et al., 2008). The necessary thinking skills do not develop by themselves and demand expert support on the part of the teachers (Rojas-Drummond & Mercer, 2003; Webb et al., 2008: Iordanou, 2010, Kuhn et al., 2013). These skills need to be practised in different contexts and applied to different topics. Due to the requirements involved in preparing for broad participation, merely exercising these skills within subject domains does not suffice. They must also be practised through cross-curricular activities.

Implementation in the school

In a four years research project "Working together towards scientific citizenship", the theoretical framework just elaborated and the educational principles were translated into concrete learning activities. In this project companies, institutions, schools (Primary schools, secondary schools) and researchers from the Saxion, and the University of Twente collaborated in developing these programmes of learning activities dealing with socio-scientific issues. Group problem solving, as CE, involves cross-curricular activities: (1) general educational approaches have to hybridise with eductional approaches focusing on subject matter and (2) different kinds of knowledge also have to come together: history, geography, science… However, it is not feasible, within the scope of a single lesson series, to explore all subject matter relevant to understanding the chosen issue in depth, or to do equal justice to all general and specific knowledge content. Therefore, teachers have to define the societal issues they will be dealing with and choose which subject content the lesson series will focus on. The motivation of this choice depends on the kind of societal issues the teacher is planning to address, which subject matter will be best suited to further students' understanding of the chosen issue and the duration of the lessons.

In the research project discussed below, science provides the chosen central subject matter. The use of science, as the main subject matter is relevant. Researchers warn that citizens are often unable to follow current discussions (Jenkins, 1994; Mooney & Kirschenbaum, 2009). Citizens require scientific know-ledge and skills in order to participate on equal terms in discussions and decision making concerning societal issues, such as shale gas, genetic engineering, poverty, nuclear energy and climate change (e.g. Aikenhead, 2011; National Research Council, 2012; Osborne, 2007). According to Day and Brice (2011), science education should also help students "to hold and defend informed views on social, moral, ethical, economic and environmental issues related to sciences" (p.6). Dealing with socio-scientific issues provides an educational context to support the development of scientific literacy (Sadler, Klosterman & Topcu, 2013). Through the learning activities to be designed, students develop their scientific literacy by solving socio-scientific issues in groups. The issues form the heart of authentic learning tasks taking place in the classroom and outside the school, in companies and/or institutions. The programs alternated learning tasks performed at school with learning assignments carried out within the companies and/or institutions, whereby companies and schools form an integrated and varied learning environment. In this way, students learn the relevance of science, as well as its social relevance.

In order to realise the translation of an epistemic theory of deliberative democracy, a number of activities were conducted. Teachers were professionalized during one year. De professionalization activities entailed two activities. The first one was that teachers followed a training and coaching course prior to the development of the learning activities. The duration of this training was six months and aimed at increasing teachers' knowledge and skills with respect to stimulating argumentation skills during group solving of socio-scientific issues and preparing pupils on how to work and think together. Each teacher was coached four to five times between training sessions and during the execution of the assignments given during the training sessions. The coaching focused on enhancing teachers' scaffolding skills. Then, the companies/institutions, teachers and researchers in co-creation developed programs of learning activities aimed at having students carry out authentic learning tasks in and outside the school, within companies and/or institutions. Teachers received training and support from the researchers in developing the program of learning activities in a science context. Themes such as textile, medical isotopes, plastic soup were developed. Each program of learning activities is lasting eight to ten weeks varying from three quarters of an hour to one and a half hour per week. The learning activities are now being put into practice in the participating schools. Each school is implementing two programmes of learning activities per year. In the Dutch curriculum at primary schools, the programmes are implemented in the social sciences and sciences lessons and in the secondary schools during a project related time slot.

8 Conclusion and discussion

It is important to be very clear about the theories of democracy and citizenship used, otherwise there is a real risk of indoctrinating both students and teachers. These concepts should be the object of critical scrutiny. Group problem solving, as the core competency of an epistemic theory of deliberative democracy, was explained and justified. It was demonstrated how such a theory can be translated into educational principles. Four educational principles were put forward: argumentation, connected learning, decision making and thinking together. According to Mercier and Sperber (2011), the function of argumentation is to support the development of reasoning. Argumentation should lead students to form sound judgments on the issue at hand. Connected learning helps students to take perspectives regarding content, actors and dimensions and to interrelate these. In this way, students can exercise how to develop different alternatives to solve the issue and how to make collective decisions. Students also exercise how to think and work effectively together. Teachers should under-stand how these educational principles can be implemented in order to develop interesting activities. This means, on the one hand, that teachers should receive training on how to develop learning activities dealing with societal issues, involving cross-curricular lessons and integrating the four educational principles. On the other hand, teachers should also be knowledgeable about the issues students are dealing with, along with possessing argumentation skills and a certain degree of epistemic knowledge.

Considering citizenship education as group problem solving, raises the question of whether schools are best suited to let students exercise for this deliberative way of participation, or whether these deliberation skills can be learned later on as an adult. Research on deliberation among adults shows that it is, indeed, possible for adults to learn how to deliberate, however it takes a tremendous effort to organise such deliberative polls and also to prepare and support the citizens taking part in them. One convincing argument in favour of schools exercising such citizenship is that the thinking skills involved require a great deal of practice in many different contexts in order to develop. To argue effectively with each other, students must learn the rules of argumentation and be trained in developing the necessary social and communication skills allowing them to work productively in groups. Attention should also be given to the decision process regarding content: generally speaking, societal issues are complex and controversial. Students need to be able to take into account different variables and keep these in mind while trying to develop solutions and make a decision. Students have to deal with uncertainty and become acquainted with the complexities of reality. The purpose of this CE is not only to develop good thinking skills, avoiding biases and heuristics, but also to make students aware that societal issues require a great deal of thought and that this process is continuous, that there is no ideal state to be attained, only striven towards.

Another point to be considered, is whether this approach implicitly treats the student as an object. According to Biesta (2104), there should be a shift in teaching citizenship towards learning democracy and that the main goal should be subjectification: enabling students to raise their voices as political agents and experience and learn democracy in the public sphere of the school (Andersson, 2016; Biesta, 2014). Students learn democracy when they are able to bring their experience to the classroom, to share it, communicate with each other, and experience opposition to their own view. This generates political action and societal engagement and therefore stimulates a certain kind of participation. This is educationally problematic: the emphasis lies on shaping students in a particular way. Andersson (2016) claims that one should respect diversity: “cultural, traditions, attitudes, values”, however it seems that, within this diversity, there is only one way to define political participation and, seemingly, non-participation is not an option. Educationally speaking, this is problematic as students’ autonomy is at risk, unless they have room to define political participation in alternative terms or explore other ways. Students’ autonomy is also at risk because the content is defined by the experiences brought by the students into the classroom. Controversial subjects, that are not part of students’ direct experience, can nevertheless be made very interesting: it is a matter of how meaningful the teacher is able to introduce them. Furthermore, there are other politically controversial issues that do not appear to be political at first glance, but actually are so, and students can subsequently learn about their political dimension. There are various different concepts of citizenship, each supported by reasonable arguments (van der Ploeg & Guérin, 2016). Therefore, citizenship has to be scrutinised by students in order to enhance their understanding and enable them to make their own choices when it comes to defining the kind of participation or non-participation they think is adequate.

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Citizenship Education in Croatia: At the Margins of the System

- Since 1999, Croatia has had several policies of citizenship education, but has lacked political devotion to it.
- Neither of the policies resulted in a systematic integration of citizenship education in the school system.
- In practice, teachers are placed in a challenging position as they lack suitable education and resources.
- Non-formal education programs are numerous, but with insufficient continuity and outreach and therefore cannot compensate for the system's deficiencies.
- Both Croatian youth and adults face an inadequate level of citizenship competences.

Purpose: This paper unfolds the ways in which Croatia, as a young post-communist democracy, has aligned its transition and consolidation with the development of education programs that would support the protection of human rights and the creation of a democratic political culture.
Design/methodology/approach: By combining the existing studies with the authors' own analyses of documents and internet sources, as well as interviews with teachers, this paper reveals that by adopting vague and non-binding policies, the Croatian political elite has demonstrated a lack of political will and courage over the past twenty-five years to develop a systematic and quality-based citizenship education.
Findings: After long-term negligence, in the most recent five-year period, the need to change the educational path has gained prominence on the policy and political agenda. However, the reform process did not result in bridging, but in the deepening of ideological divides within the Croatian society. With the officially adopted interdisciplinary and cross-curricular approach, the responsibility for carrying out citizenship education was placed in the hands of teachers, with civil society organizations taking a compensating role. Whilst the former lack practical education, as well as guidelines and resources to incorporate citizenship education into the subjects they teach, the latter are incapable of reaching out to a sufficient share of the youth population. The outcome is that the youth continuously displays inadequate levels of citizenship competences.

Keywords:
Citizenship education, Croatia, models of citizenship education, teaching practice, citizenship competences

1 Introduction

Citizenship education in Croatia was not a part of the country's educational policy until recently. In socialist Yugoslavia policy-making was dominated by the Communist Party rule, which proved to be more inclined towards a symbolic instead of an active civic participation in the political process. Education was therefore based primarily on political indoctrination and participation was encouraged almost exclusively in the form of solidarity work actions. The opportunity to change the educational path was created in the beginning of the 1990s when Croatia became an independent state. This was accompanied by the transition from a planned to a free market economy and the switch from the authoritarian single party regime to a democratic multi-party system. Out of the transitions listed, the most important one for citizenship education was the later, given that it included not only the change of political institutions and rules of conduct, but also the necessity to invest efforts in the creation of a democratic political culture that would support the democratic system.

This paper seeks to unfold the ways in which this necessity was addressed by describing the development and implementation of educational programs that envisaged the development of citizenship competence of the youth. While regarding social and citizenship competence as one of the key competences of lifelong learning (Recommendation of the European Parliament and of the Council, 2006), this paper is focused on the concept of citizenship education which includes both human rights education and education for democratic citizenship. Such education is supposed to enable young people to gain knowledge, to obtain skills and abilities, as well as values

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and attitudes necessary for an active and informed participation in a democratic pluralistic society and its democratic processes.

By combining the existing studies with the authors' own analyses of policy documents, curricula and internets sites of non-formal providers, as well as with interviews with teachers, this paper unfolds the nuances of the Croatian citizenship education from both the policy perspective and the practical one. The first part of the paper provides readers with definitions of citizenship education and presents the models of citizenship education that are used as a framework for the analysis of citizenship education policy and practices in Croatia later in the paper. In this section, the discussion on citizenship education dimensions and models is complemented with the reflections on the current state of play of citizenship education in European countries. The following section addresses the sequencing of citizenship education curricula introduced in the school system after the communist period. Three different programs that served as a policy framework for citizenship education over the past eighteen years are analysed in this section in the light of positions held and pursued by political and other actors in their adoption and implementation thereof. By analysing the role teachers and non-formal educators play in shaping educational practices and in compensating for the policy's deficiencies, the fourth and fifth sections of this paper will serve as supplemental insight into citizenship education policy and curricula. The last section discusses the implications of the paper's findings and offers readers concluding topical thoughts.

2 Theoretical framework

Prior to describing the developments and current state of play in citizenship education policy and practices in Croatia, it is necessary to explicate the understanding of the citizenship education that this paper is based on. The existence of diverse practices in naming and labelling this segment of education amplifies the need for conceptual explicitness. Along with citizenship education, those scholars and practitioners who deal with this topic thus also use terms such as civic education, political education, education for democratic citizenship, human rights education etc. (Šalaj, 2005). However, such terminological plurality is rarely accompanied by specific definitions. Concepts are instead employed as if they were intuitively understandable. In order to avoid this, in the segments below we will examine various understandings of citizenship education, along with elucidating the one used in this paper.

2.1 Understandings of citizenship education

Prior to analysing the term "citizenship education", it is essential to define it. A study by T. H. Marshall entitled *Class, Citizenship and Social Development* and published in 1950 makes for a good starting point. It recognises citizenship as a universal status of equal rights and responsibilities of all fully-fledged members of a community. In other words, all those who enjoy the same status are equal in terms of both the rights and the responsibilities connected with that status. Marshall's theory of citizenship is evolutionary since it claims that the rights of citizens stemming from their citizenship status had expanded over time to include more rights, but also to become more inclusive towards other groups. In the 18th century, the struggle for civil rights was initially "won"; this implies winning those rights indispensable for obtaining individual freedoms such as freedom of thought, right of conviction, right to property, etc. Furthermore, throughout the 19th century, political rights were built into the citizenship status, allowing for citizen participation in executing political power-either as members of a political body with political power or as voters deciding on the composition of that political body. According to Marshall's model (1950), societal developments in the course of the 20th century led to gradual inclusion of social rights into the citizenship status, which incorporates the right to take part in the social inheritance of a community to which an individual pertains, but also to live in accordance with the standards of that particular community. Marshall also believed the concept of citizenship to be fully developed only if it contained civil, political and social rights. Based on those three elements, Marshall discusses the concepts of civil, political and social citizenship. Even though there are certain critics of this theory, one of its elements - on the multidimensionality of citizenship - is almost consensually accepted (example, Heater, 1990; Veldhuis, 1997; Turner, 2001; Isin, 2009). In addition, despite some differences in discussions on citizenship, there are indeed two noticeable common characteristics. The first common understanding is the conceptualisation of citizenship as a multidimensional term by all of the authors. The second element highlighted by most authors is the view of the political component as an exceptionally important element of citizenship.

What are the consequences of these citizenship theories when we discuss education that carries the label of citizenship education? It is clear that each dimension of citizenship brings with it a particular set of rights and responsibilities. It is therefore important to instruct the youth on how to use their rights and fulfil their obligations. When we take into consideration the multidimensionality of the citizenship concept, citizenship education programs need to reflect this complexity and incorporate a number of dimensions - the political and civil dimension, the human rights dimension, the social, cultural, economic and ecological one, etc. - depending on the citizenship concept on which a particular program is based. Nevertheless, one should also add that another type of education is also quite often understood, conceptualised, as well as performed under the term "citizenship education". The starting point of those programs is the equation of the concept of citizen-ship with its political dimension, i.e., with what citizenship theories delineate as political citizenship. If we acknowledge the word "citizenship" primarily in its political dimension, as the principal organization of modern democratic political systems in which the citizen is

observed as a political subject with his or her rights and responsibilities towards society and decision-making processes, the main goal of citizenship education programs would be to prepare citizens for the role of political subjects. In this case, the goals of political education and citizenship education are virtually the same. Within the later concept, however, focus is placed on the sphere and the process in which citizens participate (*politics* - political education), while the former concept focuses on the subject who participates in the political sphere (*citizen* - citizenship education). It therefore seems justifiable and functional to differentiate between the terms "citizenship" and "citizenship education" in the narrow sense, in which the word "citizenship" boils down to its political dimension, making "political education" and "citizenship education" virtually synonymous. The other semantic dimensions would in that case be included in the wider meaning of those two terms to encompass not just the political, but other dimensions as well, such as the legal, social, cultural, ecological one, etc.

By analysing Canadian experiences with citizenship education, Yvonne Herbert (1997) came to a similar conclusion and she identified that two different meanings may be attributed to it. She wrote: „Some consider that citizenship education has to enable full participation of citizens in the political life of a state, while others think of a much wider concept of citizenship education, so as to enable the development of not only a citizenship mentality, but also to provide future citizens with moral and social responsibility " (Herbert, 1997: 94).

In this broader meaning, along with the political, the term primarily includes human rights and legal dimensions because without them a citizen cannot be a political subject. Moreover, it includes a social dimension emphasizing joint participation of citizens in a society, as well as other important dimensions. Those are the (inter)cultural one, or the understanding of one's own culture and identity whilst living with diversities and accepting them as one's equals; the ecological one, implying the understanding of the interdependence of people and the environment, as well as the importance of sustainable development; and sometimes even the economic one, meaning financial literacy, understanding economical influences and work-related issues.

Recent studies on citizenship education in European countries (Eurydice, 2005 and 2012; Ainley, Schulz & Friedman, 2013; Šalaj, 2015) illustrate how a vast majority of countries opted for a wider conceptualization, with the term citizenship entailing the combination of dimensions such as the political and human-rights one, the ecological, social, communicational and intercultural one. This paper adopts such a broader understanding of citizenship education focussed on the young person as a citizen with their rights and responsibilities; on the promotion of human dignity, human rights and freedoms including sustainable development, equality and accountability (Spajić- Vrkaš, Rajković & Rukavina, 2014; Kovačić & Horvat, 2016). Since such a conceptualisation encourages the synergy of formal and informal education - which in turn builds a bridge between schools and the civil society (Ćulum & Ledić, 2010) - the paper explores not only institutionalization and implementation of citizenship education in primary and secondary schools, but also its provision beyond schools as such.

2.2 Models of citizenship education

As our empirical analysis of institutionalisation and implementation of citizenship education in Croatia primarily focusses on models of citizenship education, it is important to explicate briefly the way in which we employ the term *models.* While the concept itself here refers to possible modes by means of which citizenship education may be integrated in the school system, the differentiation among models relates to variations in the understandings of the characteristics and relevance of citizenship education (Šalaj, 2002b). The overview of these variations can be structured to form three main models of citizenship education.

The first model does not envisage specific arrangements for citizenship education within school curricula, but treats it through so-called hidden curricula and extracurricular activities. It is based on the assumption that students will gain social and citizenship knowledge, competencies and opinions throughout the whole process of schooling. It is assumed that certain elements connected with the school system are more than enough to develop social and citizenship competences such as, for example, everyday school and classroom atmosphere, a school's organization or the way in which students and teachers interact with each other. The precondition for this model is that the school be organized in a democratic manner in order to encourage students to develop a democratic political culture. In the second model, citizenship education is viewed as an educational principle to be integrated in the overall curriculum or, in other words, to be formalised as a cross-curricular theme. The assumption of this model is that citizenship education is to function in an interdisciplinary manner and as a principle to permeate all existing subjects of the school curriculum, from mathematics to art studies. However, special attention is thereby placed on subjects such as history, mother tongue, literature and foreign languages since they are considered the most suitable for implementing citizenship education. The third model is the most straightforward one; citizenship education in the formal curriculum has its own place in the shape of one or more separate school subjects or of an integrated social sciences course (Šalaj, 2002b).

Which model of implementing citizenship education is the dominant one in Europe? Recent studies of citizenship education models (Eurydice, 2005 and 2012; Šalaj, 2015) suggest that most European countries have opted for the model of teaching separate subjects, but usually combining them with the cross-curricular model in lower grades. Only a small number of countries decided to rely fully on the cross-curricular model, i.e. on the one with no individual school subject foreseen for the implementation of citizenship education. In the following

section, we will illustrate the latest developments and the current state of play regarding citizenship education in Croatia.

3 Citizenship education in policy documents and intentions

In the atmosphere of state-building, war, cumbersome transition and slow consolidation, various public policies in the first decade of the 1990s often revealed ethnic intolerance, politicization of religion and de-secularization (Kasapović, 2001), among other features of defect democracies. In this sort of a policy-making context, the desired development of democratic political culture to reflect itself in the educational policy was addressed only by the introduction of the school subject *Politics and Economics* at the secondary education level. Even though the subject was introduced in all high-school types, its effects were very limited as it was only partially dedicated to citizenship education, but was instead designed to be focused on facts and knowledge while being taught during one school year and one hour per week only. At the level of compulsory primary education, citizenship education was introduced neither as a separate subject, nor as a part of an integrated social sciences course. The subject that encompassed certain elements of a more broadly conceptualized citizenship education was the subject *Nature and Society*, implemented in the first four years of elementary education (Šalaj, 2002a and 2002b). At the upper elementary school level, socio-humanistic education of students was reduced to the subject *History*, while some elements of social skills development were envisioned via arbitrary school projects and the optional confessional subject *Religious Education* (Spajić- Vrkaš, Rajković & Rukavina, 2014; Zenzerović Šloser, 2011).

The window of opportunity for a more comprehensive integration of citizenship education in the formal educational system—at least in terms of the general political climate—came with the dawn of the new millennium which marked the beginning of deeper democratization processes and Croatia's efforts to become an EU Member State.

3.1 The years 1999-2010: A national programme without an implementation plan

The first indication of grasping the importance of adequately adapting the educational system to enable the development of youth citizenship competences emerged in 1999 with the adoption of a program under the promising name *National Program of Education for Human Rights and Democratic Citizenship* (Spajić- Vrkaš, Rajković & Rukavina, 2014). Even though this curriculum was not obligatory, it did encourage the implementation of human rights and democratic citizenship education in preschools, primary and secondary schools, through various optional ways: interdisciplinary, to encompass all subjects topically related to human rights; through optional courses or subjects; via extra-curricular activities and projects; and as an educational principle integrated into school curricula as a whole. The Program consisted of the following elements: (1) Education for human rights; (2) Education for democratic citizenship; (3) Intercultural education; (4) Education for peace and non-violent conflict resolution; (5) Education for sustainable development; (6) Education for the prevention of prejudice and discrimination; (7) Exploration of humanitarian law and practices, and the like (National Program of Education for Human Rights and Democratic Citizenship, 1999; Spajić- Vrkaš, Rajković & Rukavina, 2014; Kovačić & Horvat, 2016).

Such a comprehensive design was nevertheless not accompanied by operationalization of conditions to enable a quality-oriented implementation. Prerequisites for such an outcome were again not met in 2006 with the introduction of the new Program for Primary Schools, which is still valid today and by means of which some segments of citizenship education are represented in the subjects *Nature and Society*, *History*, and *Geography*. Moreover, none of these subjects placed enough focus neither on democratic attitudes, social skills development, human rights protection, political and media literacy, nor on preparing the youth for democratic citizenship, participation through volunteering and social engagement (Šalaj, 2002b, Novak, 2009; Kovačić & Horvat, 2016). On the very surface, the situation in high schools seemed to be more encouraging as there are subjects directly linked to citizenship education, primarily the subject *Politics and Economics*, but in some types of schools also the subjects *Sociology*, *Ethics*, *Philosophy,* and other related subjects (Šalaj, 2002a and 2002b). However, the latter group of subjects only reached some students—and this still remains the case—–given that the high school system provides a significantly different type and scope of knowledge in a gymnasium-type comprehensive high-school education as opposed to vocational education and training and arts education (Bagić & Šalaj, 2011, Kovačić &Horvat, 2016).

Due to its non-compulsory character, the National Program of Human Rights Education was mainly implemented in a voluntary manner by enthusiastic teachers via school projects and extracurricular activities done in small groups of interested students who had the privilege to be included. Whilst conducted only in a limited number of schools, the Program failed to provide adequate space for a majority of students to participate in citizenship education. At annual meetings or the so-called "*Smotre*" (reviews/musters), good practices were presented, but the Program was introduced without plans for any systematic monitoring, implementation support or evaluation. There has been no publicly available evaluation of the Program's content thus far. There is also no systematic information available on the extent to which its elements were implemented. The availability of the latter insight would be very important as sporadic awareness gained via annual reviews of best practices showed that project focus was often placed on a single dimension of citizenship education such as ecology, national identity or patriotic education.

3.2 From 2010 to 2014: Curricula with experimental implementation

Changes towards a more focused and binding approach emerged in 2010 with the adoption of the National Curriculum Framework. By identifying citizenship education as a separate educational area, it created preconditions for the development of a new citizenship education curriculum. To foster this process, the Government established the Commission for Human Rights and Democratic Citizenship Education in the same year. The Commission gathered not only representatives of state bodies, but also primary and secondary school teachers, professionals from civil society organisations and members of academic and professional communities. The role of the Commission was to promote human rights and democratic citizenship education at all levels of the educational system and in all forms, varying from formal to informal education, with its most important task to develop a program for the citizenship education reform. In this process, a Curriculum for Citizenship Education was developed and the Ministry of Science, Education and Sports endorsed its experimental implementation in the year 2012 (Spajić- Vrkaš, Rajković & Rukavina, 2014; Šalaj, 2012).

As governmental efforts towards this new educational path were strongly influenced by the conceptualisation of citizenship education provided by liberal university professors and human rights organizations, the aim of the new Curriculum was to facilitate the education of well-informed, active and responsible citizens who would participate in the decision-making process and contribute to the development of democracy. The Curriculum aimed at the development of democratic attitudes/ values and skills, as well as the acquisition of facts and knowledge. Along with strengthening the understanding of and responsibility for human rights and freedoms, human dignity, basic principles of democracy and the rule of law, such a conceptualisation of citizenship education also addressed a variety of global social challenges, including the environmental crisis, globalization, mass migration and the rise of intolerance and violence (Spajić- Vrkaš, Rajković & Rukavina, 2014). In view of that, the development of students' citizenship competences was foreseen by the Curriculum via six structural dimensions: the human rights dimension, the political, social, (inter)cultural, environmental and economic dimension (Curriculum for Citizenship Education, 2012).

The experimental implementation of the new curriculum was co-financed by the European Union project "New era of Democracy and Human Rights in Croatian schools" led by the Croatian Youth Network and its partner civil society organisations active in the fields of democratic citizenship and human rights (GONG and Centre for Peace Studies). Important guidance to schools and teachers who piloted the new approach to citizenship education was provided by engaged members of the academic community, while broad support was ensured through the GOOD Initiative, a network of grassroots civil society organizations and experts advocating for implementation of citizenship education programs in Croatia. The Curriculum was experimentally introduced in 12 schools (8 elementary and 4 high schools) in the school year 2012/13 and 2013/2014 as a cross-curricular theme covered for one hour per school week, as well as a separate subject or extra-curricular activity for certain age groups (Spajić- Vrkaš, Rajković & Rukavina, 2014).

This new path of citizenship education did not stir much political controversy and public polemics in the very beginning, but as its experimental implementation progressed, it kept gaining the support of various educational policy stakeholders, as well as the disapproval of those more conservative catholic religious groups, civil society organisations and political parties of the right. The latter groups were initially focused primarily on criticizing and questioning the need for a Health Education Curriculum that was introduced and implemented at the same time and in a similar way as the Curriculum for Citizenship Education. However, by the end of the pilot period of both of the curricula, those voices were advocating for a stronger curricular position of patriotic education and less emphasis on citizenship and health education and other educational dimensions promoting diversity, especially in relation to sexual orientation.

In such a political and social atmosphere laden with ideological clashes, the left-wing Government and its Ministry of Education gave their nominal support to the experimental implementation of the new path of citizenship education, but as the 2013/2014 school year approached, they demonstrated a reluctance to codify any prerequisites for its systematic integration in the educational system. This affected the solicitation of insights gained through the monitoring and evaluation of the Curriculum's implementation conducted collaboratively by the state Agency for the Training of Teachers, the National Centre for Evaluation of Education, and the Research and Education Centre for Human Rights and Democratic Citizenship of the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences of the University of Zagreb. Data and findings collected were supposed to be used as a baseline for the work of the Expert Group mandated with the task of making final curricular revisions. The proposal of the Expert Group was published and made available to the public, but no public discussion comments or results have since been published or utilized, with the Ministry of Education and the Agency for the Training of Teachers displaying a lack of interest for using the said evaluation findings. Instead, with an escalation of the political situation, the new Education Minister launched the new curricular reform process in quite a different direction.

3.3 Since 2014: a cross-curricular approach without a comprehensive curricular reform

With the political change of the person heading it, the Ministry of Education assigned their experts and advisors from the Agency for the Training of Teachers with the task to design a new citizenship education program. The program introduced in the academic year 2014/15 was based on an interdisciplinary and cross-curricular model

while being focused on describing contributions to citizenship education in terms of content already existing within various other subjects (Program of Cross-Curricular and Interdisciplinary Content for Citizenship Education in Primary and Secondary Schools, 2014). The program included none of the student and teacher suggestions from the previous experimental implementtation phase, nor did it offer any new content connected to human rights, intercultural education or citizenship participation.

Soon after the development of this Program, the Croatian Parliament adopted a new Strategy of Education, Science and Technology (2014) which included the measure called the Comprehensive Curricular Reform. This reform envisioned the education system comprehensively moving away from the program-based to the curriculum-based approach and was focused not only on the content that had to be taught but also on measuring student achievements.

In the beginning of 2015, a working group of seven experts was set up by way of a public call to lead the curricular reform to be implemented in classes throughout the country. The process was organized in a very participative manner, with over 50 working group experts consulting all stakeholders while insisting on education as a public good of national interest, to rise above all political and individual interests. The expert working groups for early and preschool education, as well as primary and secondary education, which started their work in February 2015, were composed of 430 school and university teachers. The main goals were to renew the education in Croatia to become age- and interest-appropriate and to better prepare learners for the workplace, for further education, as well as for contemporary life challenges, along with defining clear learning outcomes and new changing roles for teachers and educational institutions.

The said working groups designed the overall framework and a range of new national curricula for different levels and types of education, including early and preschool education and upbringing, primary education, comprehensive or so-called gymnasium-type education, vocational education and training (VET), and art education. National documents covering seven curriculum areas were also developed and accompanied by 29 subject curricula. Those areas were polytechnics and information science; physical and health education, mathematics, language-communication, natural sciences, art and social sciences, and humanities. Moreover, seven curricula for cross-curricular topics were created and they encompassed the following: learning how to learn, entrepreneurial skills, personal and social development, health, sustainable development, the use of ICT, and citizenship education (Comprehensive Curricula Reform, 2015).

While keeping the cross-curricular approach to citizenship education, the comprehensive curriculum was changing the overall paradigm of curricular functioning by making it supportive in terms of integration of cross-curricular topics into different parts of the educational process. Following the publication of document proposals, both expert and general public consultation processes were foreseen. Public consultation was available through the central government portal for online consultation, while the Agency for Vocational Education and Training and Adult Education was to organise expert consultations among VET-schools.

Trial implementation of the new comprehensive curriculum was expected to commence in the school year 2016/17, with full implementation to start in 2017/18. By gaining high visibility and wide-ranging public support, the new education reform succeeded in ensuring acceptance by both trade unions and employers' associations for the first time. However, following the elections in November 2015, in an attempt to manipulate the reform process, the newly elected conservative coalition government began to categorise the process as overly ideologically driven. The Parliamentary Committee on Education sought to appoint 10 more experts without a clear procedure to precede their appointment and thus essentially rendering the work to date void. In protest over this political meddling, the existing working group presented its resignation to the Education Minister.

Such a course of events triggered a wide a public outcry and the second most massive citizens protest in the past 25 years. Under the motto "*Croatia can do better*!", an estimated 50,000 Croatians gathered on Zagreb's main square on 1 June 2016, as well as in other towns and cities in Croatia outside of the capital to protest against political interference in the long-needed educational reforms in the country. The protest was initiated by the GOOD Initiative and supported by over 300 groups including civil society organizations, unions, sports clubs, and local parents' organizations. "*Croatia can do better*!" had a simple message: to make education a priority for this country. Despite the size and messages of the protest, citizens' demands and the curricular reform were overshadowed by new internal political crises in the months to follow, culminating in the early elections in September 2016, bringing into power the same conservative coalition but with a changed leadership. The new government announced its plan to continue with the comprehensive curricular reform, but has appointed new members to the leading expert group, some of which have already publicly expressed attitudes against the need for such a reform—or have only been advocating the need to reform towards a more STEM-oriented curriculum.

4 Citizenship education in teaching practices

The lack of a policy framework to enable systematic implementation of citizenship education in primary and secondary schools places teachers in a particularly demanding position as they are ultimately the ones autonomously shaping ambiguous standards and content of citizenship education provided by the State. What is more, they also often single-handedly create teaching time, didactic and methodical materials and other resources not provided by the State. Even though the fulfilment of such a demanding role requires extraordinary

competencies, Croatian teachers often lack proper opportunities to develop them. This problem was vibrantly addressed by the study of competences required to teach citizenship education. The study was conducted at the Faculty of Teacher Education of the University of Zagreb and has revealed serious deficits in the knowledge, attitudes and skills of future primary school educators (Velički & Šenjug, 2010). Along the same line, when asked about the experience of implementing the first curricula dating back to the year 1999, primary school teachers and principals indicated in 2009 that they neither felt fully qualified to successfully implement it, nor did they have any systematic support during the implementation process (Novak, 2009). The problem was captured even more clearly by the evaluation study conducted after the experimental implementation of the 2012 Curriculum in which only one fifth of teachers engaged in its implementation stated that they felt ready to successfully fulfil tasks attributed to them at the beginning of the experimental school year (Spajić - Vrkaš, Rajković & Rukavina, 2014).

To confront this issue, a wide range of activities aimed at teacher empowerment was set to accompany experimental implementation, but as the Curriculum never reached its full implementation stage, those activities had very limited encompassment and duration. The same scenario unfolded with respect to the pilot post-graduate study on citizenship education initiated in 2010 by the Research and Education Centre for Human Rights and Democratic Citizenship of the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences of University of Zagreb, although never having grown into a permanent educational program. With such little formal systematic support or incentives to engage in citizenship education, teaching practices inevitably vary significantly. As the evaluation study of the experimental Curriculum indicated, in the period between 1999 and 2014, over 40 per cent of teachers had no experience in teaching topics related to human rights and democratic citizenship, with 20 per cent possessing experience of 10 years plus. The same study also revealed that even though citizenship education in Croatia was and still is primarily designed as cross-curricular, students usually identify only one subject that contributes to citizenship education. In elementary schools *History* was the subject they most often mentioned, with *Politics and Economics* holding this place in high school (Spajić-Vrkaš, Rajković & Rukavina, 2014).

The significance, as well as the insufficiency of the latter subject for the development of citizenship competences of Croatian youth was also confirmed by the research on views and beliefs of its teachers (Jeliazkova 2015; Jeliazkova & Kekez, 2012). The study was based on interviews conducted in 2012 with 17 secondary school teachers from different Croatian cities and of a different educational profile (sociology, law, philosophy and political science), as well as with a varied number of years of work experience. As the interviews took place just before the experimental Curriculum of 2012 was set in motion, the study reflected high hopes all of the interviewed teachers were placing on this proclaimed new educational path. Even though the profiles of teachers interviewed ranged from "guardians of liberal democracy" to "patriotic conservatives", they all strongly emphasized the need to shift the focus of teaching and learning away from knowledge and uncritical acceptance of facts (Jeliazkova 2015; Jeliazkova & Kekez, 2012). While reflecting on their experiences of teaching in private or public comprehensive ("*gymnasium*") and vocational schools, they pointed to the significant problem of an unequal approach to citizenship education in different school types. In doing so, those teachers validated schools as platforms for raising democratic citizens, with citizenship education as a tool to reduce the ever-present alienation from politics. By stressing a high presence of unwillingness to engage in the political life of the community among students attending vocational schools, they saw the 2012 curricular reform as a path towards a more inclusive citizenship education.

Since the said interviews were conducted, the citizenship education framework underwent many changes, but neither of the teachers` two expectations were met. While the focus on knowledge still prevails over the focus on development of democratic attitudes and skills, longitudinal studies with high school graduates keep indicating the persistence of a problematic relation between the of type of schooling and student knowledge and attitudes (Bagić & Šalaj, 2011; Bagić & Gvozdanović, 2015; Kovačić & Horvat, 2016). Young people attending three-year vocational programs in general terms hold more ethnocentric, xenophobic and homophobic attitudes. They also have less knowledge and fewer opportunities to develop citizenship and social competences during their formal education. The differences in opportunities for the development of basic knowledge and skills through a variety of school programs are so large that indeed some researchers question whether this phenomenon actually leads towards social segregation (Bagić & Šalaj, 2011; Bagić & Gvozdanović, 2015; Kovačić & Horvat, 2016).

5 Non-formal citizenship education

Limited integration of citizenship education in Croatian schools has triggered a rather extensive development of non-formal education programs organized by civil society organizations (CSOs). In the design and implementation of these programs, the civil society was and still is extensively collaborating with experts from universities across country, among which the most active ones proved to be professors and researchers from the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences and the Faculty of Political Science, University of Zagreb, and the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences of the Rijeka University, as well as researchers from the Institute for Social Research in Zagreb. To foster the progress of citizenship education, Zagreb's Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences has established the Research and Education Centre for Human Rights and Democratic Citizenship, and the Faculty of Political Science, conversely, the Centre for Lifelong Learning. Those two centres often act as

partners of the numerous educational programs led by CSOs. These non-formal programs in practice serve as compensation for the lack of educational opportunities for teachers and students of Croatian elementary and high schools.

Educational activities oriented towards the development of a broad range of citizenship and societal competences among children and the youth are offered by the Forum for Freedom in Education (FSO), Croatian Youth Network and GONG. In their trainings, campaigns and creative competitions, all of the three CSOs promote and use the modern conceptualisation of citizenship education which emphasizes a participatory dimension: the importance of involving young people in the life of the school and community (Šalaj, 2005). In addition, the Croatian Youth Network, together with its member organizations, has since 2010 been the organiser of Youth Studies, an educational program for Croatian youth covering a wide range of topics including youth and society, youth work, youth and public policies and participation in policy- and decision-making processes. Youth Studies aim at giving concrete knowledge and skills which are to help participants in working with other young people, including advocating for youth policy and youth participation in decision-making processes.

By targeting the strengthening of the role of education in forming a democratic culture, the FSO also works with teachers by offering them a three-fold professional development program, which encompasses trainings on law in everyday life, anti-corruption education and education on the European Union. The FSO is also engaged in the implementation of the European Parliament Ambassador School Programme that aims to raise awareness of high school mentors and students on European parliamentary democracy. In addition, FSO provides teachers and other experts with basic and advanced courses on mediation, enabling them to be listed in the Registry of Conciliators with the Ministry of Justice. To compensate for the inadequacies in formal teacher education, GONG has since 2012 been running the “Citizenship Literacy” educational program" to foster the development of teacher competences in youth citizenship education. The program lasting 40-50 hours in total is organized at least once a year for groups of teachers (20-25 participants) and it includes three modules: politics; the media; and EU literacy.

There are two other organisations -the Centre for Peace Studies and the Nansen Dialogue Centre Osijek - which place explicit focus on conflict resolution topics and the (inter) cultural dimension of citizenship education. The Centre for Peace Studies conducts the “Peace Studies” interdisciplinary program which seeks to understand the cause of a conflict, to develop appro--aches to prevent and stop violence, war and serious human rights violations whilst building sustainable peace–fair systems and societies strong enough to resist violence, inequality and injustice. Through its education program “Cultural and Spiritual Heritage of the Region”, the Nansen Dialogue Centre, based in the multicultural and war-inflicted Eastern region of Croatia, works with children in multi-ethnic communities. The program envisions the development of better understanding and respect for others and for mutual differences that are important for building dialogue, relationships and cooperation in an intercultural society.

The Centre for Women’s Studies Zagreb’s educational program women and gender studies also shares the said focus on human rights. Furthermore, there is a number of other education programs offered by different civil society organizations such as the Green Action and ZMAG, which are active in the field of sustainable development. Citizenship competence-building through volunteering is strongly encouraged by the Croatian Network of Volunteering Centres encompassing four regional centres in the cities of Zagreb, Split, Rijeka and Osijek, as well as eight local centres offering children and youth a combination of volunteering and educational opportunities. Along with CSOs, competence-development is often supported by the work of different professional organisations such as the Croatian association of social pedagogues/ social educators who provide students of the first few grades of elementary school with a “Training of life skills” focused on their social skills development.

Lastly, some educational programs and activities for social skill development are also offered by religious organizations whose work is largely inspired by the teachings of the Catholic Church. The emphasis there is more on topics related to social solidarity and human dignity and life from conception onwards, but the scope of their trainings does not include gender equality, sexual and reproductive rights, LGBT or minority rights. In a similar vein, some religious and war-veteran civil society organisations express devotion to patriotic education, which in some forms includes citizenship activation of ex-military officers in teaching on projects about the War in Croatia from 1991 to 1995. In terms of a general societal context since the year 2013, Croatia has been facing a strong conservative backlash against reforms aimed at introducing citizenship and health education, as well as at activities of protection of minorities from discrimination.

6 Conclusion

Even though citizenship education can function through a cross-curricular educational principle or through a hidden school curriculum, comparative research increasingly shows that the dominant model in countries across Europe is the one in which citizenship education is designed as a separate subject or as part of an integrated social sciences course. In such form it is mainly positioned within higher grades of primary education and in secondary education (Eurydice, 2005 and 2012; Šalaj 2015). Croatia, on the other hand, seems to be drifting in quite an opposite direction (Vujčić, 1993, Šalaj, 2002a, 2002b and 2008; Kovačić & Horvat, 2016).

The synthesis of different research results presented in this paper reveals that by adopting vague and non-binding policy documents and by shrinking the implementation of more focused curricula initiatives, the

Croatian political elite has over the past twenty-five years demonstrated a lack of political will and courage to developed a systematic and quality-based citizenship education. After long-term negligence towards education policies, in the most recent five-year period the need to change the approach to citizenship education and education in general has been raised, but the reform process actually resulted in the deepening of ideological divides within the Croatian society. With the officially adopted interdisciplinary and cross-curricular model and the very questionable sequel of the curricular reform itself, the responsibility for carrying out citizenship education has been placed in the hands of all the teachers. As in this model, the citizenship education process is neither aligned with the responsibility of any specific teacher, nor is assigned with clear outcomes; its implementation can hardly be monitored or supervised (Ravitch, 1995). Implementation impediments in the Croatian context deriving from the educational model as such are overburdened by a lack of education, of guidelines and resources which could enable teachers to effectively inter-link cross-curricular content and incorporate citizenship education into individual subjects they teach.

In such a setting, citizenship education is reduced to some segments of political, ecological and social education while critical thinking and the topics of human rights - minority rights in particular - intercultural education, democratic values and skills for citizen participation in decision-making processes keep being neglected. In practice, as various studies keep revealing, the subjects *History* and *Religious Education* are recognized as those that cover segments of patriotic education on all educational levels (Bačić, 2011; Zenzerović Šloser, 2011; Spajić- Vrkaš, Rajković & Rukavina, 2014). Citizenship education, nevertheless, keeps being pushed towards the high school level and squeezed into *Politics and Economics*, a subject whose share in the overall curriculum is so little that it cannot even sufficiently foster the development of a basic knowledge and understanding of political processes (Šalaj, 2002b; Jeliazkova & Kekez, 2012; Bagić and Gvozdanović, 2015). There are no *Social Studies* classes in Croatia; only *Sociology* classes are offered in comprehensive schools (*gymnasium*-type high schools) for one school year only. Even though the missing structural and functional dimension of citizenship education is partially compensated by the wider spectrum of subjects or non-formal education programs, the former is not implemented in all schools and the latter is not present in all parts of the country and does not include a sufficient percentage of participating youth.

The vague design and unsystematic integration of citizenship education in the Croatian educational system, unfortunately, does have rather sharp and systemic consequences. As different studies have shown, Croatian young people and adults are left with an inadequate level of basic knowledge and skills necessary to participate in a democratic pluralistic society and in democratic processes in an active and informed way (Ilišin & Radin, 2007; Novak 2009; Bagić & Šalaj, 2011; Ilišin, Bouillet, Gvozdanović & Potočnik, 2013; Spajić- Vrkaš, Rajković & Rukavina, 2014; Ilišin, Gvozdanović & Potočnik, 2015; Bagić & Gvozdanović, 2015; Kovačić & Horvat 2016). By providing a vivid reflection of dimensions bypassed by the formal education, these studies have detected that the least developed competences are in the fields of human rights, cultural diversity, public policies and political processes. Moreover, a consequent research of knowledge, views and beliefs of Croatian high school graduates has revealed that the lack of knowledge and skills is regularly accompanied with discouragement in citizenship participation and the worrisome presence of undemocratic attitudes and values. The latter may include social distance towards minority groups and diversity, or even go as far as the glorification of fascism and support of discrimination, exclusion, censorship and the use of violence (Bagić & Šalaj, 2011; Ilišin, Gvozdanović & Potočnik, 2015; Gvozdanović & Bagić, 2015; Kovačić & Horvat, 2016).

The Croatian society is, as the presence of ideological divides indicates and citizen surveys confirm, still burdened by the consequences of two previous wars on its territory and their different interpretations. Young people learn specific interpretations primarily from their families, with the influence of the media and peers to be taken into account as well. The weakest link in this sensitive aspect of political socialisation, nonetheless, is the corrective influence of schools which provide insufficient space for learning about war-related facts and their critical analysis (Perasović & Vojak, 2012). At the national level, social trust is eroding and the lack of a personal belief that a citizen has the power to influence positive changes is accompanied with the lack of interest for participation in political processes (Ilišin & Radin, 2007; Ilišin, Bouillet, Gvozdanović & Potočnik, 2013; Ilišin, Gvozdanović & Potočnik, 2015). This is particularly true when it comes to youth and it leaves us with the concern that the Croatian society neither recognizes the need to develop citizenship and social competences of its young people, nor encourages their inclusion in political processes.

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Segregation and Socialization: Academic Segregation and Citizenship Attitudes of Adolescents in Comparative Perspective?

- A focus on the effects of academic segregation in 21 European societies.
- Multilevel modeling with three levels (student, school, countries/educational systems).
- There is an empirical relation between early differentiation (in terms of tracking) and attitudes.
- There is a negative effect of academic segregation on the attitudes towards immigrants and ethnic minorities.
- The introduction of inequality on the basis of achievement seems to gnaw at democratic values.

Purpose: There is a tendency to assess educational systems in terms of their efficiency in gaining high scores on cognitive skills. Schools perform, however, also a socializing function. The whole policy debate tends to ignore the impact of educational systems on attitudes or democratic values. This contribution focuses on the impact of the organization of education in European societies on the civic attitudes of adolescents.
Design/methodology/approach: We explore the impact of academic segregation – the practice of segregating children on the basis of their scholastic achievement – on attitudes of adolescents living in different educational systems. We use the International Civic and Citizenship Education Study (2009) relying on multilevel models.
Findings: Pupils differ in their outlook on fellow citizens, according to the ways in which educational systems select and differentiate throughout school careers. More specifically, there is a negative impact of academic segregation on the attitudes towards immigrants and ethnic minorities.
Research limitations/implications: The experience of adolescents based on their educational achievement seems to affect how they perceive other people. We have not answered the question why this is the case. We hope to have provided a minimal indication of the impact of inequality on social outcomes.

Keywords:
Academic segregation, attitudes towards immigrants and ethnic minorities, 21 European societies, multilevel modeling

1 Introduction

Literature on political socialisation and civic education focuses on the impact of primary relations on the formation of political values and knowledge. The issues at stake in research on civic education are still the same as those envisioned by Almond and Verba since the beginning of the 1960's. They pertain to the best or most efficient ways to acquire political knowledge and skills in order to sustain a viable democratic civic culture (Almond & Verba, 1963; Galston, 2004; Hahn, 1998; Niemi & Junn, 1998; Schulz. et al., 2010; Torney-Purta et al., 2001; Zukin, et al., 2006).

Since the renewed interest in civic education starting from the noughties, most research has been concerned with conditions enabling or stimulating the development of political knowledge, skills or attitudes at the classroom and school level. The degree of political discussion, the presence of an open classroom climate or the participation of pupils in extra-curricular activities are conditions that have been documented as being important in stimulating a positive citizenship education climate (Barber et al., 2015; Kavadias, 2004; Keating & Janmaat, 2015; Quintelier, 2013 & 2014). Research on the impact of the political system on politically relevant skills is however more scarce but not completely absent (Hooghe et al., 2007; Toots & Lauri, 2015). With the exception of studies looking at the impact of the civic education curriculum and civic knowledge (e.g. Toots & Lauri, 2015), theories looking at the relation between characteristics of educational systems and civic education outcomes are however scarce (Janmaat & Mons, 2011).

The current contribution focuses on the impact of the organization of education in European societies on the civic attitudes of adolescents. Since the comparative

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study of educational systems is a vast and rapidly growing terrain (Bray, Adamson, Mason, 2014), we focus on aspects that have an impact on the social performance of these systems. One of the more contested factors in this domain is the ways in which educational systems track children according to academic performance. More specifically, the age of tracking has been reported to have an impact on the degree of equity of these systems. Early tracking systems or systems that tend to group children early in their school according to performance, tend to have a heavy social gradient: the social class of origin tends to determine the final educational track to a higher degree (Dupriez, Dumay & Vaus, 2008).

Tracking or segregating youngsters in function of their academic performance has an impact on their academic attitudes and influences their motivation. This type of academic segregation might however also influence other – more social or politically relevant – outlooks. In this paper we explore the impact of academic segregation – the practice of segregating children on the basis of their scholastic achievement – on several attitudes of adolescents living in different educational systems (Janmaat & Mons, 2011).

We use the International Civic and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS) from 2009 for citizenship attitudes of 14-year old pupils from 21 European countries (Schulz et al., 2010) in order to ascertain whether academic segregation influences the attitudes of individual youngsters.

2 Socialisation and allocation as functions of school systems

Education is traditionally seen as the process through which knowledge and skills are transmitted from one generation to the next. But even the most utilitarian educational systems try to transmit the quintessence of culture, i.e. conceptions on beauty, justice, and goodness or on what is worth pursuing (Elchardus, Kavadias & Siongers, 1998; Galston, 2004; Kavadias, 2004; McDonnell, 2000; Nussbaum, 2010). This formative task of education becomes even more crucial as societies become more complex and use more abstract knowledge in everyday applications (Delli-Carpini, 2000; Naval, Print & Veldhuis, 2002; Osler & Starkey, 2004).

Alongside the transmission of knowledge, skills and attitudes that are deemed indispensable, educational systems perform a less conspicuous function. They allocate children in society (Durkheim, 1925; Durkheim, 1938; Bernstein, 2000). Or to put it in Durkheimian terms: schools differentiate and assign children a place in the system of social stratification. Indeed, our societies are less inclined to accept inequality on the basis of birth or origin, but are more open to inequalities on the basis of what we achieve as individuals (Marshall, 1977; Parson, 1971; Young, 1958). Michael Young introduced the term “Meritocracy” to capture this shift alongside with the growing focus on schooling and testing as impartial umpires. As individuals we are able to obtain a position in this meritocracy on the basis of what we achieve throughout our school careers and professional lives. Schools are central to these societies as they enable individuals to acquire these positions through education. Merit is central as it is seen as the combination of “talent” (intelligence) and “motivation” (effort). As a consequence, schools differentiate individuals throughout their school career and assign them a place in the social class structure according to their school results. Their position on the ladder of the educational stratification determines to a great degree their final social position. From this point of view we can conceive schools as the distributor of life chances (De Groof et al., 2012; Parsons, 1959; Parsons, 1971; Danhier et al, 2014).

The odds for a pupil on a successful school career rely however strongly on the social environment of origin (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1970; Coleman, et al. 1966; Huysse & Vandekerckhove, 1976; Jacobs et al., 2009; Jacobs & Rea, 2011; Danhier et al., 2014; see also Shavit & Blossfeld, 1993; Bukodi & Goldthorpe, 2013; Breen, 2009). The educational level of the parents is a strong predictor of the life chances of children later in life (De Groof et al., 2012; Kavadias & Franck, 2006; Pelleriaux, 2001; Van der Velde & Wolbers, 2007).

The connection between school career and future social position has increased steadily in societies (for example on the Netherlands and Belgium: see De Groof et al., 2012; Pelleriaux 2001). There is a growing body of empirical evidence on this increasing importance of education.

But the degree of attained education is not only an indicator for the social-economical life chances of a family. It also seems a powerful indicator of the cultural climate in a family (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1970; De Groof et al., 2012; Derks, 2000; Derks, 2002; Pelleriaux, 2001). As a consequence educational systems perform at least two functions that are not always easily reconcilable: the socialisation to equal adult citizens and the differentiation to unequal participants to a differentiated economy. The question concerning the interaction between the socializing function and the differentiating result is in such a context more than trivial. It rather stands at the heart of conflicting roles in schools and conflicting expectations from education.

3 Differentiation and the management of diversity in schools

Each school system tries to handle the existing diversity in pupils’ background. In most cases school systems use diverse mechanisms to reduce heterogeneity (Dupriez, 2010; Dupriez, Dumay & Vaus, 2008; Green, Preston & Janmaat, 2006; Mons, 2007; Rinderman & Cecci; Shavit & Muller, 1998). Green and colleagues (2006) propose a classification in function of the degree and time of selection in school systems on the basis of ability. Mons (2007) introduced a typology of school systems according to the nature of tracking, ability grouping, but taking also grade retention and individual teaching into account. She comes to a fourfold classification, differentiating between a separation model, an ‘à la carte’ integration mo-

del, a uniform integration model, and finally an individualized integration model.

Research on educational inequality tested and demonstrated the utility of this fourfold typology using PISA-data on cognitive outcomes (Dupriez, Dumay & Vaus, 2008; Dupriez, 2010; Lavrijssen, 2013). For our purposes, we reduce this more fine-grained classification to two conflicting models of selection of children in schools, guiding national educational policies. A first model tries to select and group equally able children as early as possible. Children are tested early in their school career on their scholastic talents and qualities and grouped in separate tracks. A classic example of this model is the German system, as it starts to select children from the 4th year after kindergarten on the age of 9-10. After the age of 10 pupils begin a new phase in their education, in separate learning groups with very little mutual contact between these groups (Eurydice, 2012). On the opposite side we find models that try to provide children as long as possible a broad common base in terms of knowledge, skills and possibilities. This does not mean that children are not differentiated, according to their interests, possibilities and strengths or weaknesses. The differentiation occurs rather within age groups for specific subjects and doesn't hamper contact between them. We find these "comprehensive" systems mostly in Scandinavian countries, like Denmark or Finland. Children are grouped according to age until the age of 15. Differentiation between different tracks occurs after the age of 16. Moreover, primary and secondary schools are integrated in one structure. This means that the transition between the first and the second level is not used as an additional selective mechanism (Eurydice, 2012).

The 'early tracking'-model assumes that an early differentiation will lead to a more efficient selection on the basis of quality (Grootaers, 1998). This has however never been empirically ascertained. On the contrary: comparative research provides growing evidence against early differentiation. The most talented pupils do not necessarily progress to a higher degree than in comprehensive systems. Changes in terms of learning gains don't differ between the systems. But early tracking systems seem to curtail systematically the opportunities of the most disadvantaged pupils (Ashwill et al., 1999; Hanushek & Woessman, 2006; Jacobs & Rea, 2012; Mills, 1998; Van der Werfhorst & Mijs, 2010; Zimmer, Ikeda & Ludemann, 2011). Evidence from the several surveys by the OECD-sponsored Program in International Student Achievement (PISA), ascertains the fact that comprehensive systems certainly do not seem to hamper the mathematics or language achievement scores of their best pupils, and work to the benefit of the social disadvantaged pupils. To put it bluntly: investments to weaken social inequality don't necessarily lead to a disrate of the educational level in a country. Or to use the words of the World Bank economists Hanushek and Woessman: "there is very little evidence that there are efficiency gains associated with this increased inequality" (Hanushek & Woessman, 2006: C75). The only aspect in which early differentiating systems perform better pertains to the smoothness of transition from schools to the labour market: early tracking systems perform on average, slightly better (Cooke, 2003; Elchardus et al., 2012).[1]

The proponents of a comprehensive educational system present an argument akin to the one presented by Wilkinson and Pickett (2009). Providing equal opportunities, as well as postponing crucial choices in the educational careers of pupils, increases the quality of learning (and life) of every child (Beckers, 1998). Academic inclusion promotes better results for the biggest group, without harming the results of the best pupils.

4 The possible social outcomes of tracking

Academic segregation, the practice of separating the 'better' pupils and grouping the academic strong and feeble youngsters in separate classrooms or even schools, stimulates mainly social selection in function of social background and origin. Therefore tracking can be seen as a mechanism that continues the existing form of social segregation. Ethnic minorities or immigrant children perform poorly in strongly divided educational systems (Jacobs & Rea, 2012; Schnabel et al., 2002; Weiler, 1998). But if schools are also the socialising institutions were convictions, emotions or values are formed, we can expect this segregation to influence the direction and form of self-steering in these schools systems. Looking at this from the perspective of an individual we might expect that differentiation and segregation at an early age will contribute to a different mental outlook (or habitus), than segregation at a later age. The child that grows up in a system where he/she is early separated will in all likelihood experience segregation as an aspect of everyday life. Living apart is part of the way in which his/her life is organized and will, as time goes by, be experienced as something fundamental to the usual way of life. It will colour the perception, the ways of thinking, but also the feelings, values, discourses, as they will nestle down and inscribe themselves on the soft tissue of the brain (Foucault, 1975).

In one of the few studies investigating the relation between education systems and social cohesion Janmaat and Mons linked the degree of pedagogical differentiation (ability grouping) to values disparities among children (Janmaat & Mons, 2011). Ability grouping tends to segregate, which in its turn can be expected to influence attitudes related to social cohesion. Janmaat and Mons (2011) find a clear impact of tracking on tolerant and patriotic attitudes between social and ethnic groups.

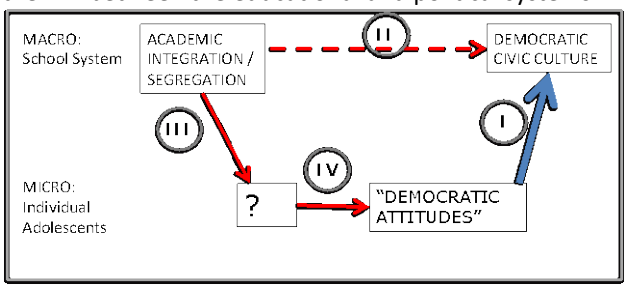
As a consequence, we might expect that separating children on the basis of their academic achievement will hamper the process of social integration of youngsters, but also their ability to cope with social and cultural differences. In more general terms, academic segregation will generate social outcomes that impede the development of democratic citizenship.

In this exploratory analysis we are aware of what Coleman called a "multilevel systems of propositions" in

his quest for explanations of system behaviour (Coleman, 1990, p. 8). Ultimately, in the footsteps of Almond and Verba (1963), we try to understand how to strengthen a democratic political culture. The original contribution of Almond and Verba, but also the more recent civic education studies, make a theoretical linkage between the presence of democratic attitudes of individuals and the resulting political culture. This relation involves a movement form the micro level of the individuals to the system level (see linkage I in figure 1). For the sake of convenience we have been assuming that a democratic political culture consists of the aggregates of the individual democratic attitudes.[2]

We are however interested in the translation of aspects of the school system on the political system (linkage II in figure 1). This however involves a relation between system characteristics that should be explored by looking at how systems condition / influence individual actors. If we want to understand the relations between these systems variables, we should look at how the macro context influences individuals at the micro-level.

Figure 1: Components of relationships in order to explore the link between the educational and political systems

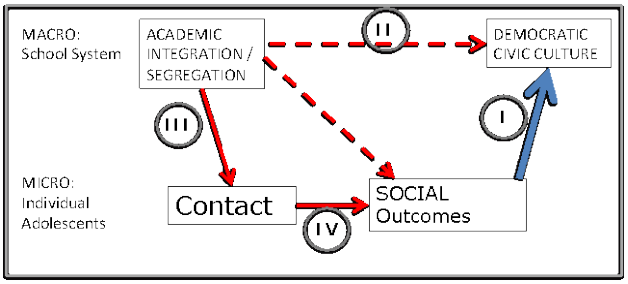


The last component of a possible explanation involves the relations at the level of the individual actors between the outcome of the conditioning by the macro-system and democratic attitudes (relation IV).

Janmaat and Mons (2011) hypothesize that the system of differentiation will in all likelihood influence inter-group dynamics. This linkage (III in figure 1) can be seen as creating the conditions for contact. As a consequence, educational systems foster an environment in which contact between different groups will breed cooperation or cohesion. This explanation lies in line with the contact hypothesis formulated as early as 1958 by Allport and still investigated by Pettigrew and colleagues (Pettigrew, 1998; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2005 & 2006) (see figure 2).

We will restrict ourselves to the exploration of the relation between academic segregation and the influence on social outcomes of individual adolescents. We will look at the impact on a set of social outcomes that are related to social cohesion: namely, expected political participation, trust in civic institutions and the attitudes towards minorities, immigrants and gender equality. Since social cohesion can be a very broad term, we will differentiate between cohesion as an attitude towards civic institutions – or trust (Uslaner, 2012), and cohesion as an attitude towards other social / cultural groups.

Figure 2: Components of relationships in order to explore the link between academic segregation and the elements of a democratic civic culture



In line with these insights we will explore the hypothesis whether academic segregation has in impact on attitudes:

1. The larger the degree of academic segregation, the lower the degree of trust in civic institutions.
2. The larger the degree of academic segregation, the lower the levels of tolerance towards ethnic minorities.
3. The larger the degree of academic segregation, the lower the levels of tolerance towards immigrants.
4. The larger the degree of academic segregation, the lower the levels of attitudes towards gender equality.
5. The larger the degree of academic segregation, the lower the degree of expected political participation.

5 Assessing educational systems

In the next sections we would like to explore the impact of academic segregation – the practice of segregating children on the basis of their scholastic achievement – on several attitudes of adolescents living in different educational systems. We expect a 'corrosive' impact of academic segregation mainly on attitudes related to social cohesion. Pupils will in all likelihood differ in their outlook on fellow citizens, according to the ways in which educational systems select and differentiate.

We will use variance-component (or multilevel) models to analyse individual level data together with aggregated data (Goldstein, 1995). In the current case we are interested in an analysis on the level of the educational system. Indeed, we are interested to know whether educational systems have a different impact for the youngsters in each of those countries in general. This means that we are primarily interested in the impact of academic segregation on a set of social outcomes. One of the few international comparative sources for this kind of information of youngsters is the International Civic and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS) from 2008-2009. The survey provides information on citizenship attitudes of 14-year old pupils from 38 countries (Schulz et al., 2010) (see table 1).

As the ICCS data does not provide a consistent measure of academic segregation, we restrict our current analysis to 21 European countries from the ICCS-data on which we had information on the degree of academic segregation through PISA (2009). One of the great advantages of the ICCS-study is that it provides comparable data on social and politically relevant attitudes (For a comparison on the 1999 and 2009 results of the ICCS-study see Barber & Toney-Purta 2012). Table 2 provides

an overview of possible indicators that could be used to this end.

Table 1: ICCS samples (2009)

Country	***n* pupils**	***n* Schools**
Austria	3385	135
Belgium – Flanders	2968	151
Bulgaria	3257	158
Czech Republic	4630	150
Denmark	4508	193
England	2916	124
Estonia	2743	140
Finland	3307	176
Greece	3153	153
Ireland	3355	144
Italy	3366	172
Latvia	2761	150
Lithuania	3902	199
Luxemburg	4852	31
Norway	3013	129
Poland	3249	150
Slovak Republic	2970	138
Slovenia	3070	163
Spain	3309	148
Sweden	3464	166
The Netherlands	1964	67
Total	70,142	3,037

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In order to measure the ways in which educational systems separate pupils, we could in theory take the formal ages on which the pupils are assigned into different tracks. But educational systems have also informal ways to organize their practices of differentiation, without necessarily resorting to distinct organisational patterns or norms.

To give an example: Flanders (Belgium) knows a formal differentiation starting in the second degree (3rd year) of secondary education. The first two years are communal. In practice we see that schools resort to a form of differentiation by the optional subjects presented in schools from the first year on, and by organizing the class groups accordingly (Elchardus & Verhoeven, 2000; Grootaers, 1998). To avoid this trap for all educational systems we have opted to look at the degree to which pupils with a same level of knowledge are grouped in the same schools. This is a rather conservative estimate of academic segregation, since schools can still separate children with distinct achievement levels in different classes within the same school. In our estimation we will not see them as segregated.

Table 2. Outcome variables: attitude scales ICCS (2009)

Attitudes - Likert scale	N of items	Cronbach alpha*	Theme
Hypothesis 1: Trust in civic institutions	6	0.84	Trust in civil institutions (in local and national government, parliament, courts, the police, political parties)
Hypothesis 2: Equal Rights for all ethnic / racial groups	5	0.83	Equal opportunities / treatment ethnic minorities (to get a good education, job, rights, respect)
Hypothesis 3: Equal Rights for immigrants	5	0.80	Equal opportunities / treatment migrants (to speak their language, good education, to vote, same rights, etc)
Hypothesis 4:Attitude towards Gender Equality	6	0.79	Equal opportunities / treatment of men –women (to take part in government, same rights, equal pay, participate in politics, etc)
Hypothesis 5: Expected participation to political activities as an adult	4	0.81	Degree of future formal political participation (help a candidate, stand as a candidate, join a trade union, join a party)
Hypothesis 5: Expected informal political participation	4	0.82	Degree of future informal political participation (Discuss, write opinion, convince others online, join cause)

* Reliability computed on the totality of 38 participating countries (Schulz, Ainley & Fraillon, 2011)

Using the PISA mathematic achievement scores on the age of 15, we can compute an intra school correlation for each country/educational system. This measure provides a (conservative) estimate between two pupils taken at random from the same school on their mathematics achievement. A high intraschool correlation would mean that the two pupils taken at random resemble each other more than the pupils from other schools.[3]

We should however also be careful to take the average level of achievement on mathematics into account. After all, we cannot exclude possible negative effects of academic segregation on civics as a result of an overall lower level of skills and competencies in countries with a strong degree of academic segregation. This would mean that a strong investment in mathematics will most certainly influence the social outcomes in a negative way. We are however interested to compare systems in their social outcomes, given certain levels of mathematic achievements. This means that we will control for the average mathematics score per country.

Table 3. Average PISA scores on mathematical achievement & degree of academic segregation PISA (2009) and Timss (2011)

Country	Average Pisa Math score	Rho Pisa Mathematics	Rho Timss Mathematics
Finland	541	9.7	8.9
Norway	498	12.1	14.4
Sweden	494	19.7	16.6
Poland	495	21.0	12.9
Denmark	503	21.1	22
Estonia	512	22.0	*
Spain	483	23.2	22.5
Ireland	487	23.7	16.7
Latvia	482	26.8	*
England	492	29.8	24.3
Lithuania	477	34.6	18.7
Greece	466	37.1	*
Luxemburg	489	37.2	*
Slovak Republic	497	50.2	26.9
Italy	483	55.3	26.8
Bulgaria	428	58.1	*
Austria	496	59.0	15.8
Slovenia	501	62.1	7.6
Czech Republic	493	62.2	16.4
Belgium – Flanders	537	62.6	16.8
The Netherlands	526	69.0	15.2

*: not available in TIMSS 2011.

In table 3, we can already discern a wide variety concerning the treatment of grouping children (3rd column), given a certain level of achievement on mathematics (2nd column). In table 3, "Rho Pisa Mathematics" gives the variation of mathematics achievement after the students were put in certain tracks and schools.

Finland has the lowest degree of intra-school correlation (9.7% of the variance at the level of the school), while the Netherlands has the highest degree of segregation, according to PISA-scores: more than 2/3 of the differences in mathematics can be traced back to differrences between schools.

As a comparison, we also report the intra-school correlations for the mathematics scores at grade 4 (primary school) in Timss (2011). In table 3, column 4, we see that these correlations tend to be more equal than those calculated with the use of the Pisa data.

The Pisa and Timss data seem to indicate that there exists more country diversity in academic segregation in secondary school (judging by the mathematics scores of 15-year-old pupils) than in primary school (judging by the mathematics scores of pupils in grade 4).

6 Analysis on social outcomes

In a first instance we will look at the bivariate correlation between the degree of academic segregation and the attitudes. Since we hypothesised that a part of these differences could be due to general differences in levels of achievement, a minimal statistical control is included by introducing the average achievement on maths per country, but also for individual pupil characteristics that may confound the aggregate relationships. We use age, gender, origin (natives versus non-natives) and social-economic status and control variables. This means that we provide next to the bivariate correlations, also the standardized regression parameter for academic segregation, controlling for these confounding variables using three-level models (pupils, nested in schools, grouped in educational systems/countries).[4]

The bivariate correlations in table 4 show that academic segregation does not show the same negative correlation with all types of *social outcomes*. The strongest correlation is on the domain of openness towards other groups ("equal rights for ethnic groups").

Table 4. Correlations and standardized regression coefficients of academic segregation on attitudes, controlling for covariates

Attitude scale	Effect of Academic segregation		
	Ecological Correlation	Beta (multilevel) ❖	
Hypothesis 1: Trust in civic institutions	-0.05	0.00	
Hypothesis 2: Equal Rights for all ethnic groups	-0.52	**-0.09**	***
Hypothesis 3: Equal Rights for immigrants	-0.26	**-0.06**	*
Hypothesis 4: Attitude towards gender equality	-0.31	-0.08	
Hypothesis 5: Expected participation to political activities as an adult	-0.34	**-0.06**	*
Hypothesis 5: Expected informal political participation	-0.03	-0.02	
Hypothesis 5: Expected electoral participation as an adult	-0.33	-0.08	+

ϖ ❖: Controlled for: Average mathematics score (z-score), Age (z-score), Gender (boy/girl) , Social-Economic Status (z-score) & Origin (natives – non-natives)
Probability of type I Error: +: p ≤ .10 - *: p ≤ .05 - **: p ≤ .01 - ***: p ≤ .001

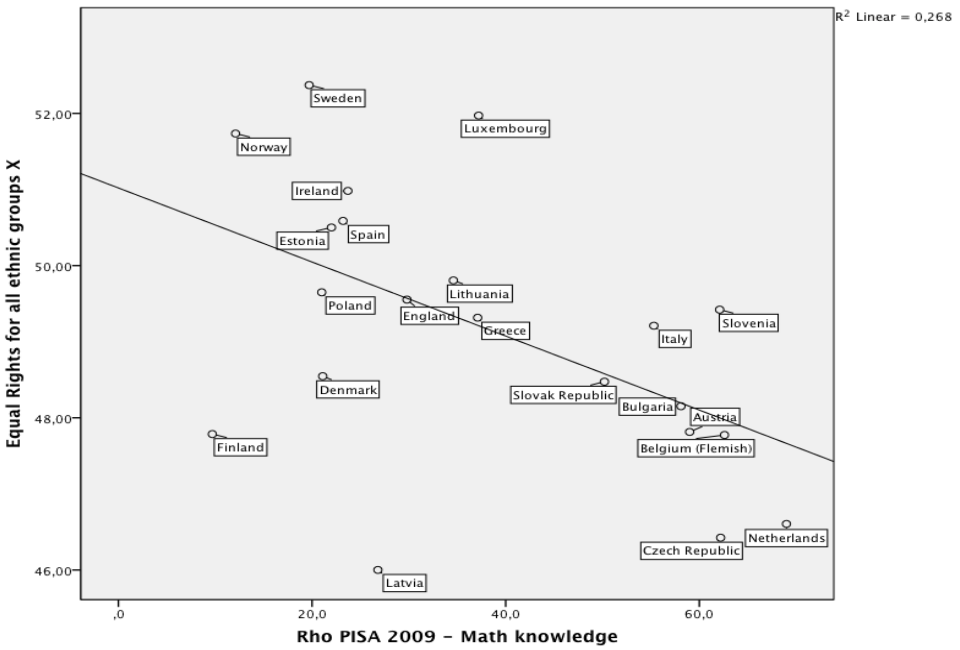
If we control for the levels of PISA mathematics achievement as well as the individual level background variables (age, gender, social-economic status and origin), we get stronger indications for the possible impact of school segregation on integration in society at large.

If we turn back to our hypothesis, however, we cannot confirm our first hypothesis. Academic segregation is not related in a significant way to trust in civic institutions. This is also the case for the attitudes towards gender equality (hyp. 4). The hypothesis concerning the impact of segregation on tolerance towards ethnic minorities (hyp. 2) and towards immigrant rights (hyp. 3) are however confirmed. In line with earlier findings, academic segregation leaves a mark on social cohesion defined as the attitude towards outgroups (Janmaat & Mons, 2011). The impact on political participation is not that clear-cut, since, academic segregation seems to inhibit future expected political participation, but is not related to the other forms of political participation in this study.

To interpret this last result, we use Almond and Verba (1963). Adolescents living in strongly segmented systems

are less prone to participate in citizenship related activities at school (like extra-curricular debating clubs, pupil councils, etc.). Adolescents have the impression that schools do not value participation and seem to conform to what Almond and Verba called a "subject political culture" in the 1960's: they accommodate towards administrative authorities, but will not actively try to get a grip on the things that concerns them as a group or as a community (Almond & Verba, 1963). We can also discern a higher degree of closure towards other groups, including gender equality (although this last association is statistically not significant).

Figure 3. Equal Rights for ethnic minorities (ICCS 2009) in function of intra-school correlations per country on mathematics (PISA 2009)



To illustrate this association and to give an idea of the dispersion of countries concerning these correlations we take the bivariate relation between academic segregation and the attitude towards equal rights for ethnic minorities in a society.

In this case we see that Flanders (Belgium) and the Netherlands form the classical examples of countries combining high degrees of academic segregation with a low support for equal rights for ethnic minorities. This pattern seems to hold quit well, but there are also a number of interesting outliers, with Luxemburg (higher tolerance, given the degree of segregation) but also Latvia and Finland (lower degrees of tolerance, given their degree of segregation) that beg for a further inquiry.

Segregation, contact and resentment

If we refer to our figure 2, we have investigated the relation between a macro antecedent condition and the micro consequences. We should however also be able to explain the causal mechanisms behind this relation. The current data do not let us to ascertain several possible explanations. We can however posit explore associations that could account for this pattern.

Janmaat & Mons (2011) already provided a first explanation. The contact hypothesis might account for higher levels of social cohesion in more comprehensive systems, since children tend to have more contact on an egalitarian basis. A second type of explanation focuses on the presence of cultures of "demotion" (Pelleriaux, 2001), "resentment" (Spruyt, 2012) or "futility" in schools (Van Houtte en Stevens, 2008).

Contact

In The Nature of Prejudice (1958), Allport argued that categorization acts as a necessary precursor of prejudice. Dealing with our environment, we inevitably reduce complexity to a more manageable number of categories. Imposing categories on stimuli will enhance differences between and similarities within categories. Stereotyping arises directly out of the social categorization process: inferences are drawn from the assignment of a person to a particular category. Stereotypes -- beliefs about the characteristics of groups of individuals – influences the perception and judgment of others and become prejudices when they involve a negative feeling or attitude towards the member of a group. Categories and stereotypes not only influence what information is sought and how that information is processed, stored and remembered, but also tend to resist conflicting evidence (Allport, 1958; Eagly and Diekman, 2005).

Social categorization plays a crucial role in the formation of social identities (Tajfel, 1969; Brown, 1995; Tajfel and Forgas, 2000). The individuals' self-image and concept of the self are to an important extent dependent on the knowledge that he/she belongs to certain groups. The creation and maintenance of group identities is based on comparison; distinctiveness is established through attributing positive characteristics to one's own group in comparison to other groups (Dovidio and Gaertner, 1993). Threats to social identity will be responded by attempts to differentiate the in-group positively from the out-groups and/or differentiate the out-groups negatively from the in-group (Tajfel & Forgas, 2000: 59).

Allport held that under specified conditions contact between members of in- and out-groups can reduce prejudice (Allport, 1958: 281). Superficial contact between members of different groups will however, according to Allport, most often lead to the

strengthening of existing prejudices. Casual contact lacks "acquaintance potential".

The contact hypothesis has received broad research support. Meta-analyses indicate that a large majority of the studies supported the hypothesis (Forbes, 1997; Kenworthy, Turner, Hewstone & Voci, 2005; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2005; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006).

Analysis on the ICCS-2009 data ascertained that the presence of pupils from outgroups in classrooms influences the attitude towards immigrant rights (Kavadias, Stouthuysen, Dehertogh & Franck, 2012, Isac, Maslowski, van der Werf, 2012). The proportion of non-natives is positively associated with a more positive attitude towards immigrant rights. When youngsters from different background have contact on a daily basis, they are in general more tolerant towards each other. This association could not be attributed to the individual background of each pupil. The context of the classroom seems to offer a plausible explanation. Immigrant rights are just one of the possible outcomes, but we presume that this logic can be extended to different forms of social segregation. Children that are separated early on in diverse societies tend to develop prejudices towards other social groups, while mixing them tends to inhibit negative stereotypes.

Resentment

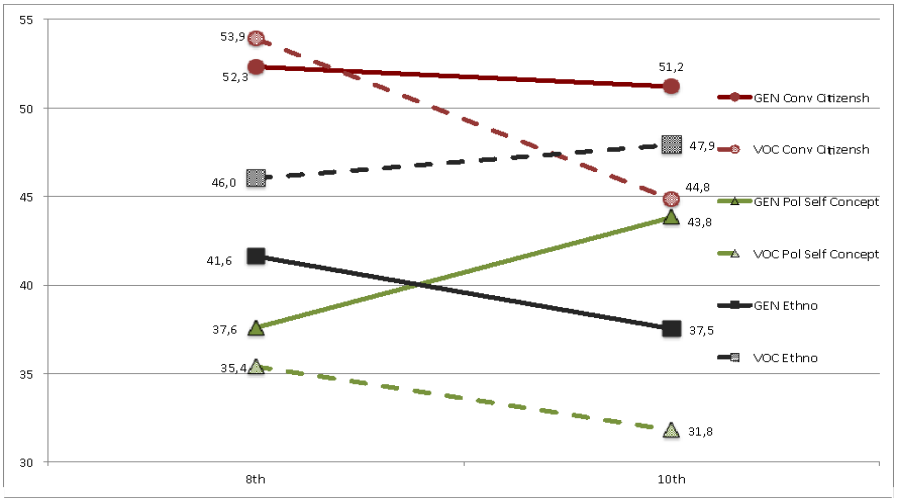
The contact-hypothesis focuses on the possible positive outcomes of contact. At the same time research on 'resentment' has focused on the stimuli of negative attitudes. Country-specific research in Flanders has showed that educational tracks are valued differently. Pupils following the vocational tracks have the impression that others look down on their educational performance (Spruyt, 2013). This contributes to feelings of futility or demotion: those pupils are persuaded that they will not "make it in life". Their perspectives on social promotion are systematically lower and they fear to remain jobless or to end up in uninteresting numbing jobs (Pelleriaux, 2001). This belief can also be found in differential socialization patterns in schools, according to the tracks. Schools and teachers have other expectations for pupils that will perform management-functions, as for those that will do the manual work (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1970; Anyon, 1989; Kavadias, 2004).

In the wake of Willis (1978) researchers have been documenting the hypothesis that the educational tracks form separate cultural spaces. Pupils in vocational tracks react against the dominant school order. This form of resentment translates into opinions, attitudes, preferences that stand in contrast to "good taste" as defined by schools and teachers. Koen Pelleriaux documented the rise of these "countercultures" in Flemish schools (Pelleriaux, 2001), while Van Houtte and Van Praag (2014) described the process of action, interaction and reaction of teachers and pupils in vocational tracks. Such a "culture" or subculture has however also political consequences. Pupils from social lower background tend to be more ethnocentric, more conservative in ethical issues but also to feel less competent in politics (Kavadias, Siongers & Stevens, 1999; Pelleriaux, 2001). The Flemish ICCS 2009 research surveyed 8th graders but had also a sample of 10th graders. A comparison within Flanders of both grades provides further indications of these mechanisms.

The ICCS-Flanders team did not find any relevant differences concerning democratic civic attitudes in the tracks of the 8th graders (the so-called A- and B-streams). Among the 10th graders there was however a clear distinction between the tracks.

In figure 4 we reproduce the differences between the 8th and 10th graders according to educational tracks for 3 attitudes: conventional citizenship, political self-concept and ethnocentrism.

Figure 4. Conventional Citizenship, political selfconcept and ethnocentrism according to tracks A /ASO - B/BSO, (grade 8 versus grade 10) in Flanders



Source: ICCS 2009 Flemish sample (De Groof, Franck, Elchardus, Kavadias, 2011).

Conventional citizenship remains stabile for the 8th and 10th graders from the general track, while the 10th graders from the vocational track are less prone to engage in conventional activities and have a lower political self-concept (even compared with 8th graders in the same track). The reverse is true for ethnocentrism: pupils from vocational tracks are more ethnocentric but differ even more strongly in the 10th grade (De Groof, Franck, Elchardus, Kavadias, 2011).

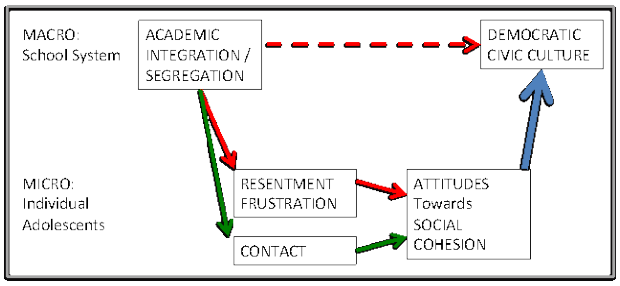
There is evidence for the presence of both types of processes. From an international perspective contact seems to foster mutual understanding, while the Flemish micro-data indicate the growth of resentment at the lower end of the educational (and social) ladder.

7 Conclusion

The ways in which people are physically grouped or separated, but especially the philosophy of selecting early and separating in function of their skills and achievement has in other studies been found to be detrimental for obtaining equitable and just educational outcomes in a society. The current exploratory analysis shows that the introduction of inequality on the basis of achievement seems to gnaw at democratic values or to the openness towards other groups. The least that we can say is that itemizing people in separate cells according to their academic capacities and achievements does not seem to stimulate the degree of democratic solidarity or social cohesion in societies.

Figure 5 summarizes the possible pathways through which the educational system tends to influence the political system. Academic segregation offers or rather inhibits opportunities for contact, but also seems to condition processes of frustration or resentment. At the level of the individual youngsters, frustration and (the lack of) contact tend to influence politically relevant attitudes.

Figure 5. Relationships between the academic segregation and civic attitudes



Schools are becoming more important to integrate youngsters in society but also to allocate them a place in the social structure. Both functions remain in a tension towards each other. Moreover, the existing variation within the European educational systems shows that there is not a one best way to manage this tension. There is however a growing proof *against* an early systematic selection through education.

Most studies on characteristics of educational systems hardly integrate any empirical evidence on the impact on democratic citizenship attitudes (Elchardus, et al., 2011; Janmaat & Mons, 2011). We have made plausible, however, that there is an empirical relation between early differentiation (in terms of tracking) and attitudes. Early segregation in school careers (e.g. the Czech Republic, the Netherlands, Flanders, Austria) (measured in this text as the academic segregation of pupils in secondary school) correlates with a lack of tolerance. Countries that postpone segregation (e.g. Sweden, Norway, Denmark) tend *on average* to have more tolerant and democratically minded adolescents. Yet, the characteristics of educational systems are not always easy to unravel. Educational systems that tend to postpone the tracking of pupils also tend to exhibit other characteristics of welfare states and welfare state provisions. This makes us cautious about possible inferences. We should try to go a step further in disentangling the impact of educational characteristics, i.e. the degree of standardization, differentiation, or the presence of a quasi-market for that matter on democratic citizenship attitudes.

The current analysis is but a first step in the exploration of these relations. Since we know that correlation is not the same as causation, we should try to expand this analysis. This could be done by gathering data on more countries and by using multilevel models and adding other control variables. We should also try to disentangle the social gradient of this process. Previous research has repeatedly shown that the children from the lower social classes are always at a disadvantage in academic segregated systems. Are they more prone to develop negative attitudes in this store? And how do the winners of the segregation-game react in terms of openness, tolerance and democratic consciousness? Finally we should dig deeper in the systemic differences between levels of welfare state-development. We might hypothesize that this effect will be more important in systems were education plays a larger role in the selection and socialization of the future citizens than in systems in which this is not the case.

To provide a solid and reliable basis to the study of the effects of inequality on social outcomes there is still a necessity for a theoretical foundation. The experience of children and adolescents on the basis of their earlier educational achievement seems to affect what they see as normal, just, good, beautiful, proper, etc. Inequality and an unequal treatment affect not only a culture but also different subcultures within societies. For the time being, we have not answered the question as on the reason of this association. But with the current contribution we hope to have provided a minimal indication of the impact of inequality in the domain of social outcomes. One possible explanation is that early tracking systems and their tendency for early separation of children limit the number of encounters for different children. Segregation limits by this way the number of spaces in which sympathetic emotions between children from different background could develop. It also fosters resentment.

Early segregation seems at this stage a normative choice, as the empirical backing for its benefits is very meagre. It seems to be a choice that is driven by the tendency of educated middle class parents to support mainly ‘the best’ (areisti) of society. In the Netherlands but also in Belgium the higher educated fractions of the middle class exhibit a strong tendency to distinct themselves from the lower classes, on the domain of equal educational opportunities (Cuperus, 2009). Every proposal for more equity and a more comprehensive curriculum are countered by anxious highly educated professionals on the assumption that this would lead to a loss of quality of the education of their children. It even provides the impetus for a discourse *against equal educational opportunities* and *for* ‘a new elitism in education’.

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Endnotes:

[1] One should however note that having work after education does not give any indication as to the quality and remuneration of these positions (Lohmann & Marx, 2008). Having a job in these contexts is not a guarantuee to an acceptable standard of living, as testimonied by the phenomenon of working poor. Recent empirical research also shows that we find a trade-off in vocational education tracks in this system between a smooth transfer to the labour market and a more general operational capability in later career (Hanushek, Woessman & Zhang, 2011). A general operational capability requires the ability to adapt oneself (due to technological innovations) to changing task.

[2] The current contribution will not examine this relation, but it is clear that this should be explored instead of assumed.

[3] This measure – rho – can be read as the percentage of the variance in the dependent variable (mathematics achievement) that could be attributed to the level of the school, apart from individual variations (Snijders & Bosker, 1999). We estimated this measure using a multilevel model per country, with 2 levels: individual and school (Maximum Likelihood estimates using GLS-algorithm in Mlwin 2.33). The rho's for the Timss 2011 data were calculated with the use of SPSS 21 (with Maximum Likelihood). Reported results are the mean of all analyses with the five plausible values for mathematics achievement.

[4] The estimated equations for all attitude scales have the form:
$(Attitude)_{ijk} = b_{0ijk}(Intercept) + b_1(academic\ Segreg)_k + b_2(Average\ Math)_k + b_3(age)_{ijk} + + b_4(Girl)_{ijk} + b_5(Non\text{-}Native)_{ijk} + b_6(Social\text{-}Economic\ Status)_{ijk}$
$b_{0ijk} = b_0 + v_{00k} + u_{0jk} + e_{ijk}$

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Teaching Civic Education in a Migrating Global Community: How Can Students with a Migration Background Contribute to Didactics and Civic Education Theory?

- The article provides an insight to the learning needs and experiences of young migrants.
- It takes the current developments of globalisation into account and demands for a change of perspectives in civic education.
- It asks for an education that empowers the students to develop, pursue and share their own individual avenue of thinking.
- Therefore the students should become stakeholders and can determine the 'political' for themselves.

Purpose: The article enquires about how young migrants perceive and evaluate civic education in school and what expectations they have of the subject.
Method: The article is based on a qualitative-oriented research work based on the Grounded Theory; surveys were made by interviews with students.
Findings: The article emphasises that educational theorists can learn something from young migrants about the content and construction of civic education in a migrating Global Community.

Keywords:
Civic education; heterogeneity, diversity and heterogeneity, migrating global community, qualitative research

1 Introduction

Cultural diversity and difference are current and significant discourses for theorists of teaching, education and didactics in Germany. The circumstances of migrant communities manifest themselves in teaching and learning and present schools with the task of justifying how politics is taught and what the syllabus should look like. This applies in particular to the assumption of how individuals are taught to address the question of how society should be constructed and organised. (see also Hess and McAvoy 2015: The political classroom. Evidence and Ethics in Democratic Education) Civic education means the resourcefulness of citizens of voting age in a society. It requires that learners become able to understand the social world, to evaluate, critique and to change it, "to develop multiple loyalties and identities." (Osler and Starkey 2003, p. 243) The current climate of a majority and democratic self-determination shape the teaching materials used. (see Autorengruppe Fachdidaktik, 2015, p. 8).

Studying the phenomena of migration as a structural feature of modern societies is of course nothing new (see Pries, 2008). Nevertheless, the realities of immigration and migration-related changes have long remained unrecognised. Migration as a current issue is primarily viewed from 'the outside', i.e. as a societal, structural phenomenon. Pedagogical-didactic theories within the context of migration already exist, for example trans-cultural learning (Seitz 2005) intercultural learning (Auernheimer 2012; Holzbrecher 1997), migration pedagogy (Mecheril 2004), intersectionality (Leiprecht & Lutz, 2009), critiques of racism (Leiprecht, 2015; Mecheril, 2011), global learning (Overwien & Rathenow 2009 und Seitz 2002) and pedagogy of human rights (Scherr, 2007). However, these still seem to be supplementary ideas which only become relevant when mainstream media turns its attention towards making them topical issues.

For a long period of time, Germany did not consider itself to be a country of immigration, a fact which has no doubt contributed to these theories not being widely absorbed, nor indeed within didactics of political education. Thus a re-thinking and transformation of civic education is needed in the 21st century (see also Banks, 2007). Theorists in education and didactics have thus far engaged minimally with young people with a migration background[1] as to how they perceive and evaluate civic education in school and what expectations and wishes they have of the subject (Sander, 2008, p. 91). With regards to this, Albert Scherr (2011, p. 308) points out that civic education often operates in complete ignorance of the experiences, knowledge and beliefs of its audience (see ibid., p. 308). Meanwhile, the important question is not what the young person has experienced, but rather how they are dealing with it.[2]

In the debate as to how politics should be taught, migrants themselves are rarely given the opportunity to contribute. There has been little research into how young migrants are taught civic education as a school subject and it is regularly dealt with through mere assumptions about 'other people'. This can be observed once again at present, in the context of refugees and migration: There

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are numerous reactionary comments from professional bodies making ad-hoc suggestions, yet they lack empirical basis. There is much discussion of 'civic education with refugees', 'civic education for refugees', 'the challenge of migration'. There is discussion of 'successful integration', 'acceptance of the core values and key principles of our liberal democracy' and 'the formation of our commonwealth' and the assumption that many refugee children do not have at their disposal the fundamental concepts of our democracy (Stellungnahme der GPJE zum Thema „Politische Bildung für Flüchtlinge", Sprecherkreis der GPJE, 14.11.2015. http://gpje.de/Stellungnahme_pB_Integartion_2015.pdf, last accessed on 22.08.2016). However, the question is whether children without a migration background per se have an understanding of democracy.

2 Defining the didactics of civic education

To be able to develop my thesis, I now wish to introduce the key elements of didactics of civic education theory. Related to this, I also wish to stress that 'civic' in civic education relates not only to political science but should be understood to also encompass sociology, economics and law studies (Autorengruppe Fachdidaktik, 2015, p. 8). Returning now to the principle questions of the didactics of civic educational theory, these can be described as follows:

- *What* content should students learn about politics, economics, society and law? This deals with the criteria for selecting learning materials and developing topics (content).
- *Why* should they learn it and *what for*? This element concerns the 'philosophy' of the subject, the positioning of civic educational theory, the aim of the subject and the competencies that apply to it (aims).
- *How and what with?* – In what way and with which materials should they learn the subject? This concerns the teaching methods, the personal delivery and interaction in the classroom and the structuring of lessons, the teaching methods and mediums (methods).

Parallel to these three domains are learning requirements – in school and in society. Findings from youth studies, socialisation theory and sociological theory, and the stakeholders in education, i.e. teachers and students, all play a role here.

Within my qualitative-oriented research work (Gessner 2014) based on the Grounded Theory Methodology (see. Corbin & Strauss, 2015; Strauss 1967) it was found that students are able to design the content of the key didactic areas themselves, that is to say in line with their learning needs and their experiences. I thereby assume, from a didactical understanding, a significance in students' perceptions, knowledge areas and perspectives for effective learning and educational processes (see Gessner et al. 2011, p. 166 et seq.). Furthermore, I assume that a constructive handling of heterogeneity in civic education lessons allows each young person not only an insight into their individual stage of development but also to consider that they identify themselves through social belonging. In order that *all* students are able to access and identify with teaching content, it is essential that lesson planning for heterogeneous groups of learners takes into account the multifaceted socio-cultural experiences of the students, and is implemented in a constructive way for learning. This requirement can be met using a foundation based on a more social-constructivist concept of learning and teaching (see Fuerstenau, 2009, p. 61 et seq.; Youniss, 1994).

Regarding relevant research questions in the context of migration, reference is consistently made to the need for sophisticated consideration of migration and immigration in relation to existing phenomena. Varying experiences of language, culture and social behaviours which are dependent upon migration type must be differentiated between in pedagogical-didactic discourse more than they have been to date (see Gogolin, 2006, p. 36 et. seq.). In doing so, it is less about asking *what* experiences young migrants have had, but much more about *how* they deal with those experiences (see Nohl, 2010, p. 240). Furthermore, migrants are rarely drawn upon as com-petent experts who can say something about the nature of the migration society and its education system (see Messerschmidt, 2009, p. 140).

In order to explore the way in which civic education is received I carried out fourteen qualitative interviews with young people (of varying migratory backgrounds), aged between 14 and 17 years old, who at the time of the interview were in the tenth year at various types of schools. Of greatest interest was their knowledge, interprettation and perception of civic education (lessons). Attention was only given to the migration background of the young people in the interviews as far as the young people themselves identified it as having personal significance. Specific topic areas were determined for the interview guide, for example biographical prompts, interesting lesson topics, knowledge gained from the subject, the teacher, political understanding, social and political engagement and the learning environment (see Gessner 2014, p. 77 et. seq.).

The evaluation of the interviews was carried out using the framework of Grounded Theory (see Corbin and Strauss, 2015; Strauss, 1967). The methodology of Grounded Theory identifies a research concept which aims to develop theory based on data collected and seeks to explain a social situation in the context of its conditions and the resulting consequences (see Huelst 2010, p. 281). The results of research – in terms of the research paradigm – concern *conceptual* rather than *statistical* trends (see Hermanns, 1992, p. 116).

The theory resulting from the research process is understood as being dependent upon the process, understood as tentative, and is based on the subjective view and situation defined by the participants (see Flick 2011, p. 387 et. seq.; Boehm, 2012, p. 476).

During the evaluation of the interviews in this study, the following emerged as key themes: 1. Sense of self and status of the young people 2. Dealing with the content of civic education lessons 3. Perception and evaluation of (social) interactions in civic education lessons

and 4. The function and significance of civic education as a school subject.

The question this study seeks to answer is how these four areas (from the perspective of the students) can be understood through their interaction with each other. That means, for example: what is the relationship between the self-defined status of young people and any given civic education lesson and how does this give structure to the management and delivery of the lesson? An analytic perspective is therefore taken which emphasises the individual actions and behaviours of the young people as agents in the co-production and co-structuring of civic education lessons.

The results from all cases studied overwhelmingly show that the significance of civic education lessons is varied and individual and depends upon the needs and expectations that young people bring to lessons. The young people self-manage, they are a product neither of their background nor of their school lessons. The young people contribute their competencies and identities and, as experts in themselves, they unlock the potential of the lesson to be meaningful. Within this the worldly knowledge of the young persons comes into play, which is comprised of their experiences, attitudes and knowledge gained. It is reflected in, for example, how they conceptualise teaching, being a student, and the role of the teacher, the community and politics.

Young people's perspectives of their civic education lessons reveal a wide spectrum of receptions and approaches. This will be presented by way of a case study.[3]

3 Malik's views on teaching methods in civic education

In this chapter I wish to explain this by using the example of school student Malik (Gessner, 2014, p. 225 et seq.). Malik is 16 years old and came to Germany from Somalia with his family when he was four years old. At the time of the interview he was in the tenth year of a comprehensive school.

Who? Malik introduces himself: *"M: Yes, so I'm Malik, I'm 16 years old and I come from Somalia originally, my nationality, and live in* (small city)*, I like playing basketball, as hobby."* Malik has a distinct perception of nationality as is clear that one can live in Germany and have a different nationality. Malik positions himself very strongly in his immediate living environment. He lives as a recognised refugee in Germany. However, his feeling of belonging is emotionally ambivalent and problematic. There is a great awareness regarding the incendiary portrayal of migration in the media. He differentiates foreigners from Germans as powerful groups.

Malik assumes that young people are interested in subjects that have an effect on their immediate environment. On the topic of youth crime he recounts an incident which plays on his mind both emotionally and mentally:

> "M: Yeah, youth crime. I notice a lot of that. (…) that interests me a lot, like, and I ask myself as well, why it always happens. And so once I got more closely involved with that question, because once I went to a friend who is very violent, and I talked to him about it, why he is like that, and why he does things like that. (...) And he said like, yeah, because of my honor. Or he says for example, his parents don't have all that much money, and he feels like he has to look after his family, but he's only just 16 years old. Well, exactly the same age as me. Then I said, 'and what do you live on, where do you get the money from?' and he said, 'I do anything I possibly can to get money'. And then I thought to myself, in some ways I have to count myself lucky, that I have what I have at the moment. And there's other kids, they have it a lot worse, and because of that I sort of value life now more than I used to, put it that way.

Does Malik want to use the scenario he puts forward here to qualify his (social) status in his environment? He knows that it could be *'a lot worse'*. Malik is aware of how quickly one can become an outcast. A disillusioned attitude amongst young people is familiar to him.

What? For Malik, the important issues are those that reveal the dynamic, the changing and the shifting of people and communities. This dynamic of societal development and change can be revealed by the comparing of historic-political issues from 'before' and 'now'.

> "M: (…) In politics and economics it's always about politics and it fascinates me, how politics today for example, how it was before and how it is now. And it has changed suddenly. Before, I don't know, I can't say exactly, but I just know, like, that it was different before and it's different now.

Political issues are interesting and meaningful if there is a clear potential for development of social conditions. Malik believes in the potential for people to develop despite a lack of opportunity in early life and also the potential for a shifting in social conditions. An indicator of such a shift taking place in society is the climate of opinion. Malik contextualises the pro-Obama-movement that was also reflected in his class.

> "M: No, everyone was of the same opinion. Everyone was interested, everyone said, 'I think it's great, that Obama won', because just like, even the Germans. (…) Can I say Germans?
> I: Sure.
> M: Ok so the Germans say it too, 'I am pleased, that Obama won', and that a new (.) culture is coming to the States, like the best person won, not always the same, the same race, let's say. It was also fascinating for a lot of people, that a black person moved into the White House, because (..) that's new for everyone. Certainly for everyone, everyone has an opinion about it, and I believe, that the opinion of everyone is positive, well ninety percent, I'll say, is positive."

The collective Obama-euphoria also reinforced Malik's confidence in societal structures[4]. Political education could currently 'benefit' from Malik since his experiences cause him to have a very specific view of the world, in which he must reconcile various perspectives. For him it is about political education of *the world,* and he formulates a normative assertion about people and politics:

> "M: 'One World', I mean, our world is divided into three worlds, the third world, I don't know, if there is a second, but I think, the third world suffers a lot at the bottom and there are a lot of rich people (…) But everyone's out for themselves and don't see any more, what is going on in the outside world. That also makes me very sad. (…) For me that's/ (.) I think, there should be one world, as they say, and not three worlds or two worlds.

For Malik, the third world is not something abstract. For him, the 'first' and 'third' worlds sit right alongside each other. He knows the contrast between rich and poor, and indeed not only in the abstract sense.

Malik finds it unsatisfying when there is no prospect of a solution to a problem. Political issues should always hold the possibility for change, that is to say they should not provoke resignation or helplessness. For Malik, it is about recognising opportunities to take action and gain control of issues.

Regarding the content of politics lessons, Malik proposes universal, normative principles which concern all people alike, which are important to all and are relevant to the living environment of every individual. That means, for example, 'rights', 'freedom of land' and 'freedom of speech'. The themes operate at three levels:

1. *Equality* is conceptualised at the level of social cohesion, from a universal and anthropological perspective. All people have the equal right to experience respect and recognition: *"Equality is to show respect and to deal with people as they are and that does not happen".* 2. On a global political level the theme of peacekeeping is emphasised: *"And peace is like, there's the third world in Africa, and I/ (..) My culture is that, I come from Somalia, and in Somalia it's like, I think, there won't ever be peace there again, in my opinion, (…) and that for me is a very, very important issue."* He wants to know *"(…) how politics looks in other countries (…)"* and politics lessons make it possible to access these global political themes. 3. The topic *Young People and Rights* presents the personal view, or rather individuals' relationship with their environment: *"And Young People and Rights is also an issue for me, because young people's rights today, they are not respected (…) We talked about rights (…) I didn't know, for example, that we have so many rights.* It is about having rights which then open up the opportunity to have influence and take action.

How? Concerning the question of what lessons should be like, Malik's attention focuses mostly on the social aspect of the lesson and the teacher's use of teaching methods. The teacher should make the success of their lesson dependent upon whether the students have learnt something and he should ask them so at the end of the lesson. Lecturing is not the teaching method of choice. Malik explains that what works, or rather does not work, with regards to learning in politics lessons, is dependent upon the teacher's actions:

> "M: (…) there were like loads of discussions, he asked lots of questions, he asked us as well at the end for example, 'Have you learnt something?' and said, 'Tell me the truth, if you didn't understand something, you can come to me', and the other teacher talked, talked, talked, and when the politics and economics lesson finished, "Goodbye and have a good journey home". Yes. (…) I think a good politics and economics teacher, for example, our old one, Mr Ritter, he was really strict, but very disciplined. He had his topic that he wanted to see through, and he did it as well. And he asked lots of questions, he checked our homework. (…) He said, 'you don't have to learn it off by heart', but he said, 'learn the most important things, try to put it into your own words and try to understand the content, what it's actually all about'. (…) Because he put a lot of emphasis on the fact that you should understand it. And you can only understand it, when you are at home and you really look at it and when your brother or sister ask as well, what's that. He also said, ask your parents, if you don't understand it. I think that's a good politics and economics teacher, for example. If he is interested in us. Yeah.

The teacher should ask questions that are on the level of young people, but he should not give them the answers. The teacher should have a lesson plan that they want to implement and keep to. "Disciplined" in this context means structured. The teacher should judge the success of the lesson on whether the students have learnt something and also ask them that question at the end. Malik does not want to be reduced to simply being ticked off on the school register, but wants to be taken seriously as a person. Of significance is that, as an institutional representative in society, the teacher is interested in the individual student with their specific circumstances and that they give this impression when they engage with the students. A good teacher-student relationship is essential for Malik in his evaluation of the teaching of politics[5].

Regarding the atmosphere in school and lessons, Malik perceives a rivalry between groups (in this situation foreign and German students), but in his opinion this could be resolved via the philosophy of the universal understanding of *equal rights as respect.* For Malik, the problem between the groups can be solved through this, as "*everyone knows each other*". He bases this on his understanding of equal rights being defined as mutual respect:

> "M: Yes, I find, both sides should be careful what they say. The foreigners can say what they want and the others not, it's not like that. I think that they should also be careful what they say, what they say about the Germans/ there are a lot of foreigners who say for example, 'Heil Hitler' and joke about that. You shouldn't do that, for example. Because that comes back to the topic of equal rights (…).

However, the problems, or rather the issues, of young people are not deemed as important by the school system, because they would have to *"sacrifice lessons".* Nevertheless, there remains an urgent need for schools or classrooms to act as a forum in which one can speak openly[6]:

> "M: (…) I think basically, there should be an hour, where for example you, an hour during the week, when it should be discussed. (…) So, just an hour should be given up for the

> issues, let's say, of young people and equality, laws and rights. (…).

It is important to Malik that there be a problem-solving approach which also includes the perspective of the 'victim' and he makes specific suggestions for as to how this could be implemented:

> "M: (…) Because there are also plenty, now not only, I don't now mean the young people who are now carrying out offences, I now mean the young people who also get mugged or have their pocket money taken from them, I mean these young people more than any of the others. How they can assert themselves or how they can be helped, those who also carry out acts of violence, how they should be helped. Everyone has an opinion about that, and my opinion is, like, more should be being done about it. (…) I think it should be a subject or a lesson, a social lesson or, where you should talk about it, in my opinion, for young people, for the year five student and for everyone else.

What for? For Malik, politics lessons are about subjectivity. The aim is to produce subjective, significant connections rather than dealing with objectivity. It is an individual's frustration which leads to an interest and identification with civics or political issues. The topics of lessons then become dynamic and alive if they hold initial potential for change, i.e. distinct opportunities for action and self-efficacy, which empowers people and prevents people from feeling disheartened. Civic education should work on the assumption that it is not about,

"[…] *either you can do it or you can't* […]" but rather" […] *in politics and economics classes it is just your way of thinking".* Malik suggests that in politics lessons, it is about, "your reasoning". Thus, politics cannot be viewed in terms of *"either you can do it or you can't",* and therein lies the opportunity of civic education: One can learn to develop one's own way of thinking and articulation. Malik's concept for teaching and learning politics is based on enabling students to have their own point of view and be able to articulate it. It is about being competent to use politics to develop one's own way of thinking. Malik sees topics in lessons as meaningful and worthwhile if they hold the opportunity of personal development.

Lessons for Malik are a liberating experience: One's own personal troubles are no longer a barrier to learning because there is the possibility within the lesson to work through difficult political phenomena, while speaking freely, at a distance and in abstract from one's difficult personal circumstances. Such issues, which hold equal relevance for all, can be overcome in this way. One is only able to consider political phenomena freely and clearly once it is made possible to remove oneself from it.

Malik is representative here of many young people in a similar situation and indicates that didactic theorists can learn something from their target audience when they ask the didactical questions of 'What?' (content), 'How?' (method) and 'Why?/'What for?' (aims) in relation to teaching civic education. Furthermore, it is clear that the syllabus cannot be derived from social sciences. Instead, the content is justified by its relevance to subjectivity (Autorengruppe Fachdidaktik 2015, p. 61). In this context Bransford et al. for example use the term *learner centered education* in contrast to an education that is *knowledge centered*. (Bransford et al. 2004, p. 133) The theories and ideas of young people already hold the potential to provoke rich discussion. What is now of interest is the further potential for 'the expertise and credibility of subjective accounts' (ibid., p. 63) to be utilised and how education can contribute to this.

4 Why can civic education theorists learn from young students?

Working from the assumption that young people redevelop the way they relate to the world and themselves during adolescence (King and Koller 2009, p. 9), adolescence provides the opportunity to understand the learning process within which new ideas form. Young people experiment with their individual creative potential and develop their own moral, political and religious orientations. It is about the development of one's perception of oneself in terms of personality, gender and social identity (Koller 2006, p. 198f.). Vera King and Hans-Christoph Koller (2009) conceptualise these transformative learning processes as 'Adolescence as a psychosocial opportunity'. Their concept describes a construct of psychological development which highlights a relationship with pre-existing options in society.

This is an ongoing theoretical discusstion because it looks at the developmental potential of young people from different backgrounds within the perspective of societal change (Weike 2004, p. 87). So, according to King and Koller (2009, p. 12)[7] immigration and adolescence, 'demands a double transformation', as migration- and adolescence-specific challenges overlap and reciprocally influence each other. In respect of both are the issues of moving away from one thing and building something new. Even if the young person themselves did not migrate, how their parents dealt with their migration impacts on the adolescent development of their children and the potential changes associated with it.

This raises the question of how, or using which strategies, young people process or deal with their experiences, and what resources they actually have available to them for this learning process with regards to the transformation of their relationship to themselves and the world around them (Koller 2006, p. 200f.). School, and the learning processes that are initiated or take place in school, play a central role in this (alongside the social and cultural capital of the parents). Schools can therefore enable young people 'with a migration background' to take opportunities for development. So much more can then be learnt via education than the mere acquisition of knowledge and social standing. Thus, education processes distinguish themselves from learning processes in that not just new information is taken in and acquired, but a change in the manner in which processes of information take place. Education processes

can therefore be understood as enhancing or transformative learning processes during which exposure to knowledge is changed in fundamental ways and *new* personal and world perspectives emerge (ibid., p. 197).

At a social level, pedagogical interactions in school are particularly meaningful and have the potential to enhance the student experience. The varying (migration) backgrounds of students can prove to be stimulating in class. However, this will only be true if there is an understanding that difference amongst students in not openly acknowledged, thereby 'leaving the definitions of difference undefined in order to facilitate an open and fair discussion' (Kling, 2009, p. 43). Adolescence with a migration background is understood as 'a process of transformation and rebuilding' in which the 'biography of migration is regarded as 'a model of societal transformation' […]' (ibid., p. 43) and is a factor in the educational process. This needs to be tied in with the resources and abilities that, 'are linked in with the processes of defining and broadening one's relationship with oneself and the world that are associated with the education process for students with a migration background (ibid., p. 44).

Young people with a migration background build their language, culture, religion, social style and politics through a process of transformation. They cannot simply relate to existing or pre-established examples. It is for this very reason that civic educational theorists can learn something from such students about the content of civic education. Their perspective of societal, political and educational settings facilitates a different perspective for didactics of civic education as well.

As to which direction such a change of perspective should take, I wish to move away from the individual circumstances of the young people who were studied and present this using the overall findings of my research project. In accordance with constant comparison – an analysis strategy of Grounded Theory Methodology – it is about extracting common themes in order to facilitate the analysis of phenomena relevant to multiple cases (see Sutterluety, 2003, p. 18).

5 Overview of the Empirical Results

The overall results show that there are circumstances common to all cases where the potential significance of civic education lessons for students is inhibited:

Regarding the content of civic education, the consensus from all the young people appears to be for a pathway to exist for developing one's own political interests, free from influence, and that topics from all levels of politics are identified. The young people say that these topics should not, however, be formalised into the syllabus. As soon as a connection to the syllabus is made it 'narrows' everything and the themes become restricted and limited. Typical civic education topics (and civic education in general) become associated with abstract, removed, standard definitions and major presumptions. Political topics seem to be steered in a specific direction, towards over-complicated, cumbersome statements that are difficult to define, and the scope for the topic is missed. And so the political quickly becomes the powerful and secret knowledge of, for example, the establishment or politicians, no longer accessible to all. This then evokes a sort of reverence amongst the young people and the assumption that the subject was not developed with them in mind. Civic education lessons are then no place to be nor to become brave. (see Gessner 2014, p. 309f.)

There is uncertainty surrounding the question of the norms of correct and incorrect political knowledge. Political understanding based on the static structure of political institutions is correlated with the day to day business of politics. Civic education should free itself from the idea of treating current affairs (news) as concrete and qualifiable. A deeper dissection of political phenomena is not possible if these topics are not developed and are indeterminately equated to everyday activities. (ibid., p. 308)

Under the weight of expectation, political knowledge is highly functionalised, or acquired instrumentally (to succeed, for example, in tests at interviews or in professional life). This inhibits the occurrence of advanced political learning and thinking free of context. Further, it also prevents democracy and participation or, in other words, political freedom. In this context, it becomes necessary to rethink what counts as a 'correct' answer and indeed to decide in general how teaching and learning methods for civic education are conceptualised in terms of problem solving. The above supports, approves and cements a passive learning mindset. (ibid., p. 308f.)

The narrow, Germany-centric orientation of civic education, and its reinforcing of the way of thinking of the nation state, impedes multiple perspectives. Certain unconventional themes which do not conform to the majority structure are not set as topics. The message is as follows: The only important topics are those laid out in the syllabus. (ibid., p. 305f.)

Regarding perception and evaluation of the communal nature of civic education lessons, it seems that students and teachers brought together as a collective group has an impact on learning conditions. It is problematic if the teacher establishes a mode of teaching which aims to evaluate political norms and processes simply based on their outcomes. A particular problem is if the teacher does not reflect upon his/her teaching methods and his/her own role within the lesson. This factor holds particular weight because the young people attach such a significant (normative) role to the teacher (for example as a representative of society and/or of a state institution and bearer of meaningful knowledge) and are in many respects steered by the teacher (who is the person they must relate to). The classmates and the atmosphere in the classroom serve as a third factor, or as a second teacher. Constraints in the civic education classroom's atmosphere serve to inhibit learning. The young people are particularly dependent upon the perspectives of their classmates to enable them to recognise political topics in lessons, to know what and how they themselves think and what their own position is. The communality of the

situation holds particular significance because through interaction and communication with other people, one can become certain of one's own perspective (and one's identity) and this goes way beyond reproduction of static learning materials. (ibid., p. 310f.)

6 Teaching Civic Education in a migrating Global Community

"[…] [G]lobalisation has led to increased migration and consequent demographic changes. In urban areas in particular, school populations are characterised by increased cultural diversity and by the presence of refugees and asylum seekers." (Osler and Starkey 2003, p. 245) In relation to migration-related heterogeneity[8] and civic education, Sabine Mannitz (2009) focuses on emancipatory competencies. Civic education spans more than 'explaining the shaping of states and society (…)' (ibid., p. 157f.). Concepts of society rooted in nationalism become diluted through the process of transnationalisation. For civic education in schools this means presenting existing values and norms without the suggestion that they are substitutable. They must simultaneously factor in the blurring of state borders and ethnicity which have become conditions of social and political action (see ibid.). Civic education is tasked with preparing all students for participation in society. The challenge that educational/didactic theorists perceive themselves to be facing is to equip young people to deal with uncertainty and conflict (see. ibid., p. 168). In this respect, phenomena of migration pose an opportunity. It can give confidence within the school environment to young people of a migration background with the identity conflict that they face in a multicultural world. Furthermore, they can make use of the everyday normality of a multinational, multi-religious, diverse society in a number of ways (see. ibid., p.169).

Perhaps young people with a migration background are currently bringing schools and didactics back to their original task – away from efficiency and user-orientation – to attend to pedagogy and education in schools, returning to the fundamentals of composition of civic education. Currently, civic education as a school subject has an opportunity to develop politics or the political as a distinct way of thinking when interacting with others, in debating scientific discourses, and to try out and practice the articulation of this way of thinking. It is about freeing up political thinking again, where students bring themselves into the lesson - as individuals and their relationship with the world. The point is to allow students to have their say in lessons, to build up their views and ways of thinking via the learning and education process. The topic of the lesson becomes meaningful when it is used to achieve an exchange with others. This means being able to look at a situation, a thing or a political or societal phenomenon differently, from another perspective, in order to modify or develop one's own. Through this, those taking part (students *and* teachers) in interactions, relationships, actions and discourses are able to learn something. It is therefore about lessons in which students have a space in which they can gain substantially from being able to see the connection between their own knowledge, thoughts, actions and experience. That is also empowering. The students become stakeholders and can determine what counts as political, for themselves. It is only through this method of civic education that a process of individual and societal transformation can develop.

For construction of teaching theory, teaching civics must not be reduced to a quasi-technological method. It calls for lesson plans within which students are empowered to develop, pursue and share their own individual avenue of thinking. Only in situations where one interacts and communicates with others is it possible to assure oneself and others of one's viewpoint. This goes way beyond the reproduction of state learning materials. It is about approaching political and social issues that are related to one's own personality and one's own interests and perceptions in relation to the society in which one lives. The question then is how those in political learning and civic education can be enabled to find something *good* in what they think and do that they could potentially bring forward. Politics therefore stands for the dynamic process of negotiation between people. Civic education can provide such a 'space in between' in the global (migrating) community in which people can develop their attitudes, beliefs and ideas. (see also Starkey 2008: Diversity and citizenship in the curriculum)

7 Prospects

The discussion of the findings should have made clear that attention should be turned towards student's environment and individual needs to discover more about how they learn and educate themselves politically. Civic education must be all about having the young people in mind, in order to enable them to be able to cope with the complexity of social realities.

And in the context of migration, it is about not reducing civic education to the question of whether migration-determined difference should be either emphasised or ignored. It must be much more about the young people themselves as a starting point and varying the political teaching and learning offers according to specific individual needs. It is about people (learner-focused), subject-orientated civic education in schools, which above all is inductive with concepts forged by students themselves.

Individual learning requirements include consideration of heterogeneity, and it is clear that monocausal (if-then-teaching instructions) learning and teaching designs do not sufficient justice to the multi-dimensional interdependencies which teaching and learning of politics entail. There is currently an ever-increasing focus of school education on the data from evidence-based research. In this context, the findings of qualitative research designs with students demonstrate that simple assumptions about cause and effect between personal and learning variables in civic education processes are likely to be flawed. One perspective to explore would be the concept or analysis of adolescence in an increasingly complex

heterogeneous global learning community within political and social contexts, e.g. power, scarcity, welfare, systems, rights, the general public, (see Sander 2013, p. 95 et seq.), and how this is revealed in the social situation of a lesson, i.e. in discussions and interactions in class. Interdisciplinary and transdisciplinary thinking are necessary for such research, bringing together the perspectives of political, educational and developmental sciences, psychological, sociological and civic education theory.

And with regards to a professionalised treatment of teaching politics, the training needs to be relevant to competences in reflection, analysis and action (see Schelle 2005), which corresponds with a didactical and pedagogical handling of heterogeneity. These must be sensitive to the cultural *and* social characteristics of the young students.

Such inductive politics didactics inhibits the extent to which heterogeneity and difference can be set independent from the learners. Regarding heterogeneity determined by migration, there are theoretical conceptual debates about learning and teaching requirements as well as a strong emphasis on relating these to subjective perspectives. A reflective approach is required in order to successfully deal with the demand of heterogeneity in the complex learning and educational requirements of young students. One aspect of heterogeneity is migration-determined difference which also influences future societal developments. Civic education (lessons) in school themselves hold the potential to facilitate freer, more individual approaches to issues and thereby allow forms of learning to come into question which specifically leave space for individual *and* societal issues.

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Endnotes

[1] According to the definition of the Federal Statistical Office, individuals with a migration background include the foreign population, all migrants regardless of nationality, those born in Germany of parents who have become naturalised, those born in Germany with German citizenship and whose migration background is derived from the migration status of one or both parents, and, since 2000, children with German and foreign citizenship who were born in Germany of foreign parents (Statistisches Bundesamt 2011, p. 380).The description 'with migration background' as an analytical category is to be understood as provisional in this text. Regarding the problem of the description 'with migration background'. (see, e.g. Diefenbach 2008, p.19 et seq.; Hamburger 2009, p. 41 and Nohl 2010, p. 221)

[2] There are actually a number of empirical qualitative studies about socialisation and the living enivironment of young people from migratory families, which cover societal, democratic and political understanding, the results of which are meaningful for civic education. Civic education as a subject in schools is not however, the focus oft he analysis. This is certainly surprising, since civic education is currently a place where all young people learn about international politics as well as experience the process of learning politics, and indeed in a learning group in which there is presumably a wider heterogeneous mix that the immediate social surroundings of family and peers.

[3] In order to avoid a superficial examination of the cases, I elected to present just one case in detail. All further case analysis can be found in Gessner (2014), p. 128 et seq.

[4] Also interesting in this sequence of text is that Malik asks the question, "Can I say 'Germans'?" It seems that he assumes that the identification of a group by nationality is negative and is followed with deprecation. For him, categorising by nationality is linked to evaluation.

[5] Hartmut Rosa (2016) indicates in this context that in the current debate on education, the role of the teacher has been reduced to the function of a moderator. The significance of the teacher, as the initial tuning fork, that is to say the one to provide inspiration and get things going (see ibid., p. 414) is underestimated.

[6] The relationship between students is presumably more significant than that with their teacher. In both relationships, however, not only the feeling of rejection but, without doubt just as much, the impact of not being taken seriously or recognised at all, and therefore not feeling that one is even there, that has disastrous consequences on students' and for the potential to blossom and unfold axes of resonance. (see Rosa, p. 405).

[7] Christine Baer (2016) discusses the idea that migration and trauma as a holds three demands: adolescence, migration and trauma. (see Bär 2016).

[8] Of significance is that, in terms of the usages of the concept heterogeneity, there are four dimensions to be considered: 1. Difference holds no hierarchical superiority or subordnination and, rather than being seen as problematic, is viewed with interest, to be utilitsed and to gain academic insight. 2. Heterogeneity emphasises complexity, both interpersonal and inter-collective. It thereby reveals the complexities of individuals and groups. 3. Heterogeneity assumes the possible variability (not fixedness) of groups and people and is understood as a process, dynamic and self-developed. 4. Heterogeneity is not about naïve empirical identification but is open to the undefined, unknown, and the individual logic of people, social groupings. (see. Prengel 2014, p. 51f).

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Teaching About the « Economic Crisis » Today. The Example of French « Economic and Social Sciences »

- Today the subject contents about the current crisis are inspired by standard economics.
- It cannot be justified by the state of academic economic knowledge.
- It is a lexicon effect that explains the predominance of standard economics keywords.
- That makes it difficult to explain the current crisis, because of theoretical confusion and limits.

Purpose: In France at the high school the subject matter "Sciences Économiques et Sociales" (economic and social sciences) deals with the present economic crisis. We study the ways it is taught about: words, and explanatory patterns.
Design/methodology/approach: We use a specific approach, that we call "semantic holism", conceiving subject contents as the product of a dual process of didactization and of axiologization of reference knowledge. That implies relating these contents to the social value system and, especially, to the lexicon, set of keywords through which people must think and talk at some point. The analysis starts from the examination of economic and social sciences syllabuses and teaching resources, and leads us to highlight the predominance of the references to standard economics, but this predominance cannot be justified by the state of scientific knowledge.
Findings: We show on the contrary a lexicon effect: the subject key notions have been selected in accordance to the lexicon keywords. Therefore the proposed contents seem far from the objective to understanding the major issues at stake today.
Research limitations/implications: Then further researches must focus on the ways of teaching about the crisis in spite of the present lexicon.

Keywords:
Economics, didactics, crisis, subject matter contents, cultural dynamics

1 Introduction

Considering the present economic and social situation, especially in Europe, people find obvious to refer to an economic crisis. It is the subject of a good many debates concerning both ideas and policies. It also leads to study how the notion of economic crisis is taught.

Studying such a situation at the high school and according to the syllabus, it would then involve the recourse to "*notions, tools and ways of thinking which are peculiar to the concerned subject matter*", economics to be specific. It is confirmed by examining the syllabus of the French subject called "*Sciences Économiques et Sociales*" (SES, which means "*economic and social sciences*") for the senior year of the secondary education: "*economic crisis*" is on the list of the notions to be taught.

But in which words is it taught? Especially, which are the explanatory patterns supposed to be presented?

Comparing the ways the so-called economic crisis is taught today in France and Germany, Kortendiek and Van Treeck (2015) conclude that in France the origins of this crisis are explained exclusively in a Keynesian way. Beyond such a conclusion, we want to explain the orientation of the teaching and especially the selection of SES contents.

Let us bring forward an analysis of the choices of contents by connecting them with the dynamics both socioeconomic and cultural of our society, which leads us to refer these contents to a specific lexicon.

So we can explain both the preservation of the hegemony of standard economics and the place of notions which have become keywords of the present lexicon, reason why the contents in SES classes have been chosen for the crisis study.

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A specific approach, the semantic holism*

Subject matter contents can be conceived as the product of a dual process of didactization and of axiologization of reference knowledge, in particular scientific (Dévelay, 1995). Speaking of axiologization of contents means that the latter are linked with the value system at work in the studied society. In our case, SES show what the French society wants young people to learn about itself.
It is this axiological side of the choice of contents that we must analyse.
In order to do this, let us analyse the contents as a "*mark of the sense*" (Solans, 2005), by referring them to a determined lexicon, the one of the capitalism, at a certain point of its trajectory.

Semantic holism and lexicon
Our theoretical approach, that we call « *semantic holism* », is indeed part of a current of thought – let us quote Pierce, Wittgenstein, Descombes – which makes a body of signs the spirit that drives human beings. Without it, these beings would not know how to act and, consequently, could not be conceived as "*agents*", unlike the standard economic approach. This body of signs that gives meaning is a system, or a network, of words, this is the reason why we call our approach a *semantic holism* : this approach is holistic since we attribute the origin of human behaviours to this whole body, and it is a semantic holism since it confers to a body of words, that is to say a body of meanings, the determining place in the analysis. This body of words is called "*lexicon*". Centered on a value, proper to each social form, it consists of "*registers*", which say what to do and how to do it right. This is the definition of morals and, referring to a value system, the definition of culture.
Where does this lexicon come from? It comes from the living conditions of the concerned human beings : living in a hierarchical social form, that is to say an ordered set of social places, occupied in the field of production and in the field of reproduction (of the human species), they give value to the actions performed by those who occupy the dominant place (Solans, 2005).

The lexicon of comfort gives meaning to life in a capitalist society
Every social form gives thus birth to a body of words, a lexicon, centered on a value. As for capitalism, this central value is comfort, as several works (Baudrillard, 1970, Goubert, 1988, Le Goff, 1994) have shown it. That means that we give value to production and use of matter, and consequently the accumulation of "*goods*", the latter word being an enlightening example of the idea of lexicon : what is "*good*" materializes, in our minds, through "*goods*".
Centered around the value "*comfort*", how are built the lexicon and its registers ? Capitalism, as a hierarchical social form, involves a social "*segregation*", meaning that a class captures the major part of the value, by accumulating the major part of goods, and seeks to exclude the dominated class from the access to value and gestures which distinguish it. This value turns out to be at the same time what unites the human beings and what divides them, at the risk of making it impossible to live together : how can those who are excluded from what is worth living agree to what makes them despicable in their own eyes ? Moreover producing goods implies work, that we conceive as all the activities of production that the members of the dominant class refuse to carry out. Those who must carry out the work are constrained to a devaluing activity, and above all to surrender a share of the work product to the dominant class : it is the definition of exploitation.
Therefore, only the lexicon words can make segregation and exploitation bearable, by speaking about the actions, especially working, in such a way that all these actions become admirable instead of being despicable. And the lexicon of comfort, which gives meaning to life in a capitalist society, then consists of two registers, liberty and equality.

Liberty and equality are the lexicon of comfort's keywords
Why these words, liberty and equality ? In capitalism, the value comfort orders to produce, then to consume, goods. Let us specify that in this social form, which is hierarchical, the dominant place values comfort insofar as this place is occupied by those we call capitalists, regardless of the transformations in their activities throughout the trajectory of capitalism. They are those who are at the same time empowered to mobilize the labour force of other people, in the field of production, and empowered to participate in reproduction. This combination leads these beings to value the material dimension of life, the comfort, but at the same time it is a problem. Producing is indeed an activity led by the will to master the world, to be specific the matter, and driven by this will every being seeks to get out of any constraint, aiming above all at independence, in other words liberty. But the interest in reproduction leads to consider essential the collective life (living together) : the problem then is to be independent while wishing the presence of other people. And the solution consists in combining liberty – I act without constraint – and equality – I respect others by submitting myself to their judgment. Production is the field where is measured the effect of this double command : the one who is empowered to mobilize the labour force starts by deciding to produce according to his wishes, proving at the same time his know-how and his independence. But he then submits himself to others' judgment: by consuming his products the collectivity validates his activity (it is possible to talk of postvalidation, by the "*market*"). And the registers based on these keywords, liberty and equality, inform those who have to work about the right way to behave in the production area. Their freedom makes them able to "*undertake*", in such a case to choose which "*know-how*" they must learn before taking part in working life. They then submit themselves to the judgment of others, their equals, who validate (or not) their know-how by hiring them and participating to production by consuming the product.
The registers put thus people to work, making possible what seemed a priori impossible. By entering into contracts those who work feel admirable as well. Segregation is replaced in the minds by a simple grading depending on the degree of access to what is valued. As to exploitation, which is essentially a social domination relationship, it disappears under the guise of an exchange relationship.
Lexicon registers are finally the embodiment of collective experience : it is through them every being "*builds his experience since it is irreducibly individual (that is me speaking) and collective (I speak with the words of the tribe, so I am spoken by them as well).*" (Lecercle, 2001, p.506, about Raymond Williams' work).

Dynamics of capitalism and changes in lexicon
Our approach then leads to find how this lexicon and its registers affect the ways of knowing, and how all that is evolving throughout the trajectory of capitalism. The latter, indeed, is put in motion by class conflicts around the value at stake, especially conflicts about labour product distribution, and therefore evolves, and the lexicon as well, what changes in return human beings behaviours.
For several centuries has emerged a form of "*good knowledge*", called "*science*", and to SES teaching, in particular, is assigned as reference the "*scholar knowledge*" originating from "*social sciences*". However, without denying to them any autonomy from lexicon, we assume that they are not independent from it for all that, and the purpose of History of Economic Thought, in particular, is to analyse this complex relationship. By analyzing SES syllabuses and their evolution we intend to help in it : why does, today for instance, some theoretical model establish itself as "*economics*", standard model of the "*economist*", even if other theoretical approaches have not been struck down in any way ?
We assert, as for lexicon, that the importance of every register varies according to the times, throughout the trajectory of capitalism. Even if being the reference at a point of history, this set of words is subject to competition from other discourses about the world, as soon as it cannot keep any longer its promises by justifying the place every human being holds and the behaviours he adopts.

The relevance of lexicon effects for didactictal analysis
Analysing subject contents implies finally to connect them to the standard way of thinking and the corresponding lexicon, at a moment given by the dynamics of capitalism, even if it means taking competing words into account. Indeed the dynamics of capitalism, especially under the effect of antagonisms related to the collective labour product sharing out, changes the lexicon and thus the common mentality, by rearranging the registers particularly.
We also set out to enrich the study of didactical transposition from this scholar knowledge, by looking for "*lexicon effects*" on the knowledge to teach, by examining syllabuses and teaching materials. We call "*lexicon effect*" a process by which the lexicon integrates a word or an expression. Within the combined dynamics of capitalist relationships and value systems, this word, initially a concept, is taken away and then separated from its theoretical matrix – abandoning any reference, shifting in meaning – so far as it becomes the only way of speaking. This process relegates all the other ways of speaking to the unspeakable and thus the inaudible. Referring to lexicon effect then leads to discuss about didactical transposition. As Beitone and al. (1995, pp. 43-44) wrote :
"*Didactical activity presumes, to some extent, a reification of concepts.*" Yet it makes possible a "*faint of meaning*" (Joshua and Dupin, 1993, p. 253), which will act as a barrier to learning. Concepts only get meaning within what we call a "*theoretical matrix*", that is to say a model which generates, specifically, a determined significance. Yet didactisation may lead to empoverish a concept, depending on how it is defined. Defining "*capital*", for instance, by keeping only what seems to be shared by the various conceptions - "*capital*" means "*resources*" -, leads to lose meaning : how can therefore students distinguish the meaning defined by the Marxist approach, especially, from the one defined by the neo-classical model, established as a standard?
In addition, our approach can enlighten the study of the link between scholar knowledge, school knowledge and social knowledge (Legardez, 2004), by integrating the inputs of works on social representations, which originate especially in lexicon.

* A short glossary is available, if necessary, at the end of this text.

2 The period marks subject contents

Analyses of socioeconomic dynamics (Canry, 2005, Solans, 2008) show us that the interplay of the behaviour of wage-earners and capital owners led capitalism from one stage to another, on its trajectory, and thus made the lexicon change. Whereas previously the position of strength of wage-earners had made first the register of equality, we went to a stage where the where the register of freedom took this place. For about thirty years mentality has been changing then, and lexicon as well.

The renewal of the lexicon appears in some keywords, the first of which is "*market*". Human beings imagine themselves as a society of individuals connected by markets – contracts –, and it marks subject contents, by lexicon effects.

To start with, let us look at the SES syllabus, and also at textbooks and online courses, about the present crisis.
At first, let us recall the contents of the syllabus. We must specify that in France it is the State's prerogative to define the subject contents: syllabuses are official texts. The SES syllabus, today, consists of a list of topics and/or issues, and of a list of notions to teach in order to treat them. Additional instructions – "*Indications Complémentaires*", in French – circumscribe the study, in order to avoid developments considered as unnecessary at this level of teaching, and guide the teaching as well. From its publication the syllabus is compulsory for the educational institution: teachers, first of all, but also organizations which produce teaching materials, such as publishing houses, private entities which share the textbook market.

These additional instructions seem to have acquired, on the occasion of the development of present syllabuses, a significant prescribing power. In the first subpart of the part entitled "*economics*", opening the syllabus under the title "*growth, fluctuations and crises*", we find as second issue: "*How to explain the growth instability?*". Five notions have to be taught: "*economic fluctuations*", "*economic crisis*", "*disinflation*", "*depression*", "*deflation*". In these additional instructions, let us note:

"*Observing economic fluctuations will allow to underline the growth variability and the existence of periods of crisis. Main ideas of the principal explanatory patterns regarding fluctuations will be presented (supply and demand shocks, credit cycle), paying particular attention to the relations with aggregate demand*.

Then how do textbooks and online courses set out the crisis?

Our analysis has concerned the contents proposed by six textbooks, a reference document published by the Ministry of National Education and another one provided by a business association, and nine online courses provided by teachers. Analyzing textbooks according to our approach implies to examine:

1) the glossary that presents, at the end of each book, the notions which must be taught ;
2) the definitions given in the body of the chapters under review, if need be, for they may differ;
3) the theoretical references in the body of the chapters under review, distinguishing between those to be only found in internal developments and those which are summarized.

We do the same thing as for online courses review, with the exception of point 1, in so far as these courses do not usually offer final glossary.

In order to complete this information, we shall use the results of two investigations we have led in 2016 about SES teaching. The first one consisted of a questionnaire sent to SES teachers mailing lists. The questionnaire contained 24 questions – 16 closed questions among which 7 were multiple choice, 3 numeric and 4 open-response - and each interviewee entered his responses on line. We got 152 responses. The second investigation, more qualitative, was conducted to gather the teachers' opinions and to verify the assumptions we had made. It took the form of semi-structured interviews, which lasted from one to two hours, with 9 SES teachers.

Now let us show that their way of presenting the crisis is characterized by the use of the notions and

explanatory patterns provided by standard economics (Ponsot & Rocca, 2013).

Among seventeen teaching materials, ten present the pattern of standard economics, unrestricted, four introduce a slight difference, two a bit more, and one leaves the door open to a pluralistic presentation.

2.1 The great majority of examined materials is inspired by the standard economics

Let us start by examining the definition of the notion of crisis. For half of the materials reviewed it is a turning point in the economic cycle, for the other ones a turning point of "*economic activity*", but in any case, the crisis being followed either by a recession or depression according to the strict meaning of the notion or by a recovery in a broader meaning, that is the idea of integrating the crisis within a cycle. As the reality of cycles is apparently unquestioned, it goes back to the explanation of cycles themselves. And in this sense three of the materials are already helping:

> "one by specifying that crisis means "more generally: a disruption of the equilibrium between supply and demand for goods and services, depressing economic activity;

the two others differentiating short-term and long-term, either to define the crisis as a "*disturbance*" affecting long-term growth, or to distinguish between "*cyclical crisis*", as a "*turning point in the cycle*", and "*long, structural crisis*", "*which shows the necessity of transformations of production organization*".

Then, in accordance with the additional instructions, the notion of shock is added to the notions which must be known. It is sometimes clarified as an "*exogenous shock*", but the definitions leave no room for doubt about this nature, which is therefore implicit. These definitions are most often quite vague about the nature of the so-called shocks, mentioning "*events*", "*variations*", "*changes*", "*impulsions*", even "*factors*"; only two of them specify their "*unexpected*" or "*unforeseen*" nature. But the main thing appears in the definition mentioned above about "*exogenous*" shocks: "*impulsion from outside the economic sphere which have significant effects on economy and outside of government control.*"

Always in accordance with the additional instructions, most of the materials reviewed present the notion of "*credit cycle*". Most often this notion is "simply" defined: access to credit is easier during the phase of expansion, and conversely in a recession, amplifying fluctuations. Even so, let us retain the definition given by the Ministry's document:

> "It helps to explain the endogenous nature of growth instability. During a period of economic expansion, especially in a healthy economic situation (low rate of interest, low inflation), the "paradox of tranquillity" (H.Minsky) acts.

Then the examination of all these materials reveals the predominance of an explanatory pattern of the present crisis which combines exogenous shocks and credit cycle, on the understanding that shocks may cover all kinds of "*variations*" and credit cycle can easily be identified by observing monetary and financial events previously to the present crisis and its aftermath as well.

But features identified in some presentations, even though a minority, allow to start a questioning.

2.2 Some materials deviate from this presentation

Four of these presentations have an incidental but interesting difference.

So one of the textbooks mentions, by concluding the definition of shocks, that "*some analyses refute this notion of exogenous shock, and attribute fluctuations to the structures of the market economy, they dispute the autobalancing nature of which.*" Yet the chapter summary does not retain this objection: why does it not retain this refutation among the contents students must learn, and even less explain it?

Similarly, the resource sheet published by the Ministry concludes the part devoted to the explanations of fluctuations by indicating that Jacques Rueff's argument, claiming that thanks to deflation economy could get back to health, was "*actively contested*" by Keynes, "*who stresses that only the discretionary intervention by the state can cause a recovery of economic activity.*". But this remark appears as reduced to the role of transition towards the next part, devoted to the role of public authorities against economic fluctuations and, restricted to this remark, Keynes' "*contention*" is not considered as an alternative explanation. Why?

Finally, another resource sheet includes a document which asserts, about the role of credit:

> "Boom phases are inevitably accompanied by a rise in debt. The American economist Hyman Minsky sees here the expression of a "paradox of tranquillity". It is indeed from the boom period that financial instability originates (…) Financial instability stems from capitalist economies themselves."

Therefore, if teaching profits from this opportunity, there is room for a questioning, about the "*inevitable*" nature of the rise in debt, even the inherent character of this "*financial instability*" in "*capitalist economies*" : how can it be explained, especially by Minsky, and is that corroborated by historical observations? However the whole sheet, and especially the document from which this quotation comes, show no resource for such a questioning.

Some materials offer other references

The examination of two others materials enables to broaden this set of questions. In fact, one of the online courses contains, at the end of the part explaining fluctuations, a document entitled "*Inequalities responsible for the crisis*", where the author states the following point:

> "The growing household debt and their low savings rate, especially in the United States, is, actually, the counterpart

to growing inequalities which happened at the expense of most of them.

The students, asked to try to find how the author justifies the responsibility of inequalities for the crisis, will refer to this phrase. How to go further on, since this document was given "*to deepen*" but is put at the end of the part which explains fluctuations by shocks? What new theoretical tools would allow students to deepen their knowledge, by notably introducing a new factor for this debt so far presented as an "*excess*", "*inevitable*" in boom period?

The question arises again, reviewing a textbook that distinguishes itself by a comparative pluralism of its theoretical references and explanatory patterns.

At first, theoretical references expand to classical economists, briefly alluding to Marx in a document, and regulationists as well, together with Keynes, Minsky, Fisher and Schumpeter most often found.

Explanatory patterns are different too. In relation to the above theoretical references, we especially find the interplay of income distribution between social classes - regarding the nineteenth century crises - and contemporary changes in production from the regulationist point of view. And it is only after presenting the idea of credit cycle, on one hand, and the interplay of innovations according to Schumpeter, on the other hand, that appears the explanation in terms of shocks. But this is worth noting that the summary of the chapter considerably reduces the range of explanations, by neglecting the interplay of income distribution and changes in production. However, there is still an opposition between explanations in terms of endogenous shocks - "*abuse of credit*", interplay of innovations according to Schumpeter, variations of investment and demand according to Keynes – and those in terms of exogenous shocks, presented as "*current liberal interpretations*".

If we add that among the different explanations submitted only those in terms of exogenous shocks are the subject of a "*guided work*" in this textbook, we are brought to a last question: in the selection made among contents for guided works and summary, would it be the sake of return to syllabus additional instructions, in prospect of final assessment?

As to the results of the examination of teaching resources we shall conclude by presenting the highlights of a last online course. The latter shares the plurality of its explanations and theoretical references with the textbook just mentioned above, and in the summary an apparent opposition can be found between explanations in exogenous terms and others in endogenous terms, the last ones including the work of inequalities, besides the interplay of financial markets and innovations.

Let us sum up the results just presented, before gathering the issues.

The examined resources fall into two categories:

- One, predominant, offers a syncretic presentation implicitly focused on the standard pattern, in terms of exogenous shocks, around which complementary explanations are added – monetary and financial phenomena, dynamics of investment and interplay of innovations – which have been separated from their theoretical matrix. As a result, these phenomena or processes are reduced to more or less lasting disruptions of the market system equilibrium.
- The other gathers presentations that diverge more or less from the former, from an isolated interference which disappears in the summary up to the offer of a plurality of explanations and theoretical references.

By its syncretism, the first category takes together what is originally a set of explanations which should be discriminated, in order to be confronted to each other. Only if separated from their theoretical matrix, explanations which suggest endogenous origins, diverging in this way from the neoclassical approach of a self-regulating market economy, seem to be consistent with the explanatory pattern of standard economics. But the latter can be subject to questions:

- How is the "economic sphere" defined, so that according to this pattern nothing endogenous may cause its crisis?
- How is the relationship between the "financial sphere" - or "monetary and financial activities" - and the so-called "economic sphere" conceived?

But the second category gathers resources the presentation of which diverges from the syncretism of the prevailing presentation. Without neglecting the didactic questions already put forward, we are led to analyse this state of subject contents as regards the present crisis: why such diversity, dominated by a presentation inspired by standard economics, all the more strongly that it is embodied by syllabus notions and additional instructions? This questioning is reinforced by the examination of an old textbook. The latter dealing with an old syllabus and, above all, studying another crisis, the comparison offers an interest and limitations as well. Its interest lies in the common description as a crisis, which in particular allows to wonder why the explanatory patterns presented then are no longer available. But we also need to mention the limitations of this comparison, therefore that the current crisis differs from that of the 1970s in its financial triggering. Then it allows some authors to disqualify the explanations of the old textbook (1981): "*the object*" has changed. But in return we can question the current contents. How does the standard pattern reflect the object "*current crisis*", in its dynamics, including the financial aspects, better than patterns such as those which have been excluded, while some of them, if not all of them, have included these aspects as well?

Now the search is on what underlies the selection of contents.

3 SES teach about the crisis according present day lexicon

Selecting the "*main explanatory patterns*", strongly suggested by additional instructions, leads mainly, as we have just showed it, to focus the presentation of the crisis on the explanation of the standard economics, based on neoclassical economics, adding to it occasionnally some elements borrowed from other approaches after separating them from their theoretical matrix.

It reveals what we call lexicon effects.

Then let us look at the theoretical knowledge in economics, firstly, in order to clarify the theoretical references of the SES contents. We shall be able afterwards to connect these contents to the lexicon at work today.

3.1 Which theories do these contents refer to?

First of all these presentations question about what standard economics exactly refers to, when speaking of "*economy*":

- How are the elements characterized as "shocks" "outside economy"?
- In particular, are monetary and financial activities "outside economy", called "real economy", so that their dynamics is autonomous?

Secondly we must explain why "*inequalities*", that some textbooks or courses mention in their presentation, do not fit into the selected explanatory patterns.

3.1.1 A simplistic definition

If academic language is allowed to deviate from the common meaning when using concepts, nevertheless we can work on the assumption that a "*shock*" is a brutal, unforeseeable event, coming from outside, as some textbooks or other reviewed resources clarify it. And no one will dispute that an earthquake is a good example, likely to affect the economy of a country or a group of countries, if "*economy*" means this field of social activities related to material supply.

But many other examples identified in our review cause some sort of surprise.

As regards « *supply-side shocks* », mentioning for example the taylorist organisation of work leads to wonder how its introduction, that has spanned some decades, has got the features of a "*shock*": nothing brutal, nor unforeseeable, a fortiori as it has been expanding; and how does it seem "*outside economy*"? The rise in oil price in 1973? Certainly it appeared as brutal, because of its magnitude, to observers of the surrounding world, but was it for all that unforeseeable, and how is the rise in a price "*outside the economy*"?

Now, as regards "*demand-side shocks*", what about an increase in wages, or opening a national economy to international trade? What about government's stimulus for demand? Finally what about the variation of credit volume?

The common meaning of "*shock*" is therefore useless here. Actually, as most reviewed resources assert, a shock is an event which leads to a shift in the aggregate supply curve or in the demand curve, even both of them. Anyway not any example can be found concerning a "*supply side shock*" not being a "*demand side shock*", and vice versa... except within a partial equilibrium model, but it is never clarified.

Only one model, which is the standard one, makes sense for this definition. The central problem of this model is equilibrium, therefore any event which shifts the equilibrium is called a "*shock*", and this event is by definition external, more exactly external to the representation of an economy as a market system. Within this model, all that cannot be explained by the functioning of markets, even imperfect, is an exogenous source of "*disturbance*" in economic equilibrium, that explains the presentation of the crisis, found in some resources, as an "*equilibrium disruption*". Consequently, explaining the crisis in terms of shocks only makes sense, as regards economic theories, in the limits of this simplistic approach of economy.

Which place for financial and monetary activities?

This approach determines the place of financial and monetary activities in economic dynamics as well.

The trigger of the current crisis, that first reached the financial markets and the banking activities, implied to take these activities into account to analyse the crisis. However, the diversity of the examined presentations – even their confusion – highlights the difficulty in following such a way in the limits of the standard model.

The standard economics, indeed, founds a macroeconomic approach which integrates finance only by reducing it to a loan supply function, meant to react automatically to changing interest rates. The analysis of "*financial markets*" is based on the same assumptions as regards the behaviour of individual agents, the only conceivable entities in this theoretical framework. On this base, these markets were considered as "*efficient*" by mainstream macroeconomics, until the "*shock*" occurred – for this time the word is not misused – in 2007-2008: what was unthinkable had just broken out.

Since furthermore standard economics considers the money as exogenous and shares a dichotomised vision separating "*real economy*" – field of trade in goods and services – and "*monetary and financial sphere*", the explanations deriving from it only include this "*sphere*" by opposing it and the rest of the economy : observable behaviours in this field can lead to "*excesses*", and these are responsible – in an endogenous way, therefore – for "*growth instability*", responsible for crises in other words.

That amounts to accept to include monetary and financial activities in the "*economy*" only by reinforcing the idea of dichotomy. Indeed we need to make the distinction between these activities and the "*real*" economy for another reason: agents there are capable of excesses, which mean not to be rational enough.

But why, whereas standard economics was claiming for the financial market efficiency, the whole monetary and financial « *sphere* » has become, since the beginning of the crisis, a field which escapes the rationality this

approach attributes to any economic agent? And why have the financial crises been so recurring since the 1980s, unlike the previous half-century?

Now it is interesting to note that the presentations of the crisis founded on standard economics integrate now the idea of a "*credit cycle*" which, in most cases, leads to refer to Minsky's work.

But it generally refers only to the "*paradox of tranquillity*", so that the consistency in the standard explanatory model seems to be preserved.

But Minsky's work only makes sense on theoretical bases which break from this model: it is not behaviour "*excesses*", specific to financial area, that he attributes the so-called paradox to, but the place of finance in the "*capitalist economy*", as he does not hesitate calling it. By rejecting, as other economists like Marx, Schumpeter and Keynes, the centrality of the concept of equilibrium, and the corresponding problem, Minsky cannot conceive a crisis as the disruption of the equilibrium which the pursuit of self interest must lead to. On the opposite he characterizes the capitalist economy by the financial logic of major groups who attempt to achieve the highest possible rates of financial return by access to credit. Instead of conceiving economic relationships as relationships between individuals homogeneous in their behaviours, or as functional relationships between categories of agents from a macroeconomic point of view, he distinguishes a category of economic players for their capacity to develop their search for profit from financial activities.

Breaking out of standard economics

It is therefore possible to explain the current crisis in other words than those of standard economics, beginning by rethinking the place of monetary and financial activities among all these activities called economic, which forms the field of material supply for human societies. It is clearly possible to analyse how this place changed in the history of capitalism. It especially allows to show, following thus various economists (Minsky, Aglietta, Orléan...), that the current crisis has been produced by a "*financialization*" of capitalism, which began as early as the 1960s in the United States, that means a long term process. It is referred to finance as soon as it deals with providing liquidity for investment, the issue being who does it, why and how. However it is evolving: let us shortly mention the evolution of the respective place of bank credit and market financing.

Then other explanations can be conceived which diverge from mainstream patterns, by showing that the origins of the present crisis are endogenous: this crisis originated in an economy dominated by the activity of financial markets, and the financialization itself originnated at the heart of a long-period economic dynamics, from innovations which have transformed economy.

On this basis the linking between the financial crisis and the one of the so-called "*real economy*" can be reconsidered: instead of a dichotomised presentation of the relationship between two autonomous "*spheres*", it is a question of showing how the financialization has changed not only the terms of corporate investment, but also the terms of the management (Aglietta, 1997), especially regarding profit reallocation and workforce employment. Then it leads to consider otherwise the role of "*inequalities*" in this dynamics.

3.1.2 The role of wealth distribution in the dynamics of the crisis

Let us recall that the inequalities issue has come back with the current crisis into the agenda of an increasing part of economists, and that we notice it in three of the teaching examined resources. Yet, in the main explanatory patterns in SES, referring to standard economics, there is no question of it. Is it then relevant to wonder about the role that inequalities, or more exactly income distribution, may have been playing in the arising of the current crisis, as some presentations attempt to do it?

Firstly let us recall that neo-classical theory ignores any problem of that kind: in a situation of market equilibrium, the marginal product determines the remuneration of each factor of production. In other words, if an individual receives an income different from another, it is due to the difference between their marginal product. At the most, recognizing the « *market failures* », some mainstream economists correct their view by redistributing wealth. It is a variant of this analysis which thus has been concluding that income inequalities observed in recent years were due to the work of technical progress.

But, especially when debating with Robert Reich, Paul Krugman (2007) himself recognizes that after having held this position for a long time he has changed his mind: according to him, changes in distribution of wealth are due to the political and ideological action. It implies that even a mainstream economist like Krugman can diverge from standard economics, when analysing the dynamics of distribution and, in so doing, he can wonder about the articulation between this dynamics and the one of "*growth*", which has led to the present crisis. If political and ideological processes can change distribution processes, can we simply regard that as "*market failures*", or is economy to be considered as something else than a mere field of market exchanges? Since on another hand the mainstream approach has not been able to provide works sound enough to corroborate it, we must search theoretical tools outside standard economics in order to analyse the role of wealth distribution in long-period dynamics of capitalism.

What do teaching resources say about this role?

Let us deal now with the documents identified in three of the reviewed teaching resources: do these resources provide the students with such theoretical tools?

In a first online course, the graphical presentation of the variation of the income share allocated to the "*1 %*", in the United States, from 1910 to 2010, shows that both "*peaks*" take place in 1928 (23,9%) and in 2007 (23,5%). Students are asked to "*make a causal assumption*".

It is a difficult work, without being supported by theoretical knowledge, but it is a priori interesting: getting

the students to think about this observation necessarily enrich their understanding of the current crisis.

Another textbook (Fraisse-D'Olimpio, 2012) presents the classical thesis regarding a role of wealth distribution, by mentioning Malthus' and Sismondi's works: "*The power of consuming does not necessarily increase with the power of producing*", according to the latter. And Bernard Rosier, the author of the extract provided by this document, concludes: "*And it comes from the mode of wealth distribution between social classes, which tends to "under-consumption"*, (...)". Students are asked to show "*theoretical implications with Marx and Keynes*" from this sentence, but it implies that the teacher provides them with the means to do it, with the explanations given by these authors about the crises. And yet we can find it neither in the textbook, nor in the syllabus.

Finally the online course which offers to work on a document extracted from Gaffard (2008), "*Inequalities responsible for crisis*", asks the students:

> "*Why does the author consider that inequalities only are responsible for the 2008 crisis?*

If it is rather easy to identify in the text elements to answer this question, questioning the linking between growing inequalities and household-debt in a context of financialization of economy, the changes of the so-called inequalities remain unexplained. Their consequence concerns "*most of households*", without any more detail, but students who have understood what an "*exogenous shock*" is could ultimately conclude that this evolution is one of them, thus neglecting the question of its origin.

Referring to other explanatory patterns about inequalities

Nevertheless, if we want to integrate the evolution of "*inequalities*" into the long-period economic dynamics, we must refer to other explanatory patterns, and the two examples just quoted put us on the right track, in spite of their limits. We have indeed some models which explain in an endogenous way the dynamics of capitalism by integrating the play of distribution. In a classical (Goodwin), keynesian (Robinson, Kaldor), regulationist (Canry) or marxist (Duménil, Lévy) inspiration, they all diverge from the standard model and, firstly, are based on the idea of distinct behaviours of the "*economic agents*", according to their position in the economic field. The models inspired by Keynesian economics distinguish consumption and savings behaviours depending on the type of income, wages or profit, and go back to the analyses of economists who criticised from the 19th century Say's law, in order to explain that the dynamics of capitalism could, or even should, generate specific crises. And if models inspired by Keynesian economists keep themselves to showing the effects of the behaviours differences on growth, putting the distribution between wages and profits at the heart of this dynamics leads other analyses to wonder about the very wealth distribution. And instead of conceiving wage and profit as prices of "*productive services*" provided by "*factors of production*" and, like any other price, fixed on ad hoc "*markets*", these analyses renew the conceptions that classical economists (Smith first) and Marx started to establish, and all of them recognize social classes as protagonists of the relationships established in economic activities.

It is therefore possible, today just as much as two centuries ago, to think that the long-period dynamics depends on the distribution of wealth among social classes, and to identify distribution as an issue at stake in a social conflict.

Such analyses, which can be enriched by taking into account the financialization of the economy for thirty years, clearly break with standard patterns, either by the approach of economic field, necessarily broader than this of neoclassical economists, or by the approach of the relationships established in this field: they are no longer reduced to market relationships between individuals, reputed to be free and equal and, of course, only governed by reason.

That is precisely why they are neglected not only in the current syllabuses but also in most of the teaching SES resources, and why the resources which let small place to observations out of the framework of standard models are disadvantaged by the absence of theoretical prospects: it is the effect of the lexicon.

3.2 Teaching about the crisis: lexicon effects and discussion limits

"*Shocks*", "*disruption of equilibrium*" and, as far as finance is concerned, "*excesses*". Why is the use of these words compelling to such an extent that, for instance, processes which cannot be considered as "*shocks*", or explanations which have got nothing to do with it, are presented as such?

It is a question of lexicon effects. Let us show now how the present-day lexicon marks the different ways of dealing with the crisis in SES, even if some competing views emerge, within their compatibility with the sense of capitalism today.

From "market" to "shocks", the strength of the lexicon

The superiority of the market as a regulator – through the notion of coordination - is then understandable in subject content by the strength of this word in the current lexicon: it is indeed the keyword of the register of freedom, from now on in front of the one of equality. The reality of "*market"* as means of social regulation is never questioned, it is obvious. In this way, during an interview a teacher disputed the near disappearance of the notion of regulation in SES contents, in favour of "*coordination*" ; but the interview showed that she used "*regulation*" in the Anglo-Saxon meaning, in any case in the meaning of a State intervention. The idea that market would be another regulation mode was apparently unthinkable.

It makes the standard explanation obvious as well. According to the present-day lexicon, rational individuals free to enter into contracts find a process that succeeds in coordinating their choices in a satisfactory way

through them, and only an external event – a "s*hock*" – can disrupt this "*equilibrium*".

Specifying shocks as "*demand-side shocks*" and "*supply-side shocks*", which seems essential, reinforces the lexicon effect, by imposing the reference to the market: shocks must be conceived in relation to one of the two "*sides*" of the market. Thus their result can only be understood in relation to the "*equilibrium*" between these two "*sides*".

One of the interviews we conducted confirms it: according to this teacher, explaining by "*shocks*" is a progress of economics.

And if we must enrich the explanation by integrating the financial aspect of the crisis, the lexicon tells us how to do it: in a world within which individuals are rational, the crisis can only proceed from « *excesses* » due to irrational behaviours.

If we have indeed observed the pre-eminence of such an explanation in our review, the discrepancies noted in some teaching resources are yet to be accounted for.

Some empirical materials: likely to fuel alternative presentations?

Let us recall our observations on a limited part of the examined resources:

- the explanation by "*shocks*" - exogenous - is questioned, in one way or another, and it especially concerns the work of demand variations, on one hand, and the one of monetary and financial activities, on the other hand ;
- the place of inequalities in the dynamics of the crisis raises a few questions.

Why do textbooks or online courses not resort to the explanatory patterns which could bring answers to these questions? Why are alternative references limited to the Keynesian elements from the neoclassical synthesis, that is to say standard economics?

In our view, the answer to this double question is to be found in the strength of current lexicon, and the state of competition between the different ways of describing the world, at this point on the trajectory of capitalism in France.

Indeed today SES teachers as well as many economists must have acknowledged, in one way or another, the growing wealth "*inequalities*". Thus the coincidence of this process and the current crisis led some teaching resources to link observations of growing inequalities to the recent dynamics of economic growth. Let us put forward that experiences people live through in the present times, the role of which we have already stressed, have been changing enough with such growing inequalities as to fuel a perception of injustice (Solans, 2008). The so-called "*trickle-down effect*" becomes in-creasingly difficult to defend, theoretically and empi-rically, and the public discourses are evolving. At the same time, for instance, some teachers we interviewed recognize an admission of the conflicting nature of wealth distribution.

Thus empirical materials are gathered for presentations of the current crisis likely to compete with the standard explanation. But the lexicon remains strong enough to keep attempts to do so in the confusion.

As shown above, integrating the growing wealth inequalities implies to conceive economic relationships other than in interindividual terms, or else the origin of such a trend cannot be understood. Yet the present-day lexicon imposes to imagine our society as a linking of interindividual relationships.

Strength of the lexicon and social confusion

A good example emerges from an investigation we have led. To the following question:

"*Do you consider that economics deals with relationships between agents/actors/individuals/classes/ others?*", 12,5% of teachers answered "*individuals*" and "*classes*" simultaneously, whereas from a theoretical point of view both answers are mutually exclusive. If we add the predominance of the answers in terms of "*agents*" (58%), it appears that a majority of respondents do not go beyond a vague approach of the protagonists of economic relationships, and anyway answers which prevent from wondering about the logic of these protagonists' behaviours. If they are individuals, they have a reputation for being homogeneous by virtue of their calculating rationality, if they are agents they fulfil a function within a framework conceived in macroeconomic terms. Within such a framework, how to explain for instance the behaviour of "*banks*", that the great majority of explanations considers as "*excessive*"?

Thus it seems difficult to think that economic dynamics could depend on conflicting relationships between social groups with distinct interests, and even more difficult to speak of conflicts between social classes. In addition to the previous remark about the confusion of answers which accept "*individuals*" and "*classes*" simultaneously, let us add that answers containing "*classes*" sometimes suggest a vague meaning of the word: out of the forty involved answers (26% of the number), 16, that is to say 40%, must be related to a selection of key-concepts where at least one key-concept of the standard pattern appears. Therefore answering "*classes*" does not necessary imply to conceive economic relationships as social classes relationships.

In that case, how can we explain the growing inequalities and the role of such a process in economic dynamics ? If there are distribution conflicts, between who and who, and why ?

Here we find what we call an effect of social confusion (Coléno, 2005). By social confusion we mean it becomes impossible for people, in a capitalist society, to perceive the hierarchical division into antagonistic social classes. Individuals are described as players, but for all that these players cannot act according to that which they do not see (Solans, 2008). In particular, there are no classes, but neither capital as a social relationship of exploitation. Therefore, in a textbook which however deals with the « *mode of distribution between social classes* » referring

to classical approaches, as mentioned above, it cannot be referred to the marxist analysis of the current crisis.

The present-day lexicon makes it also difficult to conceive the wage-earners subordination which characterizes this social relationship. Neither words of equality register, still at work even if secondary, nor a fortiori those of liberty register allow such a way of thinking. It becomes difficult in SES to refer to the "*salary relationship*" as regulationist economists conceive it. And so the claim for standard explanatory pattern to apply to any crisis seem obvious, so much that the crisis which began in the 1970s, which led to include the study of economic crises in the syllabuses of the following two decades, is no longer presented as "*Fordism crisis*", in regulationist terms.

If the trajectory of capitalism has led in France a part of SES teachers – and textbooks editorial teams – to attempt to report on the place of growing wealth inequalities and the one of financial behaviours within the presentation of the current crisis, these discrepancies vis-à-vis the standard presentation remain limited. If references appear to Keynes and Schumpeter – even Minsky and Aglietta –, it is in compatible terms with present-day lexicon, and that precludes using some concepts, pushed into an unthinkable background, without the slightest theoretical justification from the field of economic theories.

4 Conclusion

We could stop there. The examination of syllabuses and various teaching resources, most often confirmed by our inquiry, leads to stress the hegemony of standard discourse about the current crisis. And since the state of theoretical knowledge does not justify at all such an hegemony, our analysis leads to explain it by the strength of the lexicon prevailing in France today: only external shocks and excesses in the financial area can explain the current crisis, since a "*market economy*" is self-regulated.

In these conditions, it is doubtful that SES teaching could manage to "*contribute to civic education thanks to the mastery of knowledge that helps to take part in public debate about great economic, social and political issues* », according to the syllabus preamble. The proposed contents seem far from the objective to understanding the major issues at stake, and at the same time the question of the place devoted today to open debate comes up.

Nonetheless there is no end of history, and the dialectics of social relationships keeps on working throughout the trajectory of capitalism. According to our approach, in order to consider possible futures it is worth recalling that if cultural dynamics affects the choice of SES contents, this acts in return, via the "*economic culture*" they are supposed to fuel. The unchanged reproduction of capitalism is not the only conceivable future, for its dynamics is linked to the one of the delivery of free work, especially, with its conflicts and contradictions, already working in the emergence of alternative texts. We shall have to integrate the play of the collective memory, as it appears in the comments and answers obtained from our survey, for it can help to renew theoretical patterns formerly audible, the grounds of which remain relevant, thanks to the ongoing impact of the current crisis.

Thus can this one favour the emergence of alternative discourses, referring to "*heterodox*" models? A certain risk cannot be neglected, the risk of the appearance, on the other hand, of a common way of thinking compatible with a discourse of populist revenge, underpinned in contrast by the stigmatization of finance as main source of the crisis, for want of explaining that today finance has got the place the very dynamics of capitalism has given to it. History is open, the current crisis remains this point about which Antonio Gramsci said:

> "*The crisis consists precisely in the fact that the old is dead and the new cannot be born: during this interregnum the most diverse morbid phenomena can be observed.*

Glossary

Axiological:

Everything that concerns the value system.

Comfort:

Comfort is the central value of capitalism. To such an extent that it would not be understandable if it were otherwise. However, it has been otherwise, before capitalism, as Tocqueville noticed it in his "*Democracy in America*" in 1835: in the past, glory was the central value in occidental societies, for instance.

See our previous text, page 7: http://www.jsse.org/index.php/jsse/article/view/1397/1547

Lexicon of comfort:

This central value tells every human being, in a capitalist society, what is worth living, and we call lexicon a specific set of words which gives utterance to it. This lexicon is built of registers, especially the liberty register and the equality register. Liberty and equality are indeed two other values consubstantial with capitalism and comfort, in such a way that we learn what to do by following the words which tell us how to be free – these are the words which make up the liberty register - and how to respect others – the words which make up the equality register.

Marx's theory of exploitation:

According to the labour theory of value, only labour creates value. Distinguishing between labour-time worked and labour power, Marx sees the source of surplus value in the free work the proletarian delivers to the capitalist, and delivering free work is called exploitation.

Exploitation does not seem obvious, however, in the eyes of the proletarian : that is not that his whole time is not paid to him, that is that the capitalist can impose a price – his receipts – which exceeds the wage. With the sums of money he receives, the capitalist will buy the remaining production, that constitutes the surplus value.

Exploitation is consubstantial with capitalism. It does not result from an artificial scarcity but from the existence of

the commodity: the capitalist has got the power to decide on the monetary value of commodities, due to his right to control the capital movement.

Didactisation:
It refers to the ways of making knowledge, especially academic one, teachable.

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Commentary : '"Mobilising for the Values of the Republic" - France's Education Policy Response to the "Fragmented Society": A Commented Press Review'

Keywords:
Moral education, France, integration, republicanism

The article by Matthias Busch and Nancy Morys '"Mobilising for the Values of the Republic" - France's Education Policy Response to the "Fragmented Society": A Commented Press Review' is dedicated to the recent debates on moral education in France.[1] The debates have centred on the proposed reforms, called 'the great mobilisation of schools for the values of the Republic', which the Minister of Education Najat Vallaud Belkcacem announced shortly after the attacks of January 2015. The reforms include the creation of a new subject area in the primary and secondary curriculum: moral and civic education (*l'Education morale et civique* - EMC). Initiated in 2013, they are part of a set of public policies developed in response to the "fragmented society" observed by M. Wieviorka in his analysis which the authors refer to in their study. The Law of 8 July 2013 on "the reform of the schools of the Republic" (art. 41) states that "schools teach students moral and civic education to respect others, including their origins and their differences, the principle of equality between women and men and the principle of *laïcité* [secularity]." After the tragic events of 2015, which gave a new precedence to the ambition to "share the values of the Republic", renewing the civic dimension of schooling was included in a European initiative of the Council of Europe developed at the end of the 1990s (Eurydice, 2005). It led to the definition of "key competencies for the teaching of democratic citizenship" (Audigier, 2000) and to the promotion of pedagogical approaches focused on student activities.

The study by Busch and Morys is based on a review of official texts, including educational policy documents, scientific and journalistic articles, interviews, statements of teachers and experts. This methodological approach considers a variety of arguments in the debate and highlights the key points which relate more broadly to the role of secular schools in the ideology of the French Republic on social integration. Our aim here is to provide a non-exhaustive historical perspective with the aim of better understanding the significance of these very topical issues.

Before the implementation of school policies in the Third Republic, in particular the Ferry laws of 1882-85 which established secular, compulsory and free schooling, the French Republicans focused on schools as a founding principle in the development of citizenship, thus focusing the debates that ensued on the issue of secular schooling (Déloye, 1994; Fabre, 2002). Their policy was underpinned by a belief in the crucial role of schools in the socialisation of individuals and in the development of both a sense of belonging in the society and in the nation and an attachment to the key principles governing them. The new school reform studied here is part of this civic mission. The article by Bush and Morys clearly illustrates that even if there are many points that cause debate, the general framework of this way of thinking has not been challenged by the political class or by the teaching profession as a whole.

Despite this consensus, the civic mission of schools raises questions about its authoritarian and institutional dimension, thus relating to the debate on the inculcation of morality which is rooted in the history and the ideology of French schooling. How can we spark an attachment to the values of the Republic without imposing a morality of the State by means of education (Zuber, 2014; 2016)?

The problem that the French Republicans who came to power after the Second Empire faced was how to make both stability and the commitment to the regime compatible with the exercise of freedom and critical thinking. They solved it through an "efficient do-it-yourself" approach, which even though it was not strict, it emerged from two contradictory intellectual traditions, that of the Enlightenment and the philosophy of Auguste Comte. Freedom was not conceived as a natural right but "as the power of freedom and the freedom to participate, both of which have the capacity to transform formal rights into real rights, thus ensuring that individuals will not only have the right, but also the ability to exercise them" (Ozouf, 1993). The only and most effective bearer of this freedom was the education system which became part of the Republic's great project of reconciliation between individual freedom and social cohesion. The process of synthesising these two principles was situated in the idea of secular morality whereby schools would act as the essential vehicle but would not become a form of state doctrine.

The founding principle underlying this approach is that of free enquiry and its ambition to have conviction prevail over domination. In this logic, the transmitted values should not be imposed; they must be transmitted while respecting one's exercise of reason. "The policies and doctrines of the Republic can only aim at and be found within themselves, beyond any transcendence, the reasons for their potential victory since they place their trust in the sovereign opinion. They must, therefore, en-

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sure that reasoned conviction, which is as essential as a mathematical or scientific sequence, prevails over (...) any 'authority'" (Nicolet (1982) 1994, p. 33).

Therefore, children should not memorise a text such as the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen. For the French Republicans who were committed to these principles, individuals, either by their own reason or conscience, must be able to go back to the founding principles and adapt their own conduct accordingly. Each member of the nation must be a responsible stakeholder of these values. This corresponds to the modern conception of politics according to which the legitimacy of power is no longer founded on tradition, but on autonomy. The comments by Pierre Kahn, Head of the Programme Commission for the new citizenship class, on the "culture of judgment" and the "ethos of discussion", borrowed from Jürgen Habermas and Karl O. Apel, which are included in this study, are part of these continuing preoccupations. This relates to the development of a new subject area in schools and the possible ways of teaching secular morality and common secular values. The new school programme on moral and civic education, beyond the issue of content, has been a part of educational debates since it is included in the process of redefining the curricula in terms of both the skills (Raulin, 2008) and the logic of interdisiciplinarity which are facing a great deal of resistance. Bush and Morys illustrate the set of conflicting dynamics relating to considerations of professional practices, including the disciplinary tradition which has strong roots in France.

In the end, all these controversies are part of a recurring question on the significance, the role and the ways of applying the principle of *laïcité* in France. Proclaimed as a tool of integration in the Republic and the nation, *laïcité*, since the middle of the twentieth century, has faced social changes and new challenges which have had an impact on the institution of schooling and its civic and integrating mission.

Laïcité, as a pillar of the ideology of the French Republic, is also a constituent element of French political modernity. Understanding it today depends on the historical legacy and issues that it has left behind.

Since the end of the eighteenth century, France has experienced a specific mode of political modernity. It took place through the universalising conception of citizenship, marked by the elimination of ethnic and religious specificities. More particularly, the Revolution signalled the advent of transforming the relationship between state and society; the Le Chapelier decree of 14 June 1791, which is indicative of this development, stated that: "There are no more corporate bodies in the State; there are only the specific interests of each individual and the general interest. It is not permissible for anyone to inspire citizens towards intermediate interests or to isolate them from public matters by cultivating their corporate interests."

The State assumed a central role in structuring a society which was made up of separate individuals who became its main body of unification (Rosanvallon, 1990). Striving to achieve political, economic and cultural unification was particularly intense under the Third Republic and its necessity and power were far greater than the country's heterogeneity (Weber, 1983). Unity was affirmed and implemented through centralised institutions, in particular through the education system.

The conditions under which the country's modernisation policy developed, in particular the fact that it was rejected by the Catholic Church, which was marked by a strong current of clericalism, is another French specificity,

"An imagined France is a France with exceptional antagonistic traits, desired and loved by the hostile brothers that the French are towards dreams which have their origins in very different worlds. This imagined France is founded on value conflicts. We must not forget that a century ago, the life of our country was under the shadow of religious wars. This is the originality of France: in the modern Christian West it is the only country to have experienced such a confrontation between unifying principles that are so radically opposed." (Birnbaum, 1991).

The identification of France with Catholicism, which was founded on an exclusive principle of national identification, lost this characteristic in the nineteenth century when it became one among many alternatives in the conflict over French identity; France was either the eldest daughter of the Church or the child of the Revolution and the rights of man. The Church was in fact incompatible with the Republic by the mere fact that it rejected the principles derived from the Revolution and from modernity more generally. The Republic was founded against the political intrusion by religious institutions which at the time led it towards a stance of opposition to the socially dominant religion.

The establishment of secular schools emerged from this conflict. Schools were intended to take on the role of socialisation, which the Church originally had, and to support the Republic. The school programmes of 1882 signalled the secularisation of the education system and the elimination of religious education which was replaced by moral and civic instruction. The separation of Church and State of 1905 reaffirmed and clarified the great principles which were put in place without questioning their meaning.

Since the 1970s, these principles have been reassessed, particularly in view of the growing cultural and religious plurality of students, just as the principle of *laïcité* more generally has also been revisited following the increasing diversification of society. Several of these elements are closely intertwined and echoed in this analysis of the current controversies.

On the one hand, in the past thirty years the simple transcendence of ethnic and religious specificities, which gives everyone the same rights regardless of affiliation and constitutes the foundation of the secular egalitarianism of the French Republic, seems to be no longer a sufficiently effective tool in the fight against discrimination and the struggle for social and economic integration. The breakdown of the social elevator (Chauvel, 2006; 2016), the challenges of equal opportunities (Derouet, 1992), the "disillusionments of meri-

tocracy" (Duru-Bellat, 2006) and the phenomena of discrimination[2] have called into question the ability to hold a debate around the common values of the Republic in a credible manner in view of generating a sought-after sense of common belonging. On the other hand, the multiplication of various forms of religious expression raises the question of the rights of students and the reconciliation of religious freedom and public order.

More particularly, the conflict over the Islamic headscarf issue in schools, which erupted between 1989 and 2004, has highlighted this issue. It was first examined by the Council of State which was asked to give its opinion in 1989. It recognised the students' right to religious freedom which "includes the right to express and manifest their religious beliefs within the school" but which is subject to the condition that this freedom does not become an "obstacle to accomplishing the goals that have been entrusted to the public education service by the legislator." Therefore, "the wearing of symbols by students who intend to express their religious affiliation is not in itself incompatible with the principle of *laïcité*."

On the opposite side of this view, the Bayrou circular of 1994 and the Law of 15 March 2004 prohibited the display of any ostentatious symbols of religious (or political) affiliation in primary and secondary schools. The abstract and universalist conception of citizenship was therefore reaffirmed.

At the same time, between the 1980s and the beginning of the early 2000s another debate emerged, this time on the importance of developing a secular approach to teaching religion in view of addressing the students' insufficient knowledge of religions. This is not a mere and isolated issue of academic knowledge since it also concerns the schools' civic mission (Debray, 2003; Borne & Willaime, 2007). The teaching of different religious cultures must give students the opportunity to discover the multiple worlds of meaning that coexist in French society. This is an essential precondition in the development of an argued critical judgment, and, in the long term, in the ability to live together based on the spirit of tolerance and the recognition of the other. Teaching about religion was included in the school programme in the 2000s under an interdisciplinary form of education that does not question the secular foundations of the school.

Beyond the political circumstances, it is in this complex historical, social and ideological context that the current ambition to "share the values of the Republic" must be seen. And it is against this measure that any research work evaluating the implemented policies should be seen, something which the authors of this article hope for.

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Endnotes

[1] For an example of these debates, see the following study-day that was organised on 7 February 2015: «Quelle place pour l'éducation morale à l'école?» [What is the place of moral education in schools?], organised by the Centre de Philosophie Contemporaine de la Sorbonne (CEPA), the Ecole Supérieure du Professorat et de l'Education de Paris, and the journal Skhole.fr. http://skhole.fr/questions-ouvertes-pour-l-ecole-du-xxie-siecle-quelle-place-pour-l-education-morale-a-l-ecole

[2] See, for example, the work of the Observatory of Discriminations: http://www.observatoiredesdiscriminations.fr

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Claude Proeschel

Commentaire: '"Mobilising for the Values of the Republic" - France's Education Policy Response to the "Fragmented Society": A Commented Press Review'

Mot-clé:
Éducation morale, France, intégration, républicanisme

L'article de Matthias Busch et Nancy Morys « "Mobilising for the Values of the Republic"- France's Education Policy Response to the"Fragmented Society": A Commented Press Review » est consacré aux débats récents sur la question de l'éducation morale en France. Ils se développent autour des réformes intitulées 'Grande mobilisation de l'école pour les valeurs de la République', annoncées par le ministre de l'Education Najat Vallaud Belkcacem peu après les attentats de janvier 2015, et voient la mise en place d'une nouvelle discipline dans le cursus scolaire primaire et secondaire, l'Education morale et civique (EMC). Ces réformes s'inscrivent dans un ensemble de politiques publiques initiées en 2013, pour répondre à la fragmentation sociale analysée par M. Wiewiorka, auquel les auteurs de cette étude se réfèrent. La loi du 8 juillet 2013 "pour la refondation de l'école de la République" (art. 41) énonce déjà, en effet « : L'école, notamment grâce à un enseignement moral et civique, fait acquérir aux élèves le respect de la personne, de ses origines et de ses différences, de l'égalité entre les femmes et les hommes ainsi que de la laïcité. » Au delà de l'actualité dramatique de l'année 2015 qui donne un nouveau poids à l'ambition de « faire partager les valeurs de la République », la réactivation de la dimension civique de la scolarité s'inscrit dans une dynamique européenne initiée à la fin des années 1990 par le Conseil de l'Europe (Eurydice, 2005), aboutissant à la définition de « compétences clefs pour l'éducation à la citoyenneté démocratique » (Audigier, 2000) et à la promotion d'approches pédagogiques centrées sur la mise en activité des élèves.

Cette étude est fondée sur le dépouillement de textes officiels, tels les programmes scolaires, de déclarations des acteurs publics, mais aussi de prises de position des experts, enseignants et élèves et enfin d'études plus académiques. Ce parti pris méthodologique permet ici d'embrasser la variété des arguments du débat et d'en souligner les points nodaux, qui nous renvoient, plus largement, au rôle octroyé à l'école laïque dans l'idéologie républicaine d'intégration sociale. Nous voudrions ici, de manière non exhaustive, les éclairer dans une mise en perspective historique, afin de saisir la pleine signification des enjeux très contemporains.

Les Républicains français, en effet, dès avant les grandes politique scolaires de la IIIe République et en particulier les lois Ferry de 1882-85 instaurant l'école laïque, gratuite et obligatoire, vont faire de l'école un des lieux fondateurs de la citoyenneté, cristallisant autour d'elle les débats s'y rapportant (Déloye, 1994, Fabre 2002). Leur politique est sous-tendue par la conviction du caractère fondamental de l'école dans la socialisation des individus, dans le développement de leur attachement à la société et à la nation, et aux grands principes les régissant. La nouvelle réforme ici étudiée s'inscrit dans la continuité de cette mission civique, et l'article de Bush et Morys monte bien que si de nombreux points font débat, ce cadre général de réflexion n'est pas remis en cause au sein de la classe politique , ou du corps enseignant dans son ensemble.

Cete mission civique, malgré ce consensus, soulève la question de sa dimension autoritaire ou institutionnelle, renvoyant là encore à un débat autour de l'inculcation morale ancré dans l'histoire et l'idéologie scolaire française. Comment, aujourd'hui comme hier, susciter l'attachement aux valeurs de la République sans imposer, via l'enseignement, une morale d'Etat (Zuber, 2014 ; 2016)?

Le problème se posant aux républicains arrivant au pouvoir après le second Empire est de rendre compatibles la stabilité et l'attachement à un régime avec l'exercice de la liberté et de l'esprit critique. Ils le résoudront par un « bricolage efficace », même s'il n'est pas très rigoureux, élaboré à partir de deux traditions intellectuelles contradictoires, celle des Lumières et celle du Comtisme. La liberté sera alors conçue non comme un droit pur, mais bien comme « une liberté pouvoir, une liberté participation, capable de faire fleurir les droits formels en droits réels, en assurant aux individus non seulement le droit, mais la capacité de développer leurs faculté »(Ozouf, 1993). Le porteur le plus efficace de cette liberté là ne peut être que l'éducation, qui va participer au grand projet républicain de conciliation du respect des principes de liberté individuelle et de la cohérence de la société. La synthèse des deux éléments passe par la morale laïque, dont l'école est un vecteur essentiel, mais qui ne doit pas revêtir le statut de doctrine d'Etat. C'est pourquoi le fondement de cette démarche sera le libre examen, et sa volonté de faire prédominer la conviction sur l'imposition. Les valeurs transmises ne peuvent, dans cette logique, avoir un caractère obligatoire, et doivent donc se transmettre dans le respect de l'exercice par chacun de sa raison. « La politique et les doctrines répu-blicaines ne veulent et ne peuvent trouver qu'en elles-mêmes, hors de toute transcendance, les raisons de leur éventuelle victoire,

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puisqu'elles s'en remettent à l'opini-on souveraine. Il faut donc qu'elles emportent, en dehors (...) de toute « autorité », une conviction raisonnée, qui s'impose comme s'imposent, par eux-mêmes, les en-chaïnements de langage mathématique et scientifique. » (Nicolet 1994)

Ainsi, les enfants ne devront pas apprendre par coeur un texte tel que la Déclaration des Droits de l'Homme et du Citoyen. Pour les républicains convaincus de ces principes, ils doivent être en mesure, chacun, que ce soit par sa raison ou par sa conscience, d'en retrouver les fondements et d'y conformer leur conduite. Chaque membre de la nation doit ainsi être responsable et acteur de ces valeurs. Ceci répond à la conception moderne de la politique, qui ne fonde plus la légitimité du pouvoir sur la tradition, mais sur l'autonomie.

La référence faite par Pierre Kahn, directeur de la commission des programmes d'EMC, dont les propos sont ici analysés, à la culture du jugement ou à l'éthique de la discussion d'Apel et Habermas, se trouvent, là encore, dans la continuité de ces préoccupations. Elle renvoie, de surcroit, à la didactique de la nouvelle matière, et aux méthodes d'apprentissage possibles d'une morale laïque et de valeurs communes séculières. Les nouveaux programmes de l'enseignement moral et civique, au delà de la question de leur contenu, se situent aussi dans un certain nombre de débats pédagogiques car ils s'inscrivent dans un processus de redéfinition des curricula en termes de compétences d'une part (Raulin, 2008), et une logique d'inter-disiciplinarité d'autre part se heurtant à de nombreuses résistances. Bush et Morys font ainsi apparaître un ensemble de logiques conflictuelles relevant de considérations d'exercice professionnel, telle la tradition disciplinaire, très fortement ancrée en France.

Enfin, l'ensemble de ces controverses se situe dans la question toujours renouvelée de la signification, du rôle et des modalités d'application de la laïcité en France. Instrument proclamé de l'intégration à la République et à la nation, elle est confrontée, depuis le milieu du XXe siècle, à des évolutions sociales et de nouveaux défis qui retentissent sur l'institution scolaire et sa mission citoyenne et intégratrice.

La laïcité, pilier de l'idéologie républicaine, est aussi un des éléments constitutifs de la modernité politique française. C'est pourquoi sa compréhension aujourd'hui est tributaire de l'histoire et des enjeux qu'elle a laissés.

La France a connu un mode spécifique d'entée dans la modernité politique, depuis la fin du XVIIIe siècle.

Celle-ci s'est effectuée, d'une part, au travers d'une conception universalisante de la citoyenneté, maquée par l'arrachement aux particularismes. C'est en particulier la Révolution qui marque l'avènement de la modification des rapports entre l'Etat et la société, dont le décret Le Chapelier du 14 juin 1791 est symptomatique. Il déclare : « Il n'y a plus de corporations dans l'Etat ; il n'y a plus que l'intérêt particulier de chaque individu et l'intérêt général. Il n'est permis à personne d'inspirer aux citoyens un intérêt intermédiaire, de les séparer de la chose publique par un esprit de corporation. »

L'Etat acquiert désormais un rôle central dans la structuration d'une société composée d'individus isolés, en devenant sa principale instance d'unification (Rosanvallon, 1990) L'effort vers l'unification politique, économique et culturelle est particulièrement intense sous la IIIe République, sa nécessité et sa force étant d'autant plus grandes que l'hétérogénéité est présente (Weber, 1983). Elle est affirmée et mise en œuvre par des institutions centralisées, en particulier le système d'édu-cation.

La spécificité française provient également des conditions dans lesquelles cette politique de modernisation s'est développée, et en particulier de son refus par l'Eglise catholique, marquée par un fort cléricalisme.

« La France imaginée, c'est une France aux traits exceptionnels antagonistes, voulue et aimée par ces frères ennemis que sont les Français aux rêves émanant d'univers mentaux à mille lieux les uns des autres. Cette France imaginée trouve son fondement dans des conflits de valeurs. Il ne faut pas oublier qu'il y a un siècle la vie de notre pays était sous le signe de la guerre des religions. Telle est l'originalité de la France : dans l'Occident chrétien moderne, elle est la seule à connaître un tel affrontement entre des principes unificateurs radicalement opposés. » (Birnbaum, 1991)

L'identification de la France au catholicisme, jusque là principe exclusif d'identification nationale, perd ce caractère au XIXe siècle, où elle devient une des alternatives du conflit sur l'identité française, fille ainée de l'Eglise ou enfant de la Révolution et des droits de l'homme. Elle est en effet incompatible avec la République, du fait du rejet par l'Eglise de tous les principes issus de la Révolution et de la modernité en général. La République s'est faite contre l'intrusion politique des institutions religieuses, ce qui l'a conduit, dans le contexte de l'époque, à s'opposer à la religion socialement dominante.

La mise en place de l'école laïque ressort alors pour beaucoup de ce conflit.

Il s'agit en effet pour celle-ci, d'assurer le rôle de socialisation qu'occupait l'Eglise et d'asseoir la République. Les programmes de 1882 marquent ainsi la laïcisation de l'enseignent, avec la suppression de l'instruction religieuse, remplacée par une instruction morale et civique. La Séparation des Eglises et de l'Etat en 1905 réaffirmera et précisera les grands principes mis en place, sans en remettre en cause le sens.

C'est à partir des années 1970 que ceux-ci vont être réinterrogés, en particulier au regard de la pluralité culturelle et religieuse croissante des élèves, tout comme la laïcité en général le sera par la diversification croissante au sein de la société. Plusieurs éléments sont étroitement imbriqués qui trouvent écho dans l'analyse des controverses actuelles ici menée.

D'une part, la simple transcendance des particularismes, qui accorde à chacun les mêmes droits indépendamment de ses appartenances, fondement de l'égalitarisme républicain laïque, ne semble plus être

depuis trente ans un instrument suffisamment efficace de lutte contre les discriminations et d'intégration sociale et économique. La panne de l'ascenseur social (Chauvel, 2006 ; 2016), la difficile égalité des chances (Derouet 1992) ,les « désillusions de la méritocratie » (Duru-Bellat, 2006), les phénomènes discriminatoires[1] questionnent la capacité d'un discours autour des valeurs communes de la République a bénéficier de suffisamment de crédibi-lité pour susciter le sentiment d'appartenance collectif recherché.

D'autre part, la multiplication des formes d'expression religieuse pose la question des droits des élèves en la matière, conciliation de la liberté religieuse et de l'ordre public. C'est en particulier « l'affaire des foulards », entre 1989 et 2004, qui a mis en lumière ce point. La question a d'abord fait l'objet d'un avis du Conseil d'Etat, saisi en 1989. Celui-ci a reconnu que la liberté religieuse des élèves « comporte le droit d'exprimer et de manifester leurs croyances religieuses à l'intérieur des établissements scolaires » sous réserve toutefois que cette liberté ne fasse pas « obstacle à l'accomplissement des missions dévolues par le législateur au service public de l'éducation. » Par conséquent, le « port, par les élèves, de signes par lesquels ils entendent manifester leur appartenance à une religion n'est pas en lui-même incompatible avec le principe de laïcité. »

A l'opposé de cet avis, les mesures suivantes, Circulaire Bayrou de 1994 puis loi du 15 mars 2004, interdiront le port de tout signe ostensible d'appartenance religieuse (ou politique) dans les écoles, collèges et lycées. La conception abstraite et universaliste de la citoyenneté est ici réaffirmée.

Dans le même temps, s'engage en France , dès les années 1980 et jusqu'au début des années 2000, un autre débat , sur la nécessité d'un enseignement laïque des faits religieux, pour remédier à l'inculture des élèves en matière religieuse. Celui-ci ne se réduit pas au seul problème des connaissances académiques, mais interroge également la mission citoyenne de l'école (Debray 2003 ; Borne, Willaime 2007). L'apprentissage des différentes cultures religieuses doit en effet permettre aux élèves de découvrir la pluralité des univers de sens coexistant dans la société française, condition indispensable au développement d'un jugement critique argumenté , et, plus loin, d'un vivre-ensemble fondé sur la tolérance et la reconnaissance de l'autre. L'enseignement des faits religieux entre dans les programme scolaires dans les années 2000 sous la forme d'un enseignement transdisciplinaire, qui ne remet pas en cause les fondements laïques de l'école.

Au delà des conjonctures politiques, c'est donc dans ce contexte historique, social, idéologique complexe, que s'inscrit l'ambition actuelle de « faire partager les valeurs de la République ». Et c'est à son aune que devront être menés les travaux d'évaluation de la politique mise en œuvre, qu'appellent de leurs vœux les auteurs de la présente contribution.

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Notes

[1] Nous renvoyons ici, par exemple, aux travaux de l'observatoire des discriminations, http://www.observatoiredesdiscriminations.fr

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Rethinking Social Studies and Citizenship in Turkey. An Overview to the 6th International Symposium on Social Studies Education

Keywords:
Citizenship education, social studies education, Turkey, international symposium on social studies education

1 Introduction

Association for Social Studies Educators (ASSE) organizes International Symposium on Social Studies Education (ISSE, turkish: USBES) every year, which provide a good platform for experiences exchange and improve the field by bringing together researchers and teachers who work on social studies education. International Symposium on Social Studies Education is a three day symposium, held every year in different universities by social studies teacher education departments (Faculty of Education) in Turkey. The first International Symposium on Social Studies Education was held in Istanbul in April, 2012 with hosting by Marmara University. Hundreds of academicians, teachers and students are gathered every year through these symposiums. The official languages of the *sympo-sium* are *Turkish* and *English. Scientific Committee* reviews all oral *presentation* abstracts. This is the sixth year that participants share their theoretical and practical perspectives in the field of social studies education at ISSE/USBES.

6th International Symposium on Social Studies Education was hosted by Anatolian University in Eskişehir. The symposium was held this year between 4th-6th of May and its 576 participants included academicians, researchers, teachers, graduate students, doctorral and master students. The scientific programme comprised conversation, two invited speakers (key notes) with their focused topics, one panel, parallel sessions (oral presentations by participants) as well as eight workshops. The main theme for this year was "Rethinking Social Studies".

During the three-day symposium, 396 oral presentations at total were presented by academicans, researchers, teachers and students. 58 of them were directly related to citizenship, citizenship-values relations and citizenship education.

The symposium, which first traditionally started with Stand in Silence because it's a part of national ceremony in Turkey, The National Anthem then the welcoming and opening speeches; continued with conversation of the theme of this years topic: "Rethinking Social Studies" and the keynote speakers offered their presentations afterwards.

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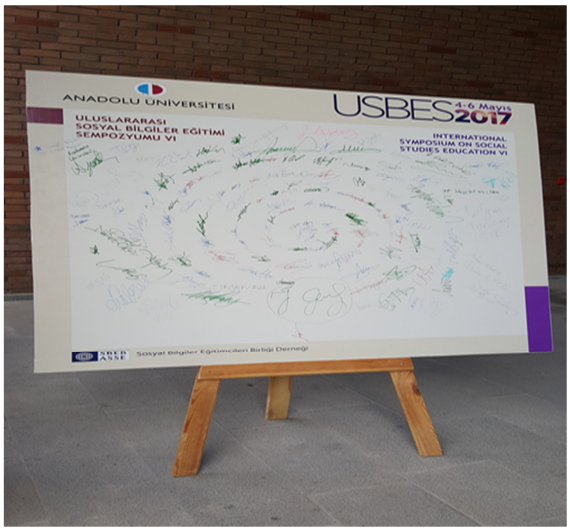

Remembrance corner at the entrance: Participants took photos with Memory of USBES 6 (ISSE 6) board background and signed the signature board

2 Key note speakers

The key note speakers of 6th International Symposium on Social Studies Education came from the U.S., they were Prof. Dr. Binaya Subedi, who is a faculty member of Ohio State University at the department of the Comparative Studies, and Assoc. Prof. Dr. Anatoli Rapoport, who is a faculty member of Purdue University at the department of Education Programs and Teaching. They shared their academic experiences and perspectives on Social studies education, international and global education, migration issues etc.

Prof. Dr. Binaya Subedi gave information about his research on individuals with immigrant backgrounds living in America. And he focussed on the important role of the social studies on the identity construction and belonging development processes. Assoc. Prof. Dr. Anatoli Rapoport began his speech *"The Place of Global Citizenship in the Social Studies Curriculum"* by emphasizing that citizenship has always been the focal point of social studies since the concept and term appeared in the early 1900s. And he focussed on the question *"Global citizenship? Is it real?"* He explained this subject within the framework of global citizenship phenomenon and gave examples from the citizenship education and social studies teaching program and today's multicultural world. And he ended his speech saying: "New global contexts exert economic, political, ideological, and cultural pressure on individuals in all parts of the world. Young people will be much better equipped and prepared to meet global challenges if the school helps them better understand that they are already a part of the globalized world and members of global citizenry. Social studies teachers and many existing social studies curricula have a potential to be at the forefront of this process. After all, good citizenship is the purpose of social studies - good local, national and global citizenship."

2 Panel Discussion: Citizenship education in the light of current developments

In the panel discussion "Citizenship Education in the Light of Current Developments", different definitions of citizenship and the reflections of these definitions on the citizenship education were among the basic issues of debate. The subtheme of the panel was *"Citizenship and Evaluations of Citizenship Education"* The panelists shared their perspectives on citizenship status types and citizenship education. The citizenship approaches of which Assoc. Prof. Dr. Birol Caymaz (Galatasaray Üniversitesi) draw the conceptual framework were discussed in two different contexts. The first one was the republican/communitarian citizenship paradigm and the second was the liberal- democratic citizenship paradigm. In this speech where Thomas Humprey Marshall's categories of civil rights, political rights and social rights were considered as a continuation of the responsibility-based and rights-based citizenship debate, it has been discussed how cultural rights, women's rights, labour's rights and environmental rights have become the categories of citizenship by paying special attention to the critics made for Marshall. Besides, Prof. Dr. Süleyman İnan (Pamukkale Üniversitesi) has pointed out that although the concepts of republic and democracy represent an old subject of debate, the subject maintains its actuality and emphasized that whereas the different types of citizenship that emerged as a result of the separation between republican and democracy paradigms regard the citizens of Republic as a part of a homogenous and political society, they praise the citizenship model in which the various democratic identities manifest themselves in a pluralist cultural environment. In addition, he gave examples which explain the dominance of republican citizenship in Turkey, mentioned how the citizenship debates that have arisen as a result of the problems of increasing population mobility and migrant and refugee crisis in the European Union found echoes in Turkey and assessed that the concept of citizenship will gain a new meaning and scope. On the other hand, Prof. Dr. Yasemin Karaman Kepenekçi (Ankara Üniversitesi) reflected upon the definition and application ways of citizenship education and Prof. Dr. Ahmet Doğanay (Çukurova Üniversitesi) gave information about the repercussions of current debates of citizenship education on the social studies education.

Then the parallel sessions started with presentations.

3 Proceedings from the 6th International Symposium on Social Studies Education

Three main categories appear in the content analysis of the studies in abstract book (*bildiri özetleri kitabı*) of 6th International Symposium on Social Studies Education (for more detailed information see: www.usbes6.com) regarding the citizenship education. These categories consists of the studies which define the citizenship education, mention about the citizenship education and focus on the citizenship-values relationship.

Categories	Subcategories	Frequency
Definition of Citizenship		12
Citizenship Education		11
Citizenship and Values	Values Education	19
	Multiculturalism and living together with differences	16
		Total: 58

Definition of Citizenship

In the studies, the category of the definition of citizenship rather comprised of the studies conducted on the perception of citizenship. It has been noted that both the quantitative and qualitative research methods were used in the studies that focused on the perception of citizenship. The study titled as *"Examining Citizenship Perception According to Various Variability"* is an example in which The Citizenship Perception Scale (developed after the scientific processes in scale consists of 43 items) was used as an indicator of the quantitative research approach. Moreover, the two studies titled as *"Investigation into Role of Social Studies Course in Formation of Social Identity: Secondary School Programs (1931-32, 1938, 1949, 1962, 1970-71, 1984-85)"* and *"The Status of Active Citizenship in 2017 Social Studies Draft Syllabus"* in which the document analysis was made, and the case studies titled as *"Social Studies Student Teachers Views on Social Participation in the Framework of the Concept of Citizenship"* and *"Identification of the Secondary School Students' Senses Related to Homeland Concept by the Way of Metaphors"* are the examples of qualitative research. At the end of the study; 12 categories, related to concept of homeland, are gained. These are: Housing, Piece of Land, Community,

Independence, Strength, Hero, Lifeblood (yaşam kaynağı, it means: source of life), Deposit, Wealth Stability, Faithful (güven veren it means: assuring), Valuable.

The concepts of digital citizenship, active citizenship, perception of citizenship, identity and citizenship relationship were discussed in the studies and the issues of good citizenship appear in the citizenship textbooks.

In the recent years, the concept of digital citizenship and the new definitions of citizenship were added to the themes with respect to the definition of citizenship under the light of new regulations made after the changes in the Turkey's teaching program (for more detailed information see: http://ttkb.meb.gov.tr/program2.aspx). On the other hand, the past years' studies on the perception of citizenship continue to be on the agenda of the researchers.

Citizenship education

In the studies, the category of citizenship education is rather comprised of the opinions regarding the citizenship education and training. In most of the studies about the citizenship education, qualitative research technique was used (compare Grammes and Acikalin, 2016), there were only two studies in which the quantitative research technique was used. For example, the study called *"The Relationship Between Locus of Control and Political Participations of Social Studies Teacher Candidates"* used The Questionnaire of Political Participation (developed by Çuhadar) of University Students, which is an indicator of quantitative approach. The studies titled as *"Investigatıon of Azerbaijan's Primary Education Programme in Terms of Citizenship Education"* and *"Reflections of the Social and Political Events of the Republic of Turkey on the Citizenship Issues in the Social Sciences Curriculum of the Primary School"*, in which the document analysis was made, and the case studies called *"An Investigation of the Primary Class Teachers View Points on the Draft Social Studies and Human Rights Citizenship and Democracy Curricula"* are qualitative research studies.

The opinions on the citizenship education, on the concepts within the scope of citizenship education and the opinions about the teaching programs were the outstanding issues of discussions in the studies. It was observed that the studies included the issues on the axis of human rights, citizenship and democracy lessons as well as different examples of the application of citizenship education in the UK and Azerbaijan. The international and comparative educational studies offer opportunities to global understanding and multicultural perspectives.

Citizenship and values

The studies are more comprised of the studies from the subcategories of values education, multiculturalism and living together with differences. This expresses, on the one hand, the values which the individual is supposed to gain with the citizenship education, and on the other hand, contains the repercussions of multiculturalism approach of the cultural groups who are outside the hegemonic discourse of citizenship on the citizenship education within the framework of citizenship.

Values Education

It is possible to see the examples of both the qualitative and quantitative method in the studies. For instance, there was an experimental study titled as *"Effect of Storyline Method on Enriching Candidate Teachers of Social Studies with Empathy Skills and Value of Respecting to Differences"* in which Scale of Respect to Differences was used as an indicator of quantitative approach. As the example for qualitative research studies, there were two studies *"Imaginary Perceptions of Secondary School Students about Patriotism"* and *"Reflections of the Social and Political Events of the Republic of Turkey on the Citizenship Issues in the Social Sciences Curriculum of the Primary School"* in which metaphoric analysis was used, and two case studies titled as *"An Investigation of the Primary Class Teachers View Points on the Draft Social Studies and Human Rights Citizenship and Democracy Curricula".*

Studies on the category of values education are comprised of the studies conducted on democracy, humanitarianism, peace, justice, patriotism, tolerance and universal values. The studies carried out on this category, which is very important for the relationship between values education and citizenship, are significant in terms of both discovering the opinions of teachers and students, and defining and interpreting the values presented in the textbooks. Similarly, the comparative studies carried out between different countries can deepen the relationship between the values education and citizenship.

Multiculturalism and living with differences

It is possible to see the examples of both the qualitative and quantitative method. Different scales and scanning models were used in the quantitative studies. For example, in the research study titles *"Perception and Awareness of Middle School Students and Social Sciences Teachers on Multiculturalism and Multicultural Education (Kocaeli Province as Case Study)"* a descriptive survey model was applied as a quantitative research method; and in another study titled *"The Relationship Between Social Studies Teacher Candidates Levels of Global Citizenship and Respect to Differences"*, The Global Citizenship Scale and Respect to Differences Scale were used. Moreover, in the category of multiculturalism and living together with differences, the study titled as *"The Presentation of the Culture of Living Together in German Sachunterricht (Life Studies) Textbooks"* was designed as a qualitative case study, and in the research titled *"Social Studies Teachers' Experiences with Immigrant Students"* phenomenology was chosen among the research designs.

The studies on the category of multiculturalism and living together with differences include the studies conducted on the culture of living together, perception of multiculturalism and gender. This category of citizenship education represents the experiences of educators of

social studies regarding the use of multiculturalism for the integration of Syrian refugees into the political and social conditions of Turkey.

Workshops

In the symposium, eight workshops were also organized to address the participants such as social studies educators, academicians, teachers, and graduate students. These workshops were

- Critical Pedagogy (Educational Science),
- Respect for Differences Education through Drama in Social Studies Course,
- Examples of In-Class Activities Related to Values Education in Social Studies,
- Geographical Information Systems (GIS) in Social Studies Education,
- Access to Reliable and Accurate Information in the Media,
- The Wrongs Known as True in Qualitative Research,
- Stereotypes and Gender Equality and Evidence Based
- Social Studies Teaching: Creating Individual Meaning from Part to Whole

As we examine the workshops that are related to citizenship, "Critical Pedagogy (Educational Science)" has argued the ways of developing social responsibility consciousness of an individual and encouraging the individual to participate in the social processes by discussing the problem-posing education approach of Paulo Freire which aspire to gain consciousness; "Respect for Differences Education through Drama in Social Studies Course" have reflected on the ways of improving such activities that can educate the children about the respect for differences through creative drama, which is closely related to Social Studies teaching program; and "Stereotypes and Gender Equality" has examined the concepts of gender, gender equality, stereotypes, prejudices, and discrimination

The future of citizenship education

The Association of Social Studies Educators arranges the International Symposium on Social Studies Education each year, where the researchers in Turkey presents their current studies. The studies handed on in the symposium, which are prepared according to the actual agenda of the day each year, determine the subjects of debate on the social studies education, as well as increase the quality of the discussions about citizenship education. In addition to the general discussions held each year about the citizenship, citizenship education, teaching program and textbooks, this year's debates about the approaches of citizenship education, multiculturalism, belonging, inclusive education approach will probably be the main subjects of debate in the next years. Whereas the social studies educators in Turkey carry out studies on the definition of citizenship education on the one hand, they attempt to examine the subject with reference to the example of Syrian refugees in terms of citizenship education on the other. Different examples of application from different countries about the integration of Syrian refugees into the society are supposed to determine the next year's symposium plan on the social studies teaching and citizenship education. 7th International Symposium on Social Studies Education will be held by Kırşehir Ahi Evran University in 2018.

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Olga Bombardelli, Marta Codato

Country Report: Civic and Citizenship Education in Italy: Thousands of Fragmented Activities Looking for a Systematization

- Civic and citizenship education in Italy is a field to be improved, especially it needs a systematic approach.
- There are official prescriptions for this educational activity (since 1958) which is understood as a transversal task for all subjects.
- A specific subject and the initial teacher training in this field are lacking.
- Schools work a lot for building democratic, responsible citizens, implementing several initiatives to this goal, anyway in very fragmented way.
- Students' participation at school is allowed, and should be more vital.

Purpose: In the present paper we describe how civic and citizenship education takes place in Italy, trying to identify strengths and weaknesses, with the aims both of understanding the situation and of identifying possible measures for improvement.
Methods: The methodology implies an analysis of the official guidelines by the Ministry in this field, a short view of the research publications of the last 30 years, the informal observation of the daily teaching at school from the personal experience of the authors in Italy.
Findings: First of all we study the concept of civic and citizenship education, and focus on the curriculum of civic and citizenship education (aims, teaching approaches, taught time, methods and means) in the school system, including the school culture and the experiences of participation inside school; we investigate the teacher training and role, the informal and non-formal influences in this educational field, and conclude dealing with the student assessment, and the evaluation of the outcomes. In the daily practice there are thousands of activities for civic and citizenship education, but a systematic design is lacking.

Keywords:
Civic and citizenship education, Italian school, teacher training

1 Introduction

The aim of this paper is to investigate the status and role of civic and citizenship education in Italy after the second world war. It is a challenging question, potentially including very broad range of aspects, and we can give only a limited picture.

The methodology of this description implies an analysis of the official guidelines by the Ministry of Education (MIUR Ministero dell'Istruzione, Università e Ricerca) for the schools in this field, a short view of surveys and of the scholarly research, and the informal observation of the daily teaching at school by the authors in Italy.

There is a certain interest in Italy for this educational activity, anyway it needs strong improvement. Complains about the limits of civic and citizenship education in the Italian school system are common in the country, for example, on the daily paper 'Corriere della sera', Antonella De Gregorio talks about 'L'ora (mancante) di educazione civica' (the lacking lesson of civic education) and calls it 'Material chimera' (chimera subject) (De Gregorio, 2014). The Survey Eurydice, 2012, comparing the EU-National strategies to promote key competences in general education, reports no good efforts for Social and civic competences in the Italian school system (Eurydice, 2012, p.14). In fact there is a lot of work for civic and citizenship education in Italy at school and outside it; what is missing is a systematic design. Common citizens, interviewed for example in a small National Survey Demos – Coop about the relationship among Italian people and the school, expressed almost unanimously (96%) the wish of more attention to the 'educazione civica' of the youngsters (Indagine Demos-Coop, 2016, p.12)

We start reporting in exemplary form one of the thousand activities in this area; it is a successful cooperation among schools and the Municipality in the small city of Trento, where students learn competences for practicing democratic participation (Partecipazione plurale).

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Figure 1: The website of 'Partecipazione plurale'

2 Current debate

To describe the current debate we refer briefly to the relevant publications in the last 30 years in this field in Italy, including some links to the international panorama, especially to documentation of the European Institutions: Council of Europe, European Union, IEA (International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement).

2.1

Different names are used for describing this educational activity; the most common one is 'educazione civica' (civic education), used in a very broad manner including both cognitive and affective /behavioural aspects. The term 'educazione politica' (political education) finds wary ears because it is easily confused with a party political approach.

In this paper, besides the Italian name 'educazione civica', we use the term 'civic and citizenship education', a concept consistent both with the national, and the International most used terminology (IEA ICCS 2009, 2016).

The democratic values, the Constitution, the respect of the human rights and of the law, the European cooperation are unanimously underlined by scholars dealing with the topic. In Italy there are no chairs of civic and citizenship education at university, and research in this area is carried out by scholars of all subjects.

In the recent history a big contribution to education for democracy was given by thinkers as Aldo Agazzi, Giovanni Gozzer, Aldo Capitini, and many others. For Italian experts in this field, it is important to consider the image of human being, the idea of life and of humanity, the idea of society that inspires civic and citizenship education. Being education strongly linked to values, scholars used to be divided according to religious (Roman Catholic or not), and ideologic/ party political (right, left) backgrounds.

2.2

Despite that, the image of the good citizen in the current debate is quite similar, acknowledging the fact that it goes far beyond the simple legal relationship between people and the state, and extends both to the respect of rules and to citizens' participation in the political, social and civic life. Civic and citizenship education is very often confused with social, moral, emotional learning, which are close to each other. Some debate can be found even in the concept and in the preferred focus of the 'educazione civica' which is commonly not seen only in information.

There are references to international research, especially in French and English language (very often John Dewey). Examples of a good citizenship are quoted referring to authoritative persons both within Italy (don Lorenzo Milani, founder of the progressive 'Scuola di Barbiana'), and outside Italy (Nelson Mandela, Mahatma Gandhi, etc.).

2.3

Many thinking contributions underline the weakness of the society and focus on education to values, and it happens frequently that it is perceived as rhetoric. It is very common denouncing the actual phenomena of indifference, or violence among young people; Milena Santerini (2010, p.12) considers the decrease of legality and participation as a consequence of rapid social changes. Like many others, Michele Corsi reminds us of the importance of the cooperation among family, society and school (Corsi, 2011).

The influence of the scientific research on the official regulations is mostly indirect, anyway two professors of educational studies assumed recently a direct responsibility for the Ministry: Luciano Corradini in the Prodi Government for the DM 1403, 1996, 'Educazione civica e cultura costituzionale' (Civic Education and Constitutional Culture), and the Direttiva 58 /1996 'Nuove dimensioni formative, educazione civica e cultura costituzionale' (New training dimensions, civic education and constitutional culture), and Giuseppe Bertagna, for the Legge delega 2003. The current prescriptions since 2008 seem not to be supported by a strong scientific research. Important are the suggestions of Bruno Losito about the need of developing indicators for self-evalution, useful in identifying both the aspects that should characterize the activity of the school and the elements that could be subject to attention and intervention (Losito, Autovalutazione, pp. 12-14).

2.4

The European dimension (Chistolini, 2006), and the aims agreed at European level, the European Recommendations are widely accepted and quoted, especially the European reference framework on key competences for lifelong learning 2006 (Recommendation 2006/962/EC), anyway the concept of 'competence' undergoes critical remarks by several scholars in Italy, and especially in

combination with quantitative practices of assessment, because of the fear that economic habits colonize education and focus only on observable ad measurable outcomes.

2.5

Scholars discuss about possible 'neutrality' of the school and value education as teaching is always influenced by the social, cultural and political situation, and it is difficult at school to prevent a passive acceptance of the current interpretation of questions like terrorism, migration etc. All publications on the topic express the idea that students at school should not be involved in party political matters and that indoctrination is to be excluded.

3 A difficult way towards competent citizenship: aims and organization

All the general introductions to curricula in force in the various school levels refer to the Italian Constitution and to the fundamental rights and duties of citizens that it specifies and guarantees. The Italian school system pays attention to the European inputs, like the 'European Year of Citizenship through Education' 2005, the European Year of Citizens 2013, the Charter on Education for Democratic Citizenship and Human Rights Education (2010), Promoting citizenship and the common values of freedom, tolerance and non-discrimination through education (2015).

Summarizing the statements of the current legislation, the term 'educazione civica' is used in a very broad manner in the Italian school system; is related to the knowledge and exercise of rights and responsibilities. Civic and citizenship education is essentially characterized as education for democracy and for democratic living together, with full respect for social and cultural differrences.

3.1

'Educazione civica' in the official legislation involves a variety of cognitive and attitudinal strands; it concerns knowledge and skills, and conceptual understandings, interest, and dispositions to engage.

It is explicitly declared in the list of the general aims and specific objectives established in primary and secondary school curricula; we find prescriptions on 'educazione civica' both in the general legislation for the school system (official reforms and syllabuses), and in specific laws (or decrees) for this educational activity. We list here the most important ones:

- The syllabus for the 'Scuola elementare' (primary school), written in 1945, under the influence of the USA counselor Charleton Wolsey Washburne, was democratically oriented against totalitarism and nationalism.
- 'Educazione civica' was officially established the first time in Italy by a decree of Aldo Moro (minister for the 'Pubblica Istruzione' during the years 1957- 1959) dating as far back as 1958 'Programmi per l'insegnamento dell'educazione civica negli Istituti e Scuole di istruzione secondaria e artistica' (Programs for Civic Education in Institutes and Schools of Secondary and Artistic Education) (DPR 13.6. 1958, no. 585).
- The civic education is underlined in the Syllabus for the comprehensive lower secondary school 'scuola media unica' in 1962 and in the 1979 (Nuovi programmi per la scuola media, DM 9 febbraio 1979).
- The Syllabus 1985 for the primary school established 'Studi sociali e conoscenza della vita sociale' (Social studies and knowledge of social life). The 'Programmi per la Scuola elementare' (DPR 12.2.1985, n 104) included 'Educazione alla convivenza democratica' (Education to a democratic cohesistence).
- The 'educazione interculturale' (intercultural education) finds strong attention by the Ministry as well, especially since 1989 (Circolare Ministeriale 8 settembre 1989, n. 301) 'Inserimento degli stranieri nella scuola dell'obbligo' (Integration of the immigrants children in the compulsory school).
- We can remind the 'Programmi di insegnamento di educazione civica' (Programs to teach civic education) D.M. 58, 8.2.1996, the Law 28.3. 2003, n.53, Delega al Governo per la definizione delle norme generali sull'istruzione e dei livelli essenziali delle prestazioni in materia di istruzione e formazione professionale, and the 'Carta dei valori della cittadinanza e dell'integrazione' DM 23.4.2007 (Delegated Law by the Government for the definition of general education standards and essential levels about Vocational Education and Training, and the 'Charter of Values for citizenship and integration' DM 23.4.2007).
- The Law 'Cittadinanza e Costituzione' 169/2008 puts the basis for regulating civic and citizenship education in the Italian school system at all levels and degrees; it is integrated by the 'Documento di indirizzo per la sperimentazione dell'insegnamento Cittadinanza e Costituzione' (Document for the experimentation of the teaching Citizenship and Constitution: Document 04/03/2009), followed by the Ministerial Circular Letter 86/2010, which explicitly introduces dedicated and cross-disciplinary themes of 'citizenship and constitution' in all possible occasions for doing so. In the curricula of history, geography and social studies in primary schools; law and economics (in the school tracks of upper secondary schools where they are taught, also technical and vocational schools), biology (bioethic), etc. it is planned to deal with issues related to civic education, although without a precise time table and without marking.

The Circular letter 86/2010 gives a long list of objectives: acquisition of social and civic competence of citizenship, as instantiated by critically appraising facts and behaviours mediating and peacefully managing conflicts, fair playing in sport, respect towards oneself and the others, social rules, caring for one's and the public good, showing kindness, handling responsibly towards the community defending one's own rights and respecting those of the others, carrying out one's own duties participating in democracy initiatives accepting different people putting prejudices and stereotypes into question, adopting sustainable behaviour with respect to the environment.

The parts on civic and citizenship education in the existing Guidelines are short documents, giving general principles and contents, not prescribing in detail how to deal with civic matters in the different school years.

3.2

The main objective of the on-going nationwide programme 'Cittadinanza e costituzione' (Citizenship and Constitution) is to highlight and consolidate the values attached to the Italian Constitution. Assigned objectives are not only in terms of the theoretical knowledge students should acquire, but also in terms of skills to be mastered, and attitudes and values to be developed.

Civic and citizenship Education is expected to encourage critical knowledge, in order to prevent fanatism and to avoid acritical adherence to a specific model, it is an effort for reflexion and documented coherent decision making by the pupils.

- The 'Indicazioni nazionali per il curricolo' (National guidelines for the curriculum), (2012) declare the central place of the 'educazione alla cittadinanza'; in the first part: 'Cultura della persona' (Culture of the person), where we find a chapter 'Per una nuova cittadinanza' (For a new citizenship), and in the second part 'Finalità generali' (General aims), where there is a chapter about 'Scuola, Costituzione, Europa' (School, Constitution, Europe). In the chapter 'Cittadinanza e Costituzione' (under 'La scuola del primo ciclo'), the declared aims are buildìng a sense of legality and developing ethic of responsibility performing the duty of choosing and acting consciously.

Figure 2: 'Indicazioni nazionali per il curricolo' 2012 (National Guidelines for the curriculum), pp. 25-26.

Cittadinanza e Costituzione

È compito peculiare di questo ciclo scolastico porre le basi per l'esercizio della cittadinanza attiva, potenziando e ampliando gli apprendimenti promossi nella scuola dell'infanzia.

L'educazione alla cittadinanza viene promossa attraverso esperienze significative che consentano di apprendere il concreto prendersi cura di se stessi, degli altri e dell'ambiente e che favoriscano forme di cooperazione e di solidarietà. Questa fase del processo formativo è il terreno favorevole per lo sviluppo di un'adesione consapevole a valori condivisi e di atteggiamenti cooperativi e collaborativi che costituiscono la condizione per praticare la convivenza civile.

Obiettivi irrinunciabili dell'educazione alla cittadinanza sono la costruzione del senso di legalità e lo sviluppo di un'etica della responsabilità, che si realizzano nel dovere di scegliere e agire in modo consapevole e che implicano l'impegno a elaborare idee e a promuovere azioni finalizzate al miglioramento continuo del proprio contesto di vita, a partire dalla vita quotidiana a scuola e dal personale coinvolgimento in *routine* consuetudinarie che possono riguardare la pulizia e il buon uso dei luoghi, la cura del giardino o del cortile, la custodia dei sussidi, la documentazione, le prime forme di partecipazione alle decisioni comuni, le piccole riparazioni, l'organizzazione del lavoro comune, ecc.

Accanto ai valori e alle competenze inerenti la cittadinanza, la scuola del primo ciclo include nel proprio curricolo la prima conoscenza della Costituzione della Repubblica italiana. Gli allievi imparano così a rico-

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noscere e a rispettare i valori sanciti e tutelati nella Costituzione, in particolare i diritti inviolabili di ogni essere umano (articolo 2), il riconoscimento della pari dignità sociale (articolo 3), il dovere di contribuire in modo concreto alla qualità della vita della società (articolo 4), la libertà di religione (articolo 8), le varie forme di libertà (articoli 13-21). Imparano altresì l'importanza delle procedure nell'esercizio della cittadinanza e la distinzione tra diversi compiti, ruoli e poteri. Questo favorisce una prima conoscenza di come sono organizzate la nostra società (articoli 35-54) e le nostre istituzioni politiche (articoli 55-96). Al tempo stesso contribuisce a dare un valore più largo e consapevole alla partecipazione alla vita della scuola intesa come comunità che funziona sulla base di regole condivise.

Parte integrante dei diritti costituzionali e di cittadinanza è il diritto alla parola (articolo 21) il cui esercizio dovrà essere prioritariamente tutelato ed incoraggiato in ogni contesto scolastico e in ciascun alunno, avendo particolare attenzione a sviluppare le regole di una conversazione corretta. È attraverso la parola e il dialogo tra interlocutori che si rispettano reciprocamente, infatti, che si costruiscono significati condivisi e si opera per sanare le divergenze, per acquisire punti di vista nuovi, per negoziare e dare un senso positivo alle differenze così come per prevenire e regolare i conflitti.

La lingua italiana costituisce il primo strumento di comunicazione e di accesso ai saperi. La lingua scritta, in particolare, rappresenta un mezzo decisivo per l'esplorazione del mondo, l'organizzazione del pensiero e per la riflessione sull'esperienza e il sapere dell'umanità.

È responsabilità di tutti i docenti garantire la padronanza della lingua italiana, valorizzando al contempo gli idiomi nativi e le lingue comunitarie. Così intesa, la scuola diventa luogo privilegiato di apprendimento e di confronto libero e pluralistico.

- The current school reform, called 'La Buona scuola' (The good school) (Law 107/2015) focus on civic and citizenship education as well, anyway it is doubtful the question of effective teaching changes in this field, as long as teachers don't have intial training for that and the teaching activity is not established in autonomous way.

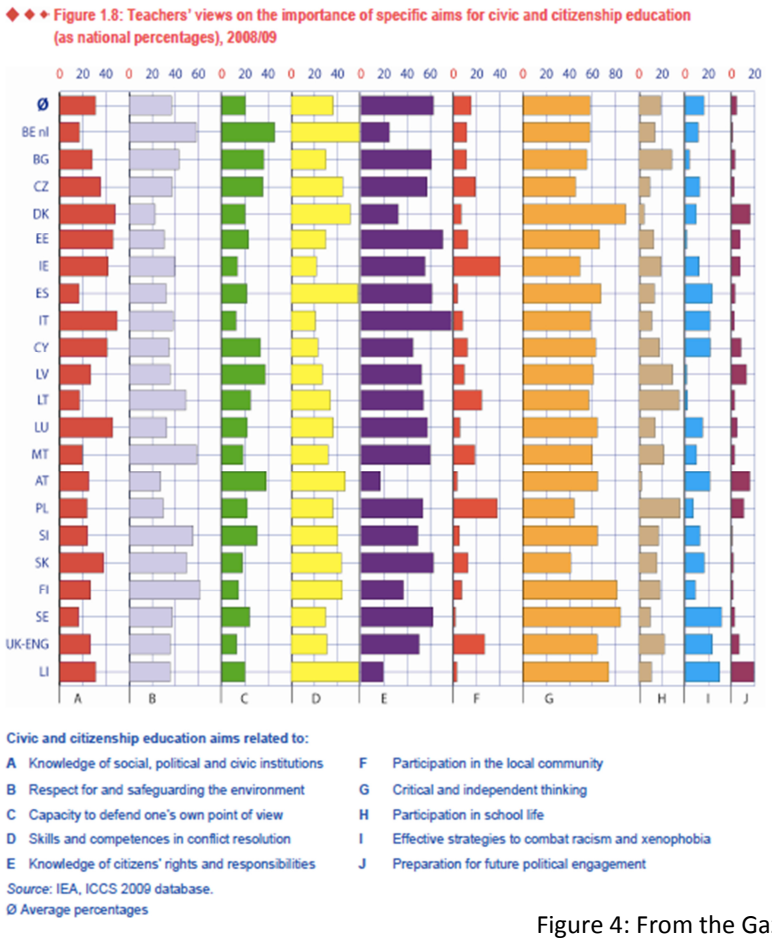
It is encouraging that the PON Programma Operativo Nazionale (National operative Plan, 2017), which launched a competition for financing projects linked to 10 key competences, considers among them 3 competences in the field of civics: 'Competenze cittadinanza globale' (including economic citizenship), 'Cittadinanza europea', 'Cittadinanza e creatività digitali' (PON Scuola, 2017); anyway it involves only the winner schools, not all schools in systematic way.

Social and civic competences are considered very important, linked to the multicultural society, a sense of belonging to one's own community, to the Nation, to Europe, and to the World. Ethnic conceptions of nationalism are clearly rejected by scholars, and not accepted at school, being considered as fascist heritage.

Analysing the teachers' views on the importance of specific aims for civic and citizenship education, 2008/09, we can see from the IEA-ICCS study 2009 (reported in the Survey Eurydice 2012 too) that almost 80 %, of Italian teachers identified 'promoting knowledge of citizens' rights and responsibilities' as one of the most important aims of citizenship education, higher than any other EU country in (Eurydice, 2012), probably because teachers see the need for that, and even because acquiring knowledge is considered the first task of learners at school, and of the teachers in general terms.

As natural consequence of this assumed priority, the aims 'Skills and competence in conflict resolutions', 'Participation in local community and in school life', 'Preparation for future political engagement' are underestimated. It is sad observing this lack of attention to those aspects; in fact general teaching practices don't support active involvement of students and it happens very often that allowing participation is considered wasted time. Sure the lack of training of teachers in civic field during the initial training is one of the reasons of their choices; besides that secondary school teachers are required to be prepared in their subjects only, and mostly are not confident with pedagogic measures, and social questions. It is not surpriseing that Italian teachers don't consider 'Capacity to defend one's own point of view' as an important aim, because the passive role of the pupils is still very common, as it happens in some other school systems as well; the answers linked to this aim seem not very consistent with the good appreciation of the aim 'Critical and independent thinking' at first view, in fact critical thinking is probably considered part of a good approach to knowledge. There are important differences among teachers of the European countries in their views on important aims for civic and citizenship education, probably linked to school traditions, teacher training and social environment.

Figure 3: Teachers' views on the importance of specific aims for civic and citizenship education



EACEA, Eurydice 2012, p.35.

4 School approaches to citizenship education

The art 1. of the Law 'Cittadinanza e Costituzione' states that the teaching activity in civic field has to be delivered in the common subjects during their teaching time; it is intended to be delivered through a cross-curricular dimension integrated into several conventional subjects (such as history, economy, law, social studies, geography, philosophy or religious education/ ethics); the strongest bond in the first 8 school years is with the area of history (C.M. 86/ 2010).

About the taught time of civic and citizenship education, being not a subject, there are no compulsory timing prescriptions. Actual implementation largely depends on the interest and willingness of teachers inside each school. There are big difficulties, because of the feeling of the teachers of having no time and because of their reluctance to deal with political concepts.

Nobody knows exactly how many lessons of civic and citizenship education are taught during a school year in Italy. In a survey of the Associazione Treellle, for young-sters among 19-23 years, 'L'educazione alla cittadinanza nella scuola superiore italiana. Sintesi di una indagine sui giovani diplomati' (Citizenship education in the Italian upper secondary school. Synthesis of a survey on the young school graduates') (2016), at the question 'How much and how is civic and citizenship education taught at school?', 53% of the students said that they had the opportunity to deal with topics of civic and citizenship education 1 or 2 times in a year.

Figure 4: From the Gazzetta Ufficiale, 2009, p.3

2. Il quadro orario settimanale delle attività e delle discipline delle classi a tempo prolungato della scuola secondaria di I grado, definito tenendo conto dei nuovi piani di studio, è così determinato:

Discipline o gruppi di discipline	I classe	II classe	III classe
Italiano, Storia, Geografia	15	15	15
Matematica e Scienze	9	9	9
Tecnologia	2	2	2
Inglese	3	3	3
Seconda lingua comunitaria	2	2	2
Arte e immagine	2	2	2
Scienze motoria e sportive	2	2	2
Musica	2	2	2
Religione cattolica	1	1	1
Approfondimento di discipline a scelta delle scuole	1/2	1/2	1/2
Totale orario settimanale	39/40	39/40	39/40

Figure 5: From the Gazzetta Ufficiale, 2009, p.5

Art. 2

(quadro orario e composizione delle cattedre nelle classi a tempo normale)

1. Il quadro orario settimanale delle discipline della scuola secondaria di I grado, definito tenendo conto dei nuovi piani di studio è così determinato:

Discipline o gruppi di discipline	I classe	II classe	III classe
Italiano, Storia, Geografia	9	9	9
Matematica e Scienze	6	6	6
Tecnologia	2	2	2
Inglese	3	3	3
Seconda lingua comunitaria	2	2	2
Arte e immagine	2	2	2
Scienze motoria e sportive	2	2	2
Musica	2	2	2
Religione cattolica	1	1	1
Attività di approfondimento in materie letterarie	1	1	1
Totale orario settimanale	30	30	30

Figure 6: How much and how is citizenship education taught at school?

Nel tuo percorso di scuola superiore, con che frequenza gli insegnanti hanno affrontato temi di "educazione alla cittadinanza" o "educazione civica"?	%	
Mai	12,3	66
Qualche volta all'anno (1 o 2 volte all'anno)	53,7	
Qualche volta al mese (1 o 2 volte al mese)	24	34
Quasi ogni settimana (1 o 2 volte alla settimana)	10	
Totale	**100,0**	**100,0**
BASE: Totale campione (800 casi)		

(In the upper secondary school, how frequently did your teachers deal with civic or citizenship education? 'Never'; 'Sometimes (1 or 2 times each year)'; 'Sometimes (1 or 2 times each month)'; 'Almost ones a week')
Survey of the Associazione Treellle, 2016, p. 3

Schools have the responsibility for taking decisions on teaching times, up to a maximum of 15% of the total annual teaching hours, also they could start up supplementary courses to the ones established at national level. The space for optional learning subjects is very limited (s. time tables in EACEA Eurydice 2015, p. 40); there is flexibility in teaching contents, methods and means.

4.1

The contents of the citizenship curricula cover a wide and very comprehensive range of topics, addressing the fundamental principles of democratic societies, contemporary societal issues such as cultural diversity and sustainable development, as well as the European and international dimensions.

Information concerning Italian legislation, the Italian Constitution, Regional statutes, National, European and international documents, e.g. the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union, the Charter of the United Nation, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the Convention of the Rights of the Child, the Italian Charter of values, citizenship and integration, rights and duties of the citizens, of the workers, institutional structures of the Italian Republic and bodies at a local, national, international level, including a view to the Constitutions of other countries (C.M. 86/2010).

Studying the Constitution learners are expected not only to know the content of the document, even to interiorize a 'map of values' to practice the main values of citizenship at all levels; it doesn't mean memorizing the articles.

Cross-disciplinary contents are primarily related to good practices, responsible behaviours. Transversal are defined themes related to: legality, social cohesion, National and European belonging, within the inter-national mutually dependent community, human rights, equal opportunities, pluralism, respect for diversity, intercultural dialogue, ethic of responsibility (at both an individual and a social level), bioethics, conservation of the artistic and cultural heritage, ecology, sustainable development, personal and social well-being, fair play in sport, safety /in different forms, especially road safety education, solidarity, voluntary service, active citizenship.

4.2

Schools and teachers have the responsibility for deciding on teaching methods, and teaching organization. New ways of organizing teaching and learning are recommended**,** methods fostering the active role and participation of students are also encouraged, especially in the Circular letter 86/ 2010*,* in a school in which strongly traditional teaching methods are the norm, still mainly focusing (in secondary schools) on the sequence lesson - individual study - assessment. In the Italian schools the habit of fostering dialogue is not uncommon, on the contrary, working in groups is not a diffuse habit; although most teachers are informed about cooperative learning, the common feeling is that working in groups is not effective. According to the Survey TALIS 2013, about 30% of Italian teachers of lower secondary education reported of being familiar in working with their students in small groups (OECD, TALIS, 2014, p. 157).

Only few teachers use innovative working ways like case studies, role play etc. and teaching-learning activities carried out are not often inspired by participative criteria.

All teachers must contribute to implementing the objectives as defined in national curricula related to citizenship and the constitution, they must also undertake teaching projects aimed at deepening pupils' knowledge of the Italian Constitution and developing values for active citizenship. The participation in national and in European projects (The European Parliament of youth, e twinning etc.) is part of the work of many schools.

It is worth recalling that over the last few years, on the basis of proposals put forward by the MIUR (Ministero dell'Istruzione, dell'Università e della Ricerca) and also due to the initiative of teachers' associations, NGO's, voluntary associations, various cross-curricular and extra-curricular projects and programmes have been carried out in theme areas at times not explicitly envisaged by curricula (such as education for peace, intercultural education, environmental education). There is an high number of small innovative experiences in the field of citizenship education, thanks to the engagement of several teachers and group of teachers. A big educational work is done daily against corruption, for the 'legalità' (legality) ('Festival della legalità' in many cities), fighting the mafia, etc., anyway it is a fragmented, mostly marginal field, and not a systematic approach.

4.3

Several teaching means are used by the teachers. The schools are in charge to decide about the adoption of schoolbooks and there are good textbooks and ebooks (Vincelli, 2011) for Civic education, published by several publishing houses (data on MIUR http://hubmiur . pubblica . istruzione . it/web/istruzione/dg_efid/libri_testo.

Several examples of teaching the European citizenship' in schoolbooks, with texts and pictures, are available in the ebook Diventare cittadini europei (Bombardelli, 2015, pp. 177-193).

But the civic textbooks are hardly used by teachers, and, consequently, they are often not even purchased by students. According to a survey performed in the past in the region of Trentino, about 70 % of the teachers declare that they don't use the school book for civics and about the same number don't answer the question regarding how they follow the book (Bombardelli 1997, pp.153-154); unfortunately no improvements are perceived at present.

This lack is compensated in some classes by the chance to read and discuss journals at school. The Action 'Il quotidiano in classe', offered by the Giovani Editori to the upper secondary schools since the year 2000, involves 2.000.000 students and more than 45.000 teachers (Action 'Il quotidiano in classe').

Sometimes teachers make use of audiovisual support materials, and in some schools there are educational efforts referred to how watching video or using internet in appropriate way.

Figure 7: from the school book Binazzi, Tucci, Bertini (2011).

2. Uguaglianza e pari dignità sociale 241

Costituzione
Articolo 3

dell'uguaglianza, la realizzazione cioè dell'uguaglianza sostanziale, quella che si raggiunge quando siano garantiti a tutti pari opportunità ed eguali punti di partenza. Questo compito che la Repubblica deve svolgere, di passare dalla forma alla sostanza, doveva avere come premessa indispensabile la pari dignità sociale di tutti i cittadini. Bisognava, cioè, arricchire il concetto stesso di uguaglianza affermando che ciascun uomo è portatore di valori ed è un valore per la società, e che perciò merita, è degno, appunto, al pari di tutti gli altri di essere considerato un uomo. La proposta di introdurre nell'articolo 3 della Costituzione, oltre al riconoscimento dell'uguaglianza dei cittadini di fronte alla legge, anche quello della loro "pari dignità sociale" fu così motivata: «Noi riteniamo [...] che ad ogni cittadino compete nell'ordinamento sociale italiano una pari dignità sociale, qualunque sia la sua condizione e l'attività che svolge. Si potrebbe osservare che questa "parità" di dignità sociale può essere in qualche modo compresa nella "uguaglianza dei cittadini di fronte alla legge". In realtà non è così e lo dimostra il fatto che anche in altri punti del progetto di Costituzione la Commissione dei 75 ha ravvisato la necessità di prevedere il trattamento dovuto ai cittadini, dove, per esempio, si parla del trattamento dei detenuti, stabilendo che sia a tutti dovuto un trattamento ispirato a criteri di umanità. Evidentemente non si ritiene che il principio di pura e semplice uguaglianza di fronte alla legge valga anche ad eliminare tutte le differenze di trattamento che corrispondono alla condizione del cittadino e al posto che egli occupa nella scala sociale».
Di solito non sono i detenuti, ma altre le categorie di persone alle quali pensiamo debba essere garantita pari dignità sociale: lo dimostrano anche le letture che proponiamo. Da questo punto di vista la condizione del detenuto a cui si fece riferimento nella discussione alla Costituente è estrema e perciò davvero esemplare.
Infatti, siamo portati a pensare che chi compie un reato decide di escludersi dalla società, e quindi essa può disinteressarsi di lui. Ma riflettiamo più attentamente. Il detenuto, se è stato condannato e incarcerato in seguito a un equo processo (uguaglianza di fronte alla legge), non dovrà comunque essere sottoposto alla pena *aggiuntiva* di vedere la sua dignità cancellata.

Aspetti della vita secondo l'ordine di importanza
(valori percentuali)

Quanto considera importanti per la sua vita le cose di questo elenco?

	Per niente o poco importante	Abbastanza importante	Molto importante	Numero delle risposte
La salute	0,5	7,6	91,9	2.140
La famiglia	0,7	12,8	86,5	2.145
La pace	2,0	17,8	80,2	2.134
La libertà	2,1	18,3	79,6	2.143
L'amore	2,4	21,6	76,0	2.133
Le amicizie	2,7	23,0	74,3	2.138
L'istruzione	4,0	27,8	68,1	2.138
Il lavoro	2,6	30,2	67,2	2.125
La democrazia	5,9	28,0	66,1	2.109
L'autorealizzazione	4,6	31,3	64,1	2.125
Il rispetto delle regole	5,0	37,7	57,3	2.134
La sicurezza e l'ordine pubblico	7,3	40,5	52,2	2.128
Il tempo libero	6,7	41,8	51,5	2.140
La solidarietà	9,5	43,3	47,2	2.135
Gli interessi culturali	13,1	44,1	42,7	2.134
Il divertimento	6,2	52,0	41,8	2.137
Il benessere economico	6,5	54,4	39,2	2.136
Lo sport	25,1	40,0	34,9	2.138
L'impegno sociale	21,3	50,1	28,6	2.127
Il fare carriera	29,5	43,4	27,1	2.118
La patria	30,0	44,3	25,7	2.075
Il guadagnare molto	22,6	51,8	25,6	2.124
La religione	41,1	37,2	21,7	2.11
Il prestigio sociale	40,3	42,3	17,4	2.104
L'attività politica	73,8	20,0	6,2	2.089

Rapporto giovani. Sesta indagine IARD sulla condizione giovanile in Italia, 2007

Josef Sudek, *Window of my Studio with a Blossom*, 1950.

4.4

Cooperation with the world outside the school is officially encouraged; the Ministry of Education recognizes that there is a big influence of the social environment on the learning results of students in this field.

According to the law 169/2008 and the Ministerial Circular 86/2010, school Institutions are required to establish effective partnerships with the families, local authorities, the Student Councils (Consulte degli studenti), with the local bodies, local educational groups and Police Forces as well as with cultural and sports associations and NGOs, with the Magistrature (Judiciary), with socio-cultural and sport associations, with the third sector, in order to facilitate alliances to reach the goals. (C.M. n. 86 / 2010).

Sometimes external experts are invited to the school classrooms, like policemen, people engaged with the environment or for other goals, writers of well-known

books, public authorities. Recently even lawyers have offered help to the schools in order to perform civic and citizenship education, knowledge of law, against bullism, cyberbullism, gender discrimination' (Avvocatura istituzionale, 2017).

There are experiences of schools opening to the external society, organizing visits to the municipality, il 'Consiglio comunale dei bambini' (Children councils, s. 'Piccoli esercizi di democrazia'), according to the art.7 of the Law n. 285/ 1997. Schools cooperate in World Days (for peace, against lawlessness, against corruption, etc.) and in international celebrations (Women's Rights, Remembrance Day etc.).

Students have the chance to organize public debates and events inside school, even though they do not always use this possibility. There are several initiatives like public speeches, lectures, debates, intercultural exchanges/twinning, help the Third World etc.

5 School culture and participation

The school is a privileged place where students learn to live together, where they recognize rights and practical sense of duty, where they acquire knowledge and criteria to critically assess the reality; it is the garrison of legality and justice. (C.M. 86/2010). The same circular letter reminds several social rules (preventing bad behaviour, helping school mates, against prejudices and stereotypes, etc) together with the participation at the initiatives of school democracy, the respect and the valuing of the artistic, cultural, environmental patrimony (C.M. n. 86 /2010).

5.1

The experience that students have within the class and school is very important to familiarize with the forms of the social organization and democratic behaviour.

At school students learn forms of living together, which can be active and democratic or not. The school atmosphere directly calls into question the school's organisation as a whole, but also the teaching practices, the relational models enacted by teachers the internal rules, the leading values, the communication forms, the ceremonies which help for building behaviours and developing a sense of belonging.

5.2

The Ministry of Education issued specific directives, inviting school heads and teachers to encourage the creation of "meeting places and opportunities" and to favor "the school's openness to educational and cultural demands coming from its surrounding area" as an "answer to students' demands for more active participation in school life" (Ministry of Education directive no. 133, 1996).

The Circular letter 86/2010 fosters the participation of the pupils in the school planning, reminds the importance of training students in citizenship by encouraging participation in the bodies through which democracy is expressed at school like students' organizations, or in initiatives of peer-education and cooperative learning, of voluntary service, etc.

Each school has a 'Regolamento d'Istituto' (Regulation of the Institute**)**, and there is a 'Statuto degli studenti' (Statute of Students), which guarantees certain fundamental rights and duties of the students inside school. Co-responsibility pacts are agreed in several schools, especially where outstanding teachers and headmasters do it.

5.3

Students' democratic participation in upper secondary school is explicitly envisaged by current legislation. For the 'Consulta degli studenti' (Council of the students**)**, at a provincial level, two representatives for each upper secondary school are elected among students for a two years term. Then, they in turn elect among them the presidents of the provincial student organisations who meet together in the National Council (Eurydice, 2012, pp. 30ss).

Class representatives and Student councils are elected in the upper secondary education by all students in a class. Students elections mostly take place in formal / burocratic way; students have the right to hold meetings, set up committees and elect their own representatives for class and school committees.

When participating in school bodies, students can exercise a consultative, or mostly an informative role. Sometimes the students' views is asked by the school management 'after' the conclusion of the decision making process.

5.4

There is parent participation in democratic school governance too; the 'Organi collegiali' (Collegial bodies) were introduced with the Law 30.7.1973, n. 477 (Legge sugli Organi collegiali), anyway it doesn't imply a real influence on the school's decisions, and therefore the 'Organi collegiali' lost quickly (already in the 80s) the families' interest in most places, where very few parents vote for their class representatives and feel in charge for school improvement; only in some cases there are very good practices.

In the most cases students' active participation in and outside school is not widely encouraged and it is held as largely unsatisfactory; better measures are needed, enlarging the number of students entitled to actively participate, giving more space to the youngsters for initiatives and proposal, improving their role in school governance, strengthening the relation among elected representative and the electoral student body. The most needed change is a better understanding of the importance of school participation for enhancing competences and responsibility of future citizens in a democratic society.

As teaching civic and citizenship education is officially in charge of all teachers, teacher training and support should be provided for all of them.

6 Education, training and support for teachers and school heads

6.1

The role of the teachers and of the headmasters is irreplaceable, both as regards their specific function of teaching and organizing learning situations, and through exemplification of correct behaviours as well.

6.2

Teachers of the secondary school are trained and employed in order to teach their own subject.

The MIUR expressed the need for sensibilisation and training of the teachers (Law 169/2008) in this area, anyway teacher training Institutions (universities for the teachers of the secondary schools) are not required to offer training in this field, introducing specific courses and ECTS.

Education for citizenship can be part of the in service training of teachers, which is first of all in charge to the schools and the topics can be chosen by the schools and the teachers; very seldom they decide training on questions related to civics and citizenship education. There are no specific training or support measures for school heads in this area.

It is worth recalling the answers given by teachers regarding their own in-service training experience, in the IEA ICCS study (2009). 59% of upper secondary school teachers and 55% of lower secondary school teachers said they had never taken part in any specific in-service training activities for civic education. 41% of upper secondary school teachers and 38% of lower secondary school teachers considered training on teaching methods as one of the priorities for improving the teaching of civic education in school. In lower secondary schools, 49% of the teachers thought that the support of external experts was fundamental (38% of upper secondary school teachers). (IEA ICCS 2009) (s.Toods, 2010).

6.3

Contribution to the continuing professional development of teachers are given by the Universities, by ANSAS-INDIRE (Istituto Nazionale per la Documentazione, Innovazione, e Ricerca Educativa), by RAI Educational, by the NGO's, associations like AUSE (Associazione Universitaria Studi Europei), AEDE (Association Européenne des Enseignants), TREELLLE (Life Long Learning), ADI (Associazione Docenti Italiani), AIMC (Associazione Italiana Maestri Cattolici), UCIIM (Unione Cattolica Italiana Insegnanti Medi), CIDI (Centro di iniziativa democratica degli insegnanti), and several associations for the teachers of different subjects, and especially by Bodies devoted to Civic development as Cittadinanza attiva (Intesa Miur-Cittadinanzattiva), Centro di Ateneo per i diritti umani (Centre of Human Rights) in Padova etc., including associations not directly related to school questions which deal with issues of civic and citizenship education, among other tasks.

There is no professional journal devoted only to civic and citizenship education, but professional journals very often include articles in this teaching activity. Just to give an example, some recent topics: Lazzarini (2016). L'educazione alla cittadinanza come «diritto alla città», and Podda (2015). Cittadinanza partecipata e interculturalità (the list of the journals in educational field classified at A level by the Italian Institutions is in http://www.siped.it/wp-content/uploads/2014/02/RIVISTE-DI-FASCIA-A-DELLO-INTERO-AMBITO-PEDAGOGICO.pdf).

New forms for teacher in service training are planned by the Italian Government for the new teachers (INDIRE Formazione dei docenti neoassunti 2016/17), and hopefully they will strenghten this area. The Teachers' training national plan considers civic and citizenship education as one the priorities for the years 2016-2019 (MIUR, Piano per la formazione dei docenti 2016-2019, p. 26); improvement can be expected by the new activated digital platform of the MIUR, for the teacher in service training: S.O.F.I.A. (Sistema Operativo per la Formazione e le Iniziative di Aggiornamento dei docenti).

7. Non formal and informal learning

In the field of learning citizenship the influence of the media and of the tradition is strong. In the daily life, symbols like the flags (the Italian flag is always together with the EU flag, sometimes with the regional one too), songs (old ones, celebrating resistance, troubles in the wars, or love to the native place, or workers fighting, and new ones, often including civic messages, like 'Io non mi sento italiano' (I don't feel Italian) of Giorgio Gaber, are an indirect way of building forms of civic and citizenship conscience.

Figure 8: Civic and Citizenship education outside the school

Tab. 4

Al di fuori della scuola, ti è capitato di approfondire i temi dell'educazione alla cittadinanza? Se sì, in quali occasioni?	%
No, mai	17,8
Sì, personalmente (letture, ricerche in internet, film, ecc.)	47,1
Sì, in discussioni in famiglia o con amici	50,2
Sì, in dibattiti pubblici	13,3
Sì, in gruppi / associazioni culturali	9,3
Sì, in gruppi / associazioni di volontariato	9,0
Sì, in partiti / gruppi politici	3,7
Altro	1,0
BASE: Totale campione (800 casi) - Risposta multipla	

(Translation: 'Outside the school, have you had opportunity to deal with topics linked to education for citizenship? In case, in which opportunities? 'No, never'; 'Yes, individually (reading, searching in internet, film etc.)'; 'Yes, discussing in family or with friends'; 'Yes, in public debates'; 'Yes, in cultural groups/ associations'; 'Yes in volunteering groups/ associations'; 'Yes, in political parties groups'; 'Others').

Survey of the Associazione Treellle, 2016, p. 3

It is a very good general habit in Italy that the public authorities (mostly the Municipalities) invite all the new 18 years old youngsters and solemnly give them the text of the Italian Constitution, welcoming them in the world

of adult citizens, able to vote.

Figure 9: The President of the Provincia Autonoma di Trento, Bruno Dorigatti, delivering the book of the Italian Constituition to the new voters (18 years old)

There are plenty of Associations, volunteering groups at local, national and international level dealing with tasks related to citizenship education, very randomly listed: Clean up, Libera. Associazioni, nomi e numeri contro le mafie, MFE (Movimento Federalista Europeo), Italian sections of international associations (like Amnesty International), even Municipalities, Regional and Provincial Councils, religious groups, in all Italian regions, although with differences among the geographical parts of the country. In Italy there is less tradition for volunteering in comparison to the Northern European countries, anyway there are 44 000 volunteering associations according to the Report of Csvnet (Coordinamento Nazionale dei Centri di Servizio per il Volontariato) 2015, and they contribute indirectly to develope civic responsibility.

8 Achieved results and student assessment

The outcomes of civic and citizenship education are identifiable considering the assessment and evaluation at school, the results of the surveys at national and international level and citizens behaviour in citizenship duties, in the voting rate and in general participation.

8.1

Although it is not a subject, civic and citizenship education contributes to the general evaluation of the students; this assessment is responsibility of teachers for history, geography, social science subject areas in the primary and in the lower secondary school (C.M. 86/ 2010).

In the Italian upper secondary schools, credits or points may be awarded for participation in community oriented out-of-school activities and these are taken into account in the general assessment which provides access to the upper secondary leaving certificate (C.M. 86/ 2010); this is not, however, compulsory. Parallel to, general monitoring and evaluation procedures on education system performance does not focus on citizenship education provision at school.

The so called RAV (Rapporto di Auto Valutazione), a data base of the MIUR, where all schools are called to report their activity, could be an opportunity for collecting in systematic way the experiences in the field of civic and citizenship education.

8.2

All observers complain of a gap between intended and enacted curriculum (Losito, 2003, p. 6). A Survey of the 'Conferenza dei Presidenti delle Assemblee Legislative Delle Regioni e delle Province Autonome' (Conference of Presidents of Legislative Assemblies of Autonomous Regions and Provinces), on how youngsters deal with the Constitution, conducted on a sample of 4.000 youngsters (age 18 to 30 years), living in Italy in the years 2008 shows poor interest and competences. Answering the question: "Hai mai letto la Costituzione italiana?" (Have you ever read the Italian Constitution?), only 25 % state having read it in all parts

Figure 10: Knowledge of the Italian Constitution by youngsters (age 18 to 30 years)

sì, tutta	25
sì, ma solo in alcune parti	63
no	12
preferisco non rispondere	0

(Translation of the answers: 'Yes, All (Constitution)'; 'Yes, only some parts', 'No', 'I prefer not answering')
Survey of the 'Conferenza dei Presidenti Delle Assemblee Legislative delle Regioni e delle Province Autonome', 2016, p.16.

According to the recent Survey "Proteo Fare Sapere" (2010), the students of the upper secondary school have a poor knowledge of the Italian Constitution. 35% of them declared being sufficiently informed about it, and only 13,8% reported to know it well or quite well. 40 to 55% of the students do not have the text of the Constitution, don't know what it deals with, nor when it was approved (Proteo Fare Sapere, 2010).

We can observe insufficient explanations to the students of the meaning of the national celebrations (example: June 2nd, 'Festa della Repubblica', remembering 1946 when the country became a Republic and the monarchy was abolished).

Civic analphabetism seems to be very common, concerning learning contents, attitudes and values; anyway the results achieved by Italian students in the Survey IEA ICCS, the International Civic Education study, carried out by the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA) give a positive picture of the knowledge and skills actually achieved by Italian students in this field both in CIVED 1999 and in ICCS 2009. Fourteen years old pupils reach the avarage score 531 (IEA ICCS 2009 European Report, p. 48).

We don't have full knowledge on how civic competence of 14-year-old's pupils changes during the transition into adult civic life, when youngsters have greater opportunities for political engagement as they become older. Amnå and Zetterberg collected cross-sectional survey data about enthusiasm for participation comparing the rates of intended participation in Nordic youths and their Southern European counterparts in the CIVED database, and then the adult European Social Survey dataset, and note that by age 17–25 the enthusiasm in Southern Europe has already gone (Amnå and Zetterberg, 2010).

If we consider the voting rate as an indicator of engagement of the citizens, we are impressed that 68,5 % of Italian voters attended the referendum for the Constitutional reform in December 2016, overcoming the previous lack of interest, when the quorum for the referendum validity was not reached (31% of voters in April 2016).

9 Conclusive remarks: Improving civic and citizenship education establishing a systematic approach

In the Italian school system civic and citizenship education are declared as one of the fundamental aims of school education as a whole, anyway a systematic approach is lacking; there is rather an highly fragmented panorama, with thousands of initiatives not covering all the student population.

There is a need for school policy decisions, starting from the introduction of an official specific subject, overcoming the indeterminacy of indications, defining the educational tasks for each school year, giving an assignment to a specific subject/ teacher to teach and coordinate civic and citizenship education; especially the MIUR should introduce training for civic and citizenship education in the teachers' initial training; building professional teachers, competent in this field, will contribute strongly to improving the situation. The in service training can be helpful, when it starts from a good basis and is involves in systematic way all teachers in charge for this task.

At the same time research and scientific exchange among different countries, networking and sharing of good experiences, learning from each other, help for positive change.

The introduction of a new subject can not mean enlarging the school time which is already very broad (EACEA Eurydice, 2015, p.13); it could go together with the introduction of optionality for some subjects and with a better use of the time already planned for class /school assemblies ('Assemblee di istituto'), teaching in modules.

The teachers' professional associations, the non governmental organizations, trade unions, parents' and students associations, and all those feeling responsible for the future of the society, especially the more committed and professionally more aware teachers and researchers can play a role in influencing decision at local level for the school activities and at ministry level for the teacher training for a more systematic, effective, and motivating civic and citizenship education.

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