Implementation of citizenship education actions in the EU

European Implementation Assessment

STUDY

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In December 2020, the European Parliament's Committee on Culture and Education (CULT) requested the drawing up of an own-initiative report on the implementation of the citizenship education actions (2021/2008(INI)).

Domènec Ruiz Devesa (S&D, Spain) was appointed rapporteur.

This European implementation assessment (EIA) has been prepared to accompany the CULT committee in its scrutiny work on implementation of citizenship education measures in the European Union (EU).

Beginning with an overview of the EU policy framework for citizenship education, the EIA goes on in its second part to outline action in the field of citizenship education supported by EU funding programmes, in particular the Erasmus+ and Horizon 2020 programmes. It also presents citizenship education policies and practices in 10 EU Member States.

Introduction

Citizenship education is an indispensable element of education and training, particularly for children and young people. According to the description provided by Eurydice in its 2017 report *Citizen Education at School in Europe - 2017*,[1] 'citizenship education supports students in becoming active, informed and responsible citizens, who are willing and able to take responsibility for themselves and for their communities at the national, European and international level'. What is more, 'citizenship education competences help young people interact effectively, think critically, act in a socially responsible way and democratically'.

In its 2021 resolution on a strategic framework for European cooperation in education and training towards the European education area and beyond (2021-2030)[2] the Council pointed out that 'Education and training is key for the personal, civic and professional development of European citizens'.

The role of citizenship education is also recognised by other world actors. For example, the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) points out that, in addition to preparing young people for the world of work, education needs 'to equip students with the skills they need to become active, responsible and engaged citizens'.[3] At the same time, UNESCO points out that global citizenship education 'develops the knowledge, skills, values and attitudes learners need to build a more just, peaceful, tolerant, inclusive, secure and sustainable world'.[4]

Citizenship engagement and acting in a socially responsible and democratic way is particularly important as the level of democracy in the world is declining, according to the Democracy Index 2020,[5] prepared by the Economist Intelligence Unit. The report shows that almost 70 % of countries recorded a decline in their overall democracy score, mainly owing to the restrictions applied to protect lives from the novel coronavirus. The result has been that 'the global average score fell to its lowest level since the index began in 2006'; 'western Europe and eastern Europe both recorded a fall in their average regional scores of 0.06'. Among the changes observed, EUI notes that 'France and Portugal experienced a reversal, losing the 'full democracy' status that they had regained in 2019, re-joining the ranks of 'flawed democracies'.

Some reports and analyses show the positive effects of education on civic and social engagement (CSE): political engagement, civic engagement, volunteering, voting, trust, tolerance, and political knowledge, for instance. Two OECD reports provide examples:

> the first[6] showed that 'education is one of the most important predictors – usually, in fact, the most important predictor – of many forms of social participation – from voting to associational membership, to chairing a local committee, to hosting a dinner party to giving blood'.

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[1] Citizenship Education at School in Europe, 2017, Eurydice Brief, EACEA, 2018.

[2] Council Resolution on a strategic framework for European cooperation in education and training towards the European Education Area and beyond (2021-2030), OJ C 66, 26.2.2021.

[3] The Future of Education and Skills. Education 2030, OECD, 2018.

[4] Global Citizenship Education: Preparing learners for the challenges of the twenty-first century, UNESCO.

[5] Democracy Index 2020: In sickness and in health?; see also Covid-19 pandemic causes a global democracy slump, The Economist Intelligence Unit, 2021.

[6] David E. Campbell, What is education's impact on civic and social engagement?, OECD, 2006, and a presentation by Civic Engagement as a Result of Education, OECD/CERI.

> the second[7] showed that 'adults with higher levels of educational attainment are generally more likely than those with lower levels of attainment to exhibit greater satisfaction with life, stronger civic engagement', as well as that 'students in grade 8 with higher measured levels of civic competencies (...) showed higher levels of anticipated adult electoral participation and supportive attitudes towards gender equality'.

Digital citizenship education is another element of citizenship education. The importance of digital citizenship education for digital citizenship is stressed for example by the Council of Europe (CoE). The CoE defines digital citizenship as 'the ability to engage positively, critically and competently in the digital environment, drawing on the skills of effective communication and creation, to practice forms of social participation that are respectful of human rights and dignity through the responsible use of technology'.[8]

The OECD also underlines that 'developing digital skills in childhood is important to ensure children are safely and effectively engaging with digital technologies, whether at home, for school, and later on in life in the workplace', adding that 'digital participation can enhance social inclusion'.[9]

The 2020 Education and Training Monitor is also dedicated to digital education.[10] Digital competences were defined in the context of lifelong learning, and detailed in the European Digital Competence Framework for Citizens (DigComp), according to which the knowledge, skills and attitudes that all citizens need in a digital society fall into five competence areas: information and data literacy; communication and collaboration; digital content creation; safety; and problem solving.[11]

In its 2020 EU Citizenship Report,[12] the European Commission confirmed its commitment to 'foster the sense of European identity among young people through the Erasmus+ programme, the European Solidarity Corps and the Jean Monnet Actions'. The Commission also committed to test the possibility of using other EU funds such as cohesion policy projects and the Horizon Europe programme 'to develop deliberative and participatory democracies through experimentation and explore the practices, challenges and impacts of deliberative democracy processes at different geographical scales and in different social groups'.[13]

In addition, the Commission is well aware of the role of culture in citizenship education. That is why it is planning to launch an independent study on the importance of citizens' participation in culture for civic engagement and democracy. The study will summarise existing knowledge and evidence on the topic and its results will support the Commission when it comes to implementing its new European agenda for culture and the Council's 2019-2022 work plan for culture.[14]

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[7] What Are the Social Outcomes of Education?, OECD, 2011.

[8] Digital Citizenship and Digital Citizenship Education, Council of Europe website.

[9] 21st Century Children as Digital Citizens, OECD.

[10] Education and Training Monitor 2020, European Commission, 2021.

[11] Teaching and learning in a digital age, Education and Training Monitor 2020, European Commission.

[12] EU Citizenship Report 2020, Factsheet, European Commission, 2020.

[13] EU Citizenship Report 2020, COM(2020) 730 final, European Commission, 2020.

[14] Ibidem.

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1. EU values, rights and competences

Article 2 of the Treaty on European Union (TEU) states that: [15]

> The Union is founded on the values of respect for human dignity, freedom, democracy, equality, the rule of law and respect for human rights, including the rights of persons belonging to minorities. These values are common to the Member States in a society in which pluralism, non-discrimination, tolerance, justice, solidarity and equality between women and men prevail.

The Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union (TFEU) [16] establishes the EU competence to take action to support, coordinate or supplement the action of the Member States, among others in the area of education, vocational training, youth and sport, as Article 6(e) states, and dedicates its Title XII to those areas. Article 9 of the TFEU states that:

> In defining and implementing its policies and activities, the Union shall take into account requirements linked to the promotion of a high level of employment, the guarantee of adequate social protection, the fight against social exclusion, and a high level of education, training and protection of human health.

Article 165 point 1 (Title XII) TFEU defines the competences of the EU regarding education:

> The Union shall contribute to the development of quality education by encouraging cooperation between Member States and, if necessary, by supporting and supplementing their action, while fully respecting the responsibility of the Member States for the content of teaching and the organisation of education systems and their cultural and linguistic diversity.

Further, the TFEU defines objectives for the EU, including developing the European dimension in education, encouraging mobility of students and teachers, and the development of youth exchanges, and promoting cooperation between educational establishments.

The European Pillar of Social Rights [17] was proclaimed by the European Parliament, the Council and the Commission in 2017, at the Gothenburg Summit, in Sweden. It sets out 20 key principles and rights, with a view to enhancing 'a strong social Europe that is fair, inclusive and full of opportunity'. The first key principle and right, on education, training and life-long learning, states that:

> Everyone has the right to quality and inclusive education, training and life-long learning in order to maintain and acquire skills that enable them to participate fully in society and manage successfully transitions in the labour market.

During the May 2021 social summit in Porto, in Portugal, the EU reaffirmed its commitment to implement the Social Pillar through the European Pillar of Social Rights action plan, [18] which envisages, inter alia, investment in high-quality and inclusive education, training, skills and innovation.

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[15] Treaty on European Union, consolidated version, Official Journal of the EU (OJ), C 326, 26.10.2012.

[16] Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union, consolidated version, OJ C 326, 26.10.2012.

[17] European Pillar of Social Rights, European Commission website.

[18] Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament, the Council, the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions the European Pillar of Social Rights Action Plan (COM(2021)201) and European Pillar of Social Rights Action Plan, European Commission website.

The Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union [19] describes principles underpinning the common European values, including freedom, equality, solidarity, citizens' rights and justice (the six main titles). Article 14 describes the right to education:

- Everyone has the right to education and to have access to vocational and continuing training.

- This right includes the possibility to receive free compulsory education.

- The freedom to found educational establishments with due respect for democratic principles and the right of parents to ensure the education and teaching of their children in conformity with their religious, philosophical and pedagogical convictions shall be respected, in accordance with the national laws governing the exercise of such freedom and right.

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[19] Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union, OJ C 326, 26.10.2012.

2. EU policy framework for citizens' education

2.1. Selected EU policy framework documents

2.1.1. European strategic framework ET 2020

The European strategic framework for European cooperation in education and training (ET 2020 framework)[20] helped to gather and disseminate knowledge and best practice in lifelong learning policy, in all contexts of education: formal, non-formal and informal.[21] The ET 2020 framework established four EU objectives:

> make lifelong learning and mobility a reality;

> improve the quality and efficiency of education and training;

> promote equity, social cohesion, and active citizenship; and

> enhance creativity and innovation, including entrepreneurship, at all levels of education and training.[22]

The ET 2020 framework was implemented by means of a variety of tools and instruments, including:[23] a) ET 2020 working groups,[24] composed of experts nominated by Member States and key stakeholders; b) annual Education and Training Monitor [25]reports on Member States' progress towards achieving the ET 2020 objectives and benchmarks; c) peer learning activities and peer reviews, which gave Members States the opportunity to learn from other Member States, consultation with stakeholders, including civil society and business and social partner organisations; and d) funding for policy support activities and projects through the Erasmus+ programme.

ET 2020 working groups

The ET 2020 working groups (WGs) were created to provide scientific advice in the implementation of the ET 2020 framework and, in particular, 'to support education and training policy-making and the exchange of experiences and best practice, both at national and European Union (EU) levels'.

Seven working groups were set up in the following areas:[26]

> ET 2020 working group on early childhood education and care (ECEC)
> ET 2020 working group on schools
> ET 2020 working group on vocational education and training
> ET 2020 working group on higher education (HE)
> ET 2020 working group on adult learning
> ET 2020 working group on promoting common values and inclusive education
> ET 2020 working group on digital education: learning, teaching and assessment

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[20] European policy cooperation (ET 2020 framework), European Commission.

[21] See Formal, non-formal and informal learning, Linguistic Integration of Adult Migrants, Council of Europe.

[22] The European policy cooperation (ET 2020 framework), op.cit.

[23] Ibidem.

[24] ET 2020 working groups.

[25] Education and Training Monitor, European Commission, 2020.

[26] ET 2020 working groups.

In the context of citizenship education, special attention should be given to the ET 2020 working group on promoting common values and inclusive education.[27] The working group was set up to look at policy issues relating to the Paris Declaration of 2015 and the promotion of common values in the light of the Council Recommendation of 22 May 2018. The main focus of this working group included:[28] a) promoting common values and intercultural competences, including citizenship education and digital citizenship; b) supporting inclusive education for all learners; c) fostering a European dimension of education and training; and d) supporting education staff in encouraging diversity and creating an open learning environment.

The fourth and final meeting of the working group was organised in November 2020. It provided an opportunity to gather around 45 representatives from organisations and governments across Europe to give updates following the proposal for achieving a European education area by 2025,[29] as well as the main outcomes of the working group activities. Discussions centred on four thematic areas: 1) uses and abuses of modern media; 2) how to build bridges through history education; 3) integration of young migrants and refugees; and 4) LGBTI inclusion. The meeting also explored the potential role of inclusive education in future working groups.[30]

Education and Training Monitor

The annual Education and Training Monitor[31] presents Member States' progress towards achieving the ET 2020 objectives and benchmarks, and now the ET 2030 benchmarks. The 2020 edition[32] was published in November 2020 and, owing to the pandemic, focused on digital education and digital competence, as well as on the impacts of Covid-induced school closures and distance learning.

On citizenship education, the report points to 'democracy and citizenship' as a 'societal mega trend', together with 'the changing conditions of globalisation, democracy and citizenship, security, ageing and modern cultures', which pose new questions for education. The report also points out that 'to be prepared for challenges in the new era, it is crucial that individuals are equipped with the skills, knowledge and qualities necessary to feel confident, be successful and spark societal, economic and environmental advances in Europe'.

2.1.2. Paris Declaration 2015

On 17 March 2015, the Paris Declaration[33] was signed during an informal meeting of EU education ministers and the European Commission in response to the terrorist attacks that took place in Copenhagen and in Paris in early 2015. The EU ministers reaffirmed their 'determination to stand shoulder to shoulder in support of fundamental values that lie at the heart of the European Union ...'. They also called 'for renewed efforts to reinforce the teaching and acceptance of these common fundamental values and laying the foundations for more inclusive societies through education – starting from an early age'.

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[27] ET 2020 working group on promoting common values and inclusive education, Register of Commission working groups.

[28] Ibidem.

[29] European Education Area, European Commission website.

[30] Final meeting of the ET 2020 working group on promoting common values and inclusive education, European Agency for Special Needs and Inclusive Education, 2020.

[31] Education and Training Monitor, European Commission.

[32] Education and Training Monitor, 2020 edition, European Commission.

[33] Declaration on promoting citizenship and the common values of freedom, tolerance and non-discrimination through education (Paris Declaration 2015) signed on 17 March 2015 in Paris, France.

The signatories of the Paris Declaration agreed to strengthen actions in the field of education at the EU and at national, regional and local levels, with the aim to, inter alia, strengthen the contribution which education makes to personal development, social inclusion and participation, to ensure inclusive education for all children and young people to combat racism and discrimination on any ground, to promote citizenship, to teach the understanding and acceptance of differences of opinion, conviction, belief and lifestyle, and to combat geographical, social and educational inequalities.

The Paris Declaration defines common objectives for Member States and urges the EU to ensure the sharing of ideas and good practices with a view to:

- ensuring that children and young people acquire social, civic and intercultural competences, by promoting democratic values and fundamental rights, social inclusion and non-discrimination, as well as active citizenship;

- enhancing critical thinking and media literacy, particularly in the use of the internet and social media, so as to develop resistance to all forms of discrimination and indoctrination;

- fostering the education of disadvantaged children and young people, by ensuring that our education and training systems address their needs; and

- promoting intercultural dialogue through all forms of learning in cooperation with other relevant policies and stakeholders. [34]

The signatories of the Paris Declaration also referred to policies and instruments that could support the objectives of the declaration, such as the ET 2020 strategic framework and Erasmus+ programme. They also recognised the supporting role of other EU policies and instruments, such as the Horizon 2020 programme and the framework for European cooperation in the youth field.

The text of the Paris Declaration is presented in Annex I.

The signatories invited the Education, Youth, Culture and Sport Council configuration to discuss the follow up to this declaration at its meeting in May 2015.

2.1.3. Prevention of radicalisation leading to violent extremism

In 2016, the Commission published a communication supporting the prevention of radicalisation leading to violent extremism, [35] in the form of various initiatives to be undertaken in the Member States, 'ranging from promoting inclusive education and common values, to tackling extremist propaganda online and radicalisation in prisons'.

In the document, the Commission underlined, not least, the need to promote inclusive education and EU common values, and referred to the 2015 Paris Declaration.

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[34] Promoting citizenship and the common values of freedom, tolerance and non-discrimination through education. Overview of education policy developments in Europe following the Paris Declaration of 17 March 2015, Eurydice, EACEA, March 2016.

[35] Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament, the Council, the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions supporting the prevention of radicalisation leading to violent extremism (COM(2016) 379 final).

2.1.4. European skills agenda

In July 2020, the Commission published a communication on the European skills agenda for sustainable competitiveness, social fairness and resilience.[36] The agenda points out that 'Open, democratic societies depend on active citizens who can discern information from various sources, identify disinformation, take informed decisions, are resilient and act responsibly'.

2.1.5. Achieving the European education area by 2025

In September 2020, the Commission published a communication on achieving the European education area by 2025,[37] which began by stating that 'education is the foundation for personal fulfilment, employability, and active and responsible citizenship' and referring to the role of the Erasmus+ programme in education, which included the promotion of citizenship.

The communication also touched on the role of the European structural and investment funds in carrying out systemic national reforms, and of the structural reform support programme in providing technical support for Member States' reforms of the education and training systems.

2.1.6. Digital education action plan (2021-2027)

➤ In September 2020, the Commission also launched the digital education action plan (2021-2027).[38] The 2021-2027 action plan is built on the results of the first digital education action plan (2018-2020). The main objective of the new action plan is to contribute to the Commission's priority 'A Europe fit for the digital age', Next Generation EU, and to achieving the goals of the European skills agenda, the European Social Pillar action plan and the '2030 digital compass: the European way for the digital decade'. The digital education action plan is designed to: 1) foster the development of a high-performing digital education ecosystem, and 2) enhance digital skills and competences for the digital transformation.[39] The digital education action plan should contribute to citizenship education and in particular to enhancing digital citizenship.[40]

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[36] Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament, the Council, the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions: European Skills Agenda for sustainable competitiveness, social fairness and resilience, COM(2020) 274 final.

[37] Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament, the Council, the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions on achieving the European Education Area by 2025, COM(2020) 625 final.

[38] Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament, the Council, the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions, Digital Education Action Plan 2021-2027 – Resetting education and training for the digital age, COM(2020) 624 final.

[39] Digital education action plan website.

[40] The concepts of digital citizenship and digital citizenship education are also very much present in documents prepared by the Council of Europe (CoE). The CoE states, that 'Supporting children and young people to participate safely, effectively, critically and responsibly in a world filled with social media and digital technologies is a priority for educators the world over. The notion of digital citizenship has evolved to encompass a range of competences, attributes and behaviours that harness the benefits and opportunities the online world affords while building resilience to potential harms. See Digital Citizenship and Digital Citizenship Education, Council of Europe website.

2.2. Council conclusions and recommendations

2.2.1. Education, Youth, Culture and Sport Council meeting 2015

The Education, Youth, Culture and Sport Council configuration meeting, organised on 17-18 March 2015,[41] took note of the Paris Declaration, including its call 'for the education sector to play its part in preventing radicalisation by promoting citizenship and fostering social inclusion, and common European values such as tolerance and mutual respect'.

Council took note of the French minister's suggestion that 'the Horizon 2020 programme could support research into the reasons that lead to radicalisation among young people and called for the regular exchange of best practices on this topic'. Council also pointed to the role of education in the 2015 European Agenda on Security[42] and proposed to employ EU instruments such as ET 2020 and Erasmus + to prevent radicalisation.

The EU Member States' ministers gathered at the meeting 'also underlined that concrete actions at both national and European level should seek to involve sports clubs, NGOs, youth associations, parents and families, as well as develop specific teacher training programmes aimed at preventing radicalisation'.

2.2.2. Key competences for lifelong learning

On 22 May 2018, Council adopted a recommendation on key competences for lifelong learning,[43] to provide a common EU reference framework on key competences for policymakers, education and training providers, social partners and learners themselves.

The recommendation identified eight key competences needed for personal fulfilment, a healthy and sustainable lifestyle, employability, active citizenship and social inclusion: 1) literacy; 2) multilingualism; 3) numerical, scientific and engineering skills; 4) digital and technology-based competences; 5) interpersonal skills, and the ability to adopt new competences; 6) active citizenship; 7) entrepreneurship; 8) cultural awareness and expression.

On active citizenship, Council recommended 'fostering the development of citizenship competences with the aim of strengthening the awareness of common values, as referred to in Article 2 of the Treaty on European Union and the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union'.

2.2.3. Promoting common values, inclusive education and the European dimension of teaching

On 22 May 2018, Council adopted a recommendation on promoting common values, inclusive education and the European dimension of teaching,[44] calling, inter alia, for more to be done to share the common values set out in Article 2 of the TEU at all levels and in all types of education and training, for continued implementation of the Paris Declaration commitments, and for effective use

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[41] Outcome of the Council meeting, 3388th Council meeting Education, Youth, Culture and Sport, Brussels, 18 and 19 May 2015, Council of the European Union, Document 8965/15.

[42] Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament, the Council, the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions, The European Agenda on Security, European Commission, COM(2015) 185 final.

[43] Council Recommendation of 22 May 2018 on key competences for lifelong learning, OJ C 189, 4.6.2018.

[44] Council Recommendation of 22 May 2018 on promoting common values, inclusive education, and the European dimension of teaching, OJ C 195, 7.6.2018.

to be made of existing tools to promote citizenship education, such as the Council of Europe's Reference Framework of Competences for Democratic Culture.[45]

Council also called for measures to promote an inclusive education for all learners, make effective use of the European Agency for Special Needs and Inclusive Education, promote a European dimension of teaching, make effective use of EU funding instruments, in particular Erasmus+, the European structural and investment funds, 'creative Europe', 'Europe for citizens', the 'rights, equality and citizenship programme' and Horizon 2020 with a view to implementing these recommendations.

2.2.4. Strategic framework for education and training 2030

In February 2021, the Council adopted a resolution on a 'strategic framework for European cooperation in education and training towards the European education area and beyond (2021-2030)',[46] stressing the vital role education and training have to play in 'shaping the future of Europe'.

The framework established five strategic priorities for the next decade:

1. improving quality, equity, inclusion and success for all in education and training;
2. making lifelong learning and mobility a reality for all;
3. enhancing competences and motivation in the education profession;
4. reinforcing European higher education; and
5. supporting the green and digital transitions in and through education and training.

The Council also pointed out in the resolution that:

> While moving towards the achievement of the European education area by 2025, the main goal of European cooperation in education and training should be to support the further development of Member States' education and training systems focused on:
>
>> the personal, social and professional fulfilment of all citizens, while promoting democratic values, equality, social cohesion, active citizenship, and intercultural dialogue;
>>
>> sustainable economic prosperity, the green and digital transitions, and employability.

2.3. European Parliament resolution and draft report

2.3.1. European Parliament resolution 2016

In January 2016, the European Parliament adopted a resolution on the role of intercultural dialogue, cultural diversity and education in promoting EU fundamental values,[47] highlighting not least the 'need to train and prepare future generations to be audacious problem solvers and address effectively and innovatively the challenges European citizens will face in the future by giving them access to a genuine education in citizenship and ensuring that they have the motivation and commitment to acquire competences and skills such as entrepreneurship, leadership and capacity building'. It argued in favour of mobility for young people to enable them to learn and appreciate

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[45] Council of Europe, Reference Framework of Competences for Democratic Culture.

[46] Council Resolution on a strategic framework for European cooperation in education and training towards the European Education Area and beyond (2021-2030), 2021/C 66/01, OJ C 66, 26.2.2021.

[47] European Parliament resolution of 19 January 2016 on the role of intercultural dialogue, cultural diversity and education in promoting EU fundamental values (2015/2139(INI)).

cultural diversity while also obtaining the basic life skills and competences necessary for their personal development, future employment and active EU citizenship.

Parliament also encouraged 'the EU institutions to broaden their analysis of all forms of radicalisation and initiate new reflections on the nature and the processes of political extremism and violence'. It welcomed the 2015 Paris Declaration on promoting citizenship and the common values of freedom, tolerance and non-discrimination through education 'as an effort to foster active dialogue between cultures as well as global solidarity and mutual respect, focusing attention on the importance of civic education, including raising awareness of the unique role of cultural tools to foster mutual respect among pupils and students'.

2.3.2. European Parliament 2021 resolution

On 7 July 2021, the European Parliament adopted a resolution on citizens' dialogues and citizens' participation in EU decision-making.[48] The report was prepared by the Committee on Constitutional Affairs (AFCO), and opinions were submitted by three other Parliament committees: the Committee on Culture and Education (CULT), the Committee on Civil Liberties, Justice and Home Affairs (LIBE) and the Committee on Petitions (PETI).

The resolution underlines the need for citizenship education in the EU, pointing not least to 'a growing need for European citizenship education classes across Member States', and the need to recognise 'the work of civil society organisations in civic education' and to encourage 'a holistic approach to citizenship education, including both formal and non-formal education and learning'. The resolution refers to the 2015 Paris Declaration, stressing 'the need to enhance the European dimension of citizenship education in order to enable citizens' participation and ability to act as informed citizens and to fully participate in civic and social life at both the European and Member State level', and highlights 'the necessity of engaging with educational institutions and civic education organisations to ensure that active European citizenship becomes part of the curriculum across the EU'. The resolution also 'calls on the Commission to launch an annual European Union Olympiad competition on EU functioning and history for young people in high schools, vocational training and other educational structures, in order to boost interest, participation and debate on EU affairs' and 'emphasises that the Erasmus+ programme should also be utilised to enhance European citizenship education, especially among students and young people'. It goes on to reiterate 'the need for the Commission to better support EU affairs and study programmes that exist across Europe and beyond, building on the successful Erasmus+ programme'.

The resolution also proposes 'to establish a European network for citizenship education to provide a platform for the exchange of best practices and knowledge regarding methods of enhancing the European dimension of citizenship education; stresses the need for new models and instruments of citizenship education'.

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[48] European Parliament resolution of 7 July 2021 on citizens' dialogues and citizens' participation in EU decision-making (2020/2201(INI)).

3. Selected reports on citizenship education policies and practices across the EU Member States

3.1. Eurydice overview of education policy developments in the Member States relating to the Paris Declaration

In March 2016, Eurydice prepared a short overview of recent education policy developments in European countries in relation to the objectives of the Paris Declaration.[49] It also analysed the aspects of education systems covered by these policies, and the levels of education concerned.

Eurydice found that following the adoption of the declaration, developments in national education policy occurred in around two-thirds of the countries covered by the analysis; some countries introduced changes while the report was being prepared while others were still discussing the possible options. Among the changes implemented were national strategies and action plans, new and amended regulations, new experts groups, and programmes and projects.

Of the countries and regions that were covered in the Eurydice report, 24 were focusing their attention on 'Ensuring that children and young people acquire social, civic and intercultural competences', while 20 were addressing 'Enhancing critical thinking and media literacy', which has been the main focus in 14 countries or regions. The area least addressed was the objective of 'Fostering the education and training of disadvantaged children and young people' (see Figure 1).

Figure 1 – Objectives addressed through national education policies since March 2015

Source: Promoting citizenship and the common values of freedom, tolerance and non-discrimination through education. Overview of education policy developments in Europe following the Paris Declaration of 17 March 2015, Eurydice.

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[49] Promoting citizenship and the common values of freedom, tolerance and non-discrimination through education. Overview of education policy developments in Europe following the Paris Declaration of 17 March 2015, Eurydice, EACEA, March 2016.

3.2. Eurydice report on citizenship education at school in Europe

The 2017 Eurydice report [50] is its third on the subject. It was prepared to paint a picture of national policies in the area of citizenship education in schools across Europe. The report defines the concept of citizenship education as follows:

> Citizenship education [is] a subject area which aims to promote harmonious co-existence and foster the mutually beneficial development of individuals and the communities in which they live. In democratic societies, citizenship education supports students in becoming active, informed and responsible citizens, who are willing and able to take responsibility for themselves and for their communities at the national, European and international level.

The report also points out that:

> Citizenship education competences help young people interact effectively, think critically, act in a socially responsible way and democratically.

This set of necessary knowledge, skills and attitudes can be attained through informal and non-formal learning, and with initial teacher education, continuing professional development and support for schools. The knowledge is gained gradually, for instance with an emphasis on personal responsibility and effective interaction with others in primary education and on acting democratically in upper secondary level, when students acquire the right to vote in their country's general election. Respect for others is generally taught throughout years in school.

The 2017 Eurydice report found that most countries across Europe apply one of the three main curriculum approaches to citizenship education presented below, or a combination, at all three levels of general education.

Figure 2 – Compulsory separate subjects in citizenship education in school in Europe, 2016/17
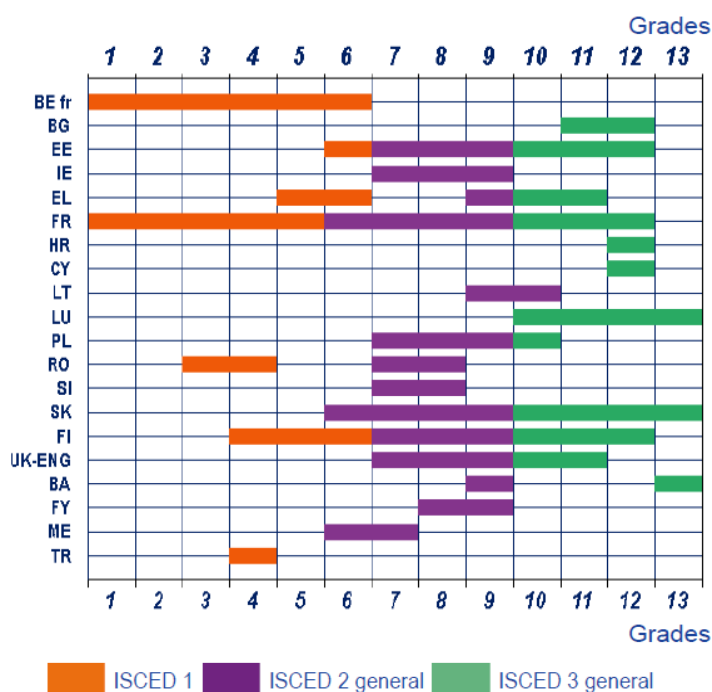
Source: Citizenship Education at School in Europe – 2017. Eurydice Highlights, Eurydice.

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[50] Citizenship Education at School in Europe, 2017, Eurydice Brief, EACEA, February 2018.

1   Cross-curricular themes: citizenship education objectives, content or learning outcomes are designated as being transversal across the curriculum and all teachers share responsibility for delivery.

2   Integrated into other subjects: citizenship education objectives, content or learning outcomes are included within the curriculum documents of wider subjects or learning areas, often concerned with the humanities and or social sciences.

3   Separate subject: citizenship education objectives, content or learning outcomes are contained within a distinct subject boundary dedicated primarily to citizenship.

The report showed that there is a big difference across Europe in the average recommended minimum number of hours per year of teaching for citizenship education as a compulsory separate subject, with the highest number of hours in France, followed by Finland, Estonia and Greece. In those four countries citizenship is also taught as a compulsory separate subject at each of the three levels of general education, from ISCED 1 to ISCED 3 (see Figure 3).

Figure 3 – Average recommended minimum number of hours per year of teaching citizenship education as a compulsory separate subject at each ISCED level, 2016/17
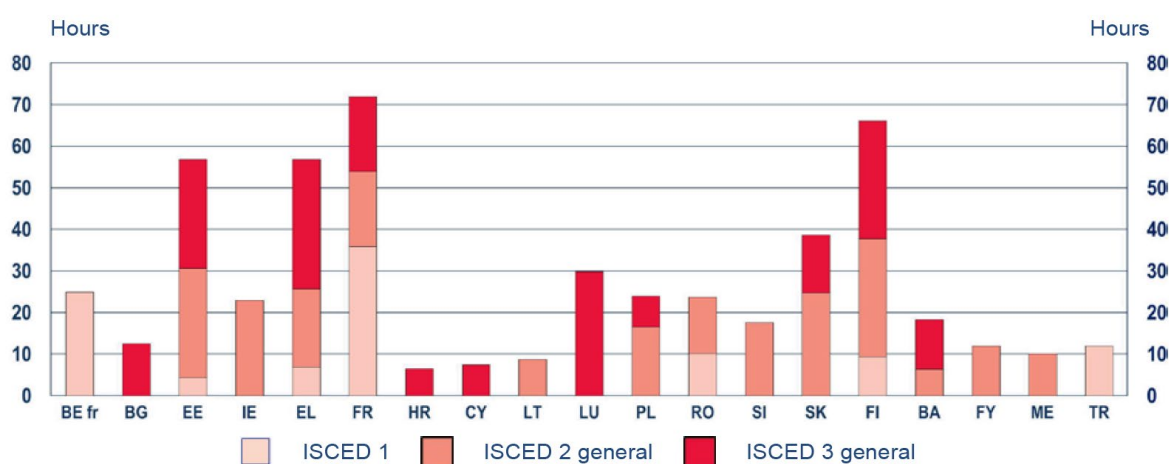
Source: Citizenship Education at School in Europe – 2017. Eurydice Highlights, Eurydice.

The report also showed that there should be a greater focus on teacher training, as 'nearly half of the countries still have no policies on including citizenship education in initial teacher training'. The report stresses, that '...teachers should be supported and empowered through measures to create an open learning culture and environment and deal with diverse learning groups in order to teach civic competences, transmit Europe's shared heritage, promote common values and act as role models for learners'.

3.3. International Civic and Citizenship Education reports

International Civic and Citizenship Education reports have been published twice so far, in 2009[51] and in 2016.[52] The third edition is due to be published in 2022.[53]

The reports were prepared by the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA), 'an international cooperative of national research institutions, government research agencies, scholars, and analysts working to evaluate, understand, and improve education worldwide', which gather representatives from more than 60 countries within its network. It has offices in Amsterdam (the Netherlands) and in Hamburg (Germany).

The ICCS 2016 study resulted in the publication of three reports: the International Report, the European Report and the Latin American Report. The aim of the reports was 'to present students' knowledge and understanding of concepts and issues related to civics and citizenship, as well as their beliefs, attitudes, and behaviours with respect to this domain'. The European Report was published by the IEA in November 2017, with support from the European Commission (DG Education and Culture).

The ICCS 2016 European Report ('Young People's Perceptions of Europe in a Time of Change')[54] was on the whole fairly positive, as 'Across participating countries, majorities of surveyed students stated that they saw themselves as Europeans, that they were proud to live in Europe, and that they felt they were part of Europe, results which, as in ICCS 2009, indicate a strong sense of European identity and belonging. In comparison to ICCS 2009, we observed considerable increases in students' positive perceptions of their European identity in almost all of the countries that participated in both surveys'. What's more, '83 percent of the surveyed students reported that they had opportunities to learn at their schools about the history of Europe. Opportunities to learn about political and economic systems at European level, about political and social issues in European countries, and about political and economic integration between European countries varied to a greater extent across the participating European countries'. The report also observed that 'Students' support for cooperation among European countries was positively associated with higher levels of civic knowledge. Majorities of students expressed positive expectations with respect to Europe's future, especially in relation to an increase in cooperation among European countries and the strengthening of peace and democracy across Europe'.

As for the ICCS 2022, the IEA decided to focus on helping countries 'address their own national targets for civic education, while monitoring progress toward the UNESCO sustainable development goals (SDG)'. For that reason, the report will attempt to answer questions such as: 1) Do schools provide opportunities for open debate and participation to foster knowledge, attitudes, and engagement?; 2) How do adolescents view various social and political issues as they approach the voting age?; and 3) How does the increasing importance of social media influence young people's civic engagement?[55]

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[51] International Civic and Citizenship Education Study 2009 (ICCS 2009),

[52] International Civic and Citizenship Education Study 2016 (ICCS 2016).

[53] International Civic and Citizenship Education Study 2022 (ICCS 2022).

[54] Young People's Perceptions of Europe in a Time of Change, IEA.

[55] ICCS 2022.

3.4. Selected initiatives in the field of citizenship education

3.4.1. Youth parliaments

National parliaments' initiatives

Many national parliaments worldwide, including some EU Member State national parliaments, contribute to citizenship education for instance by organising youth parliaments. Such initiatives are organised to promote democracy and young people's interest in civic and political participation. A few examples of youth parliaments in EU Member States are presented below.

In Finland, the Youth Parliament[56] first took place in 1998. It is organised by the Parliament of Finland and the Opinkirjo Development Centre. Young people in the upper level of comprehensive school participate in the initiative, which is designed to 'inspire students to get involved in making a positive difference to things that are important to their generation'. The Finnish Youth Parliament's 'most important forms of activity include the parliament clubs for students in 8th and 9th year, club events, and other events under topical themes relevant to society'.

In Greece, the Youth Parliament[57] has been organised annually by the Hellenic Parliament since 1994, with participation of 300 secondary school students. The programme promotes collective action and involves schools from all constituencies.

In Poland, the lower chamber of the parliament (Sejm) organises the Children and Youth Parliament with the support of its administration once a year, on International Children's Day, 1 June.[58] The Children Youth Parliament has been organised since 1994, with the number of Children and Youth Parliament members equalling the number of members of the Sejm – 460. Young members of the parliament represent all Polish voivodships, and two-person teams are selected on the basis of written essays. Between 1994 and 1998, children from primary and secondary schools were represented in the Parliament, but since 1999 – following education system reforms – only young people from secondary school and above have been represented.

In Portugal, the Assembleia da República organises the Young People's Parliament programme.[59] The programme is run over a school year and also involves themed school debates, an electoral campaign and election, a school session with the elected students, and a national session of the Young People's Parliament on the premises of the Assembleia da República. There is one national session: one aimed at students aged 10 to 15) and another one aimed at upper secondary school students (over 15). The sessions are organised in April and May.

There are examples of youth parliament members becoming national parliamentarians later on. It is also worth adding that, according to the 2021 Inter-Parliamentary Union report,[60] 2.6 % of parliamentarians worldwide are under 30, an increase of 0.4 percentage points compared with the 2019 report. The highest share of young parliamentarians worldwide was in the Nordic countries (8.16 % on average) and South America (6.2 % on average). For the lower unilateral chambers, Norway is a world leader with 13.6 % of parliamentarians under 30 (compared with 3 % on average

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[56] Finnish youth parliament website.

[57] Greek youth parliament website.

[58] See European Commission's Youth Wiki page on Poland, Polish Parliament website, and Polish children and youth parliament website.

[59] Portugal's young people's parliament website.

[60] Youth participation in national parliaments, Inter-Parliamentary Union, 2021.

worldwide), and for upper chambers Belgium is a world leader with 10 % (0.5 % on average worldwide).

NGO initiative

The European Youth Parliament (EYP)[61] is an initiative promoting 'political debate, intercultural encounters, European civic education and the exchange of ideas for young people in Europe'. The EYP is a network of independent youth organisations active in 40 countries across Europe. It was formed in 1987 in France, initially as a local school project, and has grown over time into an international initiative. The number of EYP alumni is now over 200 000.

Finland's European youth parliament[62] won second prize in the 2019 Charlemagne Youth Prize[63] organised by the European Parliament together with the 'Foundation of the International Charlemagne Prize of Aachen'.

3.4.2. EU Youth Conference recommendations

The EU youth conference hosted by the Luxembourg Presidency on 'Empowerment of young people for political participation in democratic life in Europe' in September 2015, recommended, inter alia, that:

> Member States should further develop or include citizenship education in the curricula at all levels of formal education, bringing a local, national, European and global perspective. Formal education providers must include non-formal learning methodologies to encourage critical thinking and enable young people from all backgrounds to develop attitudes and values to participate actively in society. The European Parliament's CULT committee was invited to advance the citizenship education discussion in the European Parliament.

3.4.3. Networking European Citizenship Education platform

The Networking European Citizenship Education platform (NECE)[64] is a non-institutionalised European initiative for citizenship education, initiated and managed by the German Federal Agency for Civic Education,[65] in cooperation with partners from Belgium (BELvue Museum), Poland (Centre for Citizenship Education), Czechia (Charles University, Faculty of Humanities, Civic Education Centre), Austria (Austrian Federal Ministry of Education, Science and Research – Unit for Citizenship Education), the Netherlands (ProDemos – House for Democracy and the Rule of Law) and Luxembourg (Zentrum fir politesch Bildung/ ZpB).

The NECE provides 'a forum for debate and an opportunity to exchange knowledge'. It gathers stakeholders and practitioners of citizenship education from Europe, but also cooperates with corresponding networks in the Mediterranean, eastern Europe and Africa.

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[61] European Youth Parliament website.

[62] Finnish European Youth Parliament website.

[63] European Parliament Charlemagne Youth Prize website.

[64] Networking European Citizenship Education platform.

[65] German Federal Agency for Civic Education.

To this end, NECE organises annual conferences. The most recent took place on 5-7 November 2020 (online from Berlin)[66] as part of the German Presidency of the Council of the EU.[67] The conference focused on the role of citizenship education in a post-pandemic world. The panellists' discussions touched, among other things, on citizenship education, art and culture for sustainable development, the Council of Europe's Reference Framework of Competences for Democratic Culture, and European youth work and citizenship education.[68]

3.4.4. Call for a more structured approach to citizenship education at EU level

Several experts in the field of citizenship education recommend a more institutionalised approach to citizenship education in the EU, creating an EU agency on citizenship education. Some experts suggest enhancing the role of the European Education and Culture Executive Agency (EACEA) in promoting and co-financing initiatives in the field of citizenship education. There are also voices proposing the establishment of a separate body, a new EU decentralised 'European agency for citizenship education'.[69]

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[66] NECE conference website.

[67] German presidency webpage on the NECE conference.

[68] The 2020 conference programme and recorded presentations are available at https://www.nece.eu/conference/live-stream/ [accessed on 11 February 2020].

[69] S. Pornschlegel and S. Zels: Safeguarding European values: The case for a European Agency for Citizenship Education, Discussion paper, prepared by the European Policy Center and VALUES UNITE, December 2020.

4. Conclusions

- Citizenship education is perceived as a tool to help young people 'to act in a socially responsible way and democratically', 'to become active, responsible and engaged citizens', and 'to build a more just, peaceful, tolerant, inclusive, secure and sustainable world'.

- Several studies have shown that there is a correlation between education and civic and social engagement. What is more, some studies (in particular the one commissioned by OECD/CERI) suggest that education is the most important factor in the future civic and social engagement of children and young people.

- Citizenship education has a long history in EU education policies and in the EU Member States' education policies; and it was strengthened by the 2015 Paris Declaration and subsequent Council recommendations.

- The 2017 Eurydice report on citizenship education showed that most EU countries teach citizenship education, either: a) as a cross-curricular theme; b) integrated into other subjects; or c) as a separate subject. The study also showed that there were big differences across the EU in the average recommended minimum number of hours per year of teaching citizenship education as a compulsory separate subject, with the highest numbers of hours being taught in France, Finland, Estonia and Greece.

- The studies show that citizenship education should be built into the curricula at all levels of formal education in the EU Member States. It is also equally important to ensure teachers receive appropriate training in the field of citizenship education.

- Given the importance of citizenship education, the Commission has committed to use EU funding programmes to foster a European identity among young people, and to develop participatory democracy. The Commission also plans to further investigate the importance of citizens' participation in culture for civic engagement and democracy.

- There are calls for a more institutionalised approach to be taken to citizenship education at EU level by establishing a European agency for citizenship education. This new agency could be a separate body or could form part of an existing EU agency, such as the European Education and Culture Executive Agency (EACEA).

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5. ANNEX

Annex I – Main recommendations of the 2015 Paris Declaration

The signatories of the Paris Declaration agreed to strengthen actions in the field of education at both EU and national, regional and local levels, with the following objectives:

At national, regional and local levels:

1. strengthening the key contribution that education makes to personal development, social inclusion and participation, by imparting the fundamental values and principles that constitute the foundation of our societies;

2. ensuring inclusive education for all children and young people, to combat racism and discrimination on any grounds, promote citizenship and teach children and young people to understand and accept differences of opinion, conviction, belief and lifestyle, while respecting the rule of law, diversity and gender equality;

3. strengthening children's and young people's ability to think critically and exercise judgement so that they are able to grasp realities, distinguish fact from opinion, recognise propaganda and resist all forms of indoctrination and hate speech, in particular in the context of the internet and social media;

4. combating geographical, social and educational inequalities, as well as other factors that can lead to despair and create a fertile ground for extremism, by providing all children and young people with the necessary knowledge, skills and competences to build their own professional futures and pathways to success in society, and by encouraging measures to reduce early school leaving and to improve the social and professional integration of all young people;

5. encouraging dialogue and cooperation among all education stakeholders, in particular parents, families and associative structures, and building on children's and young people's sense of initiative and engagement in order to strengthen social ties as well as generate a sense of belonging;

6. empowering teachers so that they are able to take an active stand against all forms of discrimination and racism, to educate children and young people in media literacy, to meet the needs of pupils from diverse backgrounds, to impart common fundamental values and to prevent and combat racism and intolerance.

At EU level:

1. ensuring that children and young people acquire social, civic and intercultural competences, by promoting democratic values and fundamental rights, social inclusion and non-discrimination, as well as active citizenship;

2. enhancing critical thinking and media literacy, particularly in the use of the Internet and social media, so as to develop resistance to all forms of discrimination and indoctrination;

3. fostering the education of disadvantaged children and young people, by ensuring that our education and training systems address their needs;

4 promoting intercultural dialogue through all forms of learning in cooperation with other relevant policies and stakeholders.

The signatories of the declaration pointed to policies and instruments that could support its objectives, such as:

- the ET2020 strategic framework, through its priorities, peer learning and the exchange and dissemination of good practices;

- the Erasmus+ programme, in particular through the support it provides for learner and teacher mobility, strategic partnerships, and educational institutions' platforms for cooperation, dialogue and joint projects on citizenship education, volunteering and youth exchanges;

and also:

- other EU-level policy and funding instruments in education-related areas, such as the Horizon 2020 programme (and more specifically in its 'Societal Challenges' and 'Science With and For Society' components) and the framework for European cooperation in the youth field, while exploring closer cooperation possibilities between education and other relevant areas, such as culture, sports, employment, welfare, security and other channels of work on social inclusion;

- encouraging outreach and cooperation with civil society and social partners;

- exploring synergies with ongoing work in the Council of Europe in the area of civic education and intercultural understanding.

The signatories also invited the Council of the European Union in its Education, Youth, Culture and Sport configuration to discuss the follow up to this declaration at its meeting in May 2015.

Implementation of citizenship education in the EU

Research Paper

The aim of this study was to analyse how EU actions are contributing to the implementation of citizenship education in the EU and its Member States and how the EU can further improve the implementation of citizenship education. Citizenship education has become more important in European Union policy in recent years. In declarations and in general plans for education, citizenship education has gained a more central place. The debates in the EU Member States show that it is not easy to find a consensus on the content and the relevance of citizenship education. It shows that citizenship education is at the heart of nation building and of building the EU. It is about designing possible futures for society and its members and the function of education in it. Curriculum development, exchange of experience and more research should stimulate the development of democratic citizenship education.

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Executive summary

Citizenship education in policy

Citizenship education has become more important in European Union policy in recent years. In declarations and in general plans for education, citizenship education has gained a more central place. This can be attributed to two causes: the threat posed to the EU's core moral values by the growth of extremism, and the renewed recognition of and emphasis on the EU being not just an economic project, but also a social-cultural and political project of peace and democracy.

At the level of various programmes, such as Erasmus+ and Horizon, there is some attention for common values including democracy, inclusion and active participation. In the new Erasmus+ 2021-2027 and Horizon Europe programmes, attention to common values, in particular inclusion, active participation, and social cohesion is stressed. Translating such general goals into concrete activities is more difficult. When it comes to concrete targets of education, citizenship often disappears. The focus in education tends to be on basic skills, digital skills and participation.

The concept of citizenship

The EU has been built on a concept of democratic citizenship that supports active participation, inclusion, human rights and justice: in politics, civil society and daily life. For a lively and dynamic democracy, it is important to give space to different articulations and to organise discussions about these different perspectives. Such a lively political community is a good moral example for citizenship education.

The EU focuses on national and European citizenship. People experience national citizenship as more nearby and more concrete. Global citizenship refers to a care for the world and humanity and to a joint responsibility for it. It has a particularly moral appeal. The focus in the EU and the EU Member States is on national and sometimes European citizenship, but not so much on global citizenship.

Analysis of policy in the EU Member States

The reports of the 10 EU Member States show that in all countries there is growing attention to citizenship education. There are many debates, policy initiatives, and activities in and around schools. Europe is not an exception in this focus on citizenship education. Worldwide, growing attention is being paid to policy and research on citizenship education. The EU Member States are in the frontline of this development.

Debates on citizenship and citizenship education also show that historical events and experiences, such as dictatorships, Nazism, communism, colonialism, and responses to these historical events influence the supposed heritage of a nation and the content of citizenship education. Recent contextual developments, such as immigration, also influence discussions about the aims of citizenship education. The relationship between citizenship education and religion is complex, in particular in countries where religion has a strong position in educational policy.

All those Member States involved have chosen education, and in particular formal schooling, as an important tool to develop citizenship. Given the ideological sensitivity of the concept, it is not easy to arrive at a consensus on the content and position of citizenship education. Some of the country reports show that is difficult to come to a consensus, whereas other reports mention that changes in the government always have a great influence on the content and the position of citizenship education. Nations should strive to develop a citizenship education vision that has broad support and that shows different perspectives on how to practice democracy.

With the growing influence of the EU on social, cultural and political life in the Member States, European citizenship is becoming more visible and important and is part of national debates in which the nationalist orientation is often strongly promoted. Several Member States describe in their reports the positive influence of EU policy and actions on the implementation of citizenship education. Most Member States mention quite a lot of activities together with NGOs, often in the local community. It is important that such activities effectively combine participation, reflection and change, to make democracy stronger and society more inclusive and just.

Implementation of a whole school approach to citizenship education

All the Member States involved are working on the implementation of citizenship education, although this is not easy. All elements of the whole school approach seem important. In recent years there has been a particular focus on thinking about a special subject, to introduce a more dialogical learning environment, and to seeing the school as a democratic experience for students. The other elements of the whole school approach, the integration of citizenship goals in other subjects and the link between schools and the wider community and society, require more attention.

Many Member States mention that a strong focus on the 'basics' and central exams make it difficult for schools to really put an emphasis on citizenship education. Schools are monitored intensively on their added effects in these subjects, while the monitoring of the development of citizenship is not strong. This is not a recommendation to assess all aspects of citizenship education, but to create space for schools to work on citizenship education.

Improving the implementation of citizenship education

The aim of this study was to analyse how EU actions contribute to the implementation of citizenship education in the EU and its Member States and how the EU can further improve the implementation of citizenship education.

EU level

The EU sees itself as a community with a moral purpose. It has a common purpose that is at the heart of the foundation of the EU and is necessary for its future. Citizenship education is important to educate youngsters about relevant values and practices and to encourage them to get engaged in the EU and in its Members States as active citizens who support democracy.

In the EU and in its Member States there is often a dialogue about different articulations of democracy. The main focus in these dialogues is on active participation, inclusion and deliberation. There is less explicit focus on freedom, human rights and social justice, though these values are not less important.

Bridging the gap between the abstract level and concrete activities

On an abstract level, there is quite a lot of emphasis on the importance of citizenship education. However, when it comes to concrete actions, initiatives and research, this emphasis is less strong for citizenship education. There is a gap in policy between the abstract level and concrete activities: between the ideal curriculum and the formal curriculum.

Growing support for citizenship education is apparent in the declarations of the European Council and in other policy documents. There is also growth in actions, initiatives and research. Given the high relevance of democratic citizenship and citizenship education, the number of actions, initiatives and research projects should be increased.

Integration and coordination could be stimulated by special calls for citizenship education, review studies, and a coordinating organisation to bring information together and stimulate a more

integrated and sustainable approach to citizenship education. Here, learning from the experience of others is a crucial part of working on citizenship education in policy, research and practice.

National level

More than at the EU level, national governments can make a curriculum policy that sets out the goals and activities for citizenship education. There is growing concern about the role of citizenship education and its crucial components. Of all educational topics, citizenship education is the most 'nationalist', but most Member States also realise that they are part of the European Union and share something of a joint history and future.

A more coherent approach to citizenship in the EU and the EU Member States

Given the importance for the EU and the EU Member States to sustain democracy and to educate its inhabitants, in particular young people, to become engaged citizens who are actively involved in contributing to a democratic society that respects human rights and tries to strengthen a more justice and inclusive democracy, it is necessary to develop a more coherent policy on citizenship education in the EU and in its Member States. This does not mean imposing a particular view on citizenship, but raises the challenge of sparking dialogue between different values systems, to learn from each other and to respect other ideas within the framework of democracy. This more coherent approach needs two organisational pillars, both at the EU and Member State level: an agency and a research programme. The agency should bring together curriculum material and experiences; it should also conduct analyses (reviews) of developments and demonstrate where more action is needed or what can be done differently.

The research on citizenship education and the country reports show that there are presently a number of critical topics that need to be addressed in research on curriculum development, teacher practice and professional development:

1. Controversial issues: in many countries the debate about the content of citizenship education generates strong tensions: in policy, in society, and in the classroom.
2. Democracy: learning about democracy and experiencing democracy should be at the heart of citizenship education.
3. National and international orientation: balancing the national and international orientation is the challenge for policy on citizenship education and teaching citizenship in the classroom.

More curriculum development and more research into these topics are needed in the EU and in each Member State. Cooperating and sharing experiences is a democratic way of developing and implementing citizenship education. The study presents several concrete suggestions regarding how to improve citizenship education through EU action.

Table of contents

Table of tables

Table of frequently used abbreviations and acronyms

BpB	Federal Agency for Civic Education (Germany)
CE	Citizenship Education
CoE	Council of Europe
EFL	English as Forign Language
ENEC	National Strategy for Citizenship Education (Portugal)
EU	European Union
GSED	Gloabel Citizenship Education
ESD	Education for Sustainable Development
HRE	Human Rights Education
ICCS	International Civic and Citizenship Study
IEA	International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement
LBSE	General Law of Educational System (Portugal)
LDUK	Lithuanian College of Democracy
LGBT+	Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender
LOCE	Organic Law on the Quality of Education (Spain)
LOE	Organic Law of Education (Spain)
LOGSE	Organic Law of the Education System (Spain)
LOMCE	Organic Law for the Improvement of Educational Quality (Spain)
NCC	National Core Curriculum
NCCBE	National Core Curriculum for Basic Education (Finland)
NGO	Nongovernmental Organisation
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
PISA	Programme for International Student Assessment
TCV	Teaching Common Values
TIMMS	Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

1. Theoretical and practical framework of the study

The aim of this report is to assess the implementation of citizenship education actions in Europe, with special attention for citizenship education actions financed under the EU programmes, and presenting and evaluating the citizenship education systems in selected EU Member States.

1.1. The domain of citizenship education

The concept of citizenship has in the past decades been 'deepened' by extending it from the political domain to the social and cultural domain, and now even the natural domain. The concept has also been 'broadened' by going beyond the nation state to the regional level (like European citizenship) and the global. When we compare a national citizenship with the European citizenship (of the European Union) and global citizenship, a national citizenship is the most formal type of citizenship because of its rights and duties in the national state. An European citizenship has also formal aspects, but these are more indirect as citizens of a EU Member State. With the ongoing collaboration in the European Union a European citizenship becomes more concrete. A global citizenship is more an expression of the linking of different parts of the world. Global citizenship often has a strong moral orientation of concern for humanity and the planet, but it lacks a formal political structure (Torres, 2017; Veugelers, 2019).

Citizenship education is nowadays a crucial concept in policy, educational research and also in educational practice. It is about the social, cultural and political task of education. Here are some definitions of citizenship education:

In Eurydice (2017, p.9)

> ‹ 'Citizenship education is understood as the subject area that is promoted in schools with the aim of fostering the harmonious co-existence and mutually beneficial development of individuals and of the communities they are part of. In democratic societies, citizenship education supports students in becoming active, informed and responsible citizens, who are willing and able to take responsibility for themselves and for their communities at the local, regional, national and international level.'

In a recent overview study of the International Civic and Citizenship Study (ICCS) we presented the following definition:

> ‹ 'Education for citizenship is about acquiring the abilities and attitudes necessary to participate in political and civic life (on local, national, and global levels); about relating to others, in particular people with different social, cultural, and ethnic backgrounds; and about concern for the sustainability of humanity, of the planet, and of democracy' (Veugelers, 2021, p. 297)

The CULT Committee emphasizes a European citizenship:

> ‹ 'Stresses that civic education and learning about the EU are key to improving European democracy and the future of the Union, thereby enabling EU citizens to make informed choices and be an integral part of a democratic society based on the shared European values of human dignity, freedom, democracy, equality, rule of law

and human rights; notes that European citizenship is a value that should be fostered in young people' (CULT Committee, 2021, p. 10)[1].

The concept of citizenship itself can have different articulations depending on political and ideological developments and positions. Each political system has kind of citizenship and provides for citizenship education. Most research has been done on democratic citizenship education (Sant, 2019), but also authoritarian systems have a citizenship policy and educational practice. Democracy is about freedom, human rights, deliberation, active participation, respecting others and including people. Within the concept of democracy, different orientations are possible: for example, the focus can be more on individual rights or on social justice.

In the context of the European Union, the position of democratic citizenship is central. Here, citizenship education is focused on educating people to become actively engaged democratic citizens. But we have realised that within this concept there are different articulations. Discussing these articulations is part of a process of democratic deliberation that in itself is a practice of citizenship and contributes to citizenship education.

Citizenship education and related concepts

The concept of citizenship education has also many connections with other topics and subjects in education. We mention the ones most relevant for the European context. We distinguish between three domains: 1) political, 2) cultural and natural, and 3) social and personal.

- **Political domain**
  - Political studies
  - Social studies
  - Law
  - Peace education
  - Human Rights education
  - Cultural and Natural domain
  - Cultural heritage
  - History
- **Cultural studies**
  - Moral education
  - Multicultural education
  - Gender studies
  - Anti-racism studies
  - Media education
  - Religious studies
  - Worldview education
  - Global citizenship education
  - Sustainability studies
- **Social and Personal domain**
  - Social-emotional learning
  - Social competence
  - Anti-bullying education
  - Bildung
  - Philosophy of life

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[1] https://www.europarl.europa.eu/doceo/document/CULT-AD-663036_EN.pdf

All these concepts relate to citizenship education. Can the concept of citizenship education be considered as an umbrella concept for all these concepts? If we consider citizenship education as the central concept in the socialisation function of education, then it could be considered as an umbrella concept. And this is the way the concept is now used in policy and in research. However, each of the mentioned concepts has its own field, own ideas and own history. We therefore should view the relationship between these concepts as a dialogical interplay that touches and influences citizenship and citizenship education. In this report we start from the concept of citizenship but will include other concepts when they are part of citizenship and citizenship education.

In this study citizenship refers to actively participating in a democracy, on the national and European level, and to social and cultural life in the EU Member States and in the European Union as community. Citizenship education is about the way education, in particular formal education, can prepare young people for their participation in society and political life.

1.2. Citizenship education in the European Union

To position citizenship education within the policy of the European Union in the period since 2014, we focus here on four crucial documents:

> Paris Declaration (2015)[2] Declaration on Promoting citizenship and the common values of freedom, tolerance and non-discrimination through education
> Council Recommendation (2018)[3] Council Recommendation on Common values, Inclusive Education and the European Dimension of Teaching
> Citizen report 2020[4] EU Citizenship Report 2020 Empowering citizens and protecting their rights
> Education Aera (2020)[5] Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament, the Council, the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions on achieving the European Education Area by 2025

These documents clearly show that:

1   The European Union has central values in their ideas and policy on citizenship education. Central values are democracy, tolerance, inclusion and active participation.
2   Educational policy is a responsibility of the Member States but the EU as political organization has its own social, cultural and political history, common values and ideas about future developments of Europe and how education can contribute to this.
3   The EU uses, besides declarations, programme actions to implement their ideas and policy. These actions can be research oriented or more oriented on developing new curricula and new activities. Cooperation in and between EU Member States, and learning from each other's practices and experiences, are crucial elements in these programme actions.

In this report we will describe and analyse the implementation of citizenship education in the European Union, in particular in the programme actions (part 2), and will describe recent

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[2] https://ec.europa.eu/assets/eac/education/news/2015/documents/citizenship-education-declaration_en.pdf

[3] https://ec.europa.eu/education/education-in-the-eu/council-recommendation-on-common-values-inclusive-education-and-the-european-dimension-of-teaching_en

[4] https://ec.europa.eu/info/sites/default/files/eu_citizenship_report_2020_-_empowering_citizens_and_protecting_their_rights_en.pdf

[5] https://ec.europa.eu/education/sites/default/files/document-library-docs/communication-european-education-area.pdf

developments in citizenship education in 10 EU Member States (part 3). We concentrate on the developments after 2014, and in particular in the last few years. For the future we take the next budget period of the EU, 2021-2027.

Citizenship education in the EU in 2017

In 2017, three studies were published that are very relevant for our report and can be taken as a starting point.

Eurydice report on citizenship education

Eurydice (2017) regularly presents reports on the state of the education system in the EU Member States[6]. In 2017 they published their most recent report on citizenship education. 'Citizenship Education at School in Europe – 2017'

They conclude:

> 'The analysis in this report shows that in the majority of European countries, national curricula tend to be broad in scope, covering most of the competences related to democratic and socially responsible action, critical thinking and inter-personal interactions. (…)
> The report finally also shows that education authorities give less attention to citizenship education in school-based initial vocational education and training in comparison with general education.
> Notwithstanding these differences, citizenship education appears to be an issue, which is currently in the spotlight in a number of countries across Europe.' (p.10)

Report Teaching Common Values in Europe

At the request of the CULT committee of the European Parliament, a study has been performed on the policy and practice of teaching common values, in particular democracy. The main conclusions about policy are (Veugelers, De Groot & Stolk, 2017, p. 9-10)[7]:

> Greater attention to the teaching of values, including democracy and tolerance, is evident in the education policies of all EU Member States. Though Teaching Common Values (TCV) is fairly important in half of the EU Member States. However, compared to other topics and subject areas, attention given to TCV is still lacking.
> TCV is often not strongly implemented in education policy in terms of concrete curriculum instruments and supporting measures. The EU Member States differ in the extent to which they steer TCV policy.
> In most EU Member States, there is a focus on political participation. However, attention should also be given to democracy as a process of deliberation and consensus building, and to the creation of a democratic society that is just and inclusive and values freedom of speech and equality. While national orientation gets abundant attention in education policy, attention given to the international dimension is not very strong, although it is growing. And teaching about own nations is often susceptible to an uncritical approach.

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[6] https://eacea.ec.europa.eu/national-policies/eurydice/content/citizenship-education-school-europe—-2017_en

[7] https://op.europa.eu/en/publication-detail/-/publication/6f527dc2-3c40-11e7-a08e-01aa75ed71a1/language-en

International Civic and Citizenship Education Study 2016

The European Commission's Joint Research Centre has analysed the outcomes of the 14 participating EU-Member States in the 2016 study (Cseres-Gergelybe, Mota da Costa & Toscano, 2018) 'Civic attitudes and behavioural intentions in the 2016 International Civic and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS) New evidence for education and training policies in Europe'. From their analysis, six key findings with relevant policy implications for CCE in the EU emerge. The first three are:

1. 'Maintaining an open classroom climate is the single most effective factor associated with positive civic attitudes and behavioural intentions. These include citizenship values, trust in democratic institutions, willingness for future political participation as well as level of acceptance of equal rights for minority groups.

2. Students' active participation in democratic practices in school is also positively related to students' expected future political participation. Further, in some countries a positive association occurs between students' active community involvement and some non-cognitive civic outcomes, pointing to the potential benefits of community work.

3. Non-cognitive civic outcomes are at most partially related to school and education. Students' demographic and social characteristics, together with their civic and citizenship knowledge and civic self-efficacy, play a bigger role in the attitude-shaping process than educational approaches, and so do other factors that the ICCS study cannot account for'.

In part 3, when describing developments in 10 EU Member States, we will use more information from these three reports.

Here we can conclude that in 2017:

- EU actions were oriented to develop new curricula, but teaching common values is not implemented in education policy in terms of concrete curricula and in supporting measures.
- There is less attention to citizenship education in school-based initial vocational training.
- Strong education practices relating to the teaching of democracy are scarce.
- National orientation gets abundant attention while an international orientation (European and global) is not so strong. However the international orientation is growing.

1.3. Implementation of educational change

To study the implementation in education, it is important to distinguish between different levels. Goodlad's curriculum level theory is a valuable resource with which to study the curriculum in a country (Goodlad, 1979). A curriculum can be formulated at different levels. The first level is that of the idealized curriculum in which policy leaders present their ideas and plans. At the second level is the formal curriculum, which consists of the official guidelines, textbooks and assessments; this is what the education policy expects the schools to teach. The next two levels, namely the interpretive curriculum and the operationalized curriculum, comprise formulations of the curriculum at the level of the school, i.e. what teachers think about the curriculum (their interpretation) and what teachers actually do in practice. The last two levels, i.e. the experienced curriculum and the effected curriculum, express the curriculum in relation to the students, about what they do in the classroom, what they experience, and what they learn. The Goodlad model gives the impression of a top-down

model, but leaves space for action at different levels, including at the level of teachers as well as students. The Goodlad model is helpful in research to distinguish between the different formulations of the curriculum and to investigate the involvement of the stakeholders at these different levels.

The present study will investigate in particular the idealized and formal curriculum for citizenship education, both at the level of the EU and of the EU Member States, and the role of government in formulating its education policy on teaching citizenship. It is about the governance of education, and in particular, the curriculum. The governance of education consists of different instruments; for example, legal regulations, curricula, financial support, assessments, monitoring/inspectorate, as well as the discourses politicians use to present their ideas and plans. A government can use different instruments to steer education and to implement the teaching of citizenship.

Implementation of educational change is never a fully top-down activity: it is a dynamic interaction between top-down and bottom-up activities. Goodson (2010) speaks of 'refraction'; each national system transforms international policy into its own vision and practice. Own traditions, political and ideological views and conditions influence the implementation of educational change. National educational policy is influenced by international developments. Spring (2004) distinguishes three international developments that are influencing national policy worldwide:

1   A nationalist ideology that focuses on the own tradition, own language and own culture. It is aimed at founding and sustaining the own nation. This ideology is particularly emphasized by national governments.
2   An economic ideology that focuses on economic growth, competition and technological advancement. This ideology is particularly emphasized by international organizations like OECD, IMF and World Bank.
3   A moral ideology focusing on democracy, human rights and sustainability. This ideology is promoted especially by UNESCO and NGOs.

According to Spring, each nation needs to balance the three orientations in their educational policy. In the present day, an economic ideology is quite dominant in most countries. However, countries also pay attention to a nationalist ideology and democratic countries also to the described moral ideology. The nationalist and the moral ideology together constitute citizenship education. But also the economic ideology has an effect on the moral and citizenship development of people, see the book 'The tyranny of merit' of Michael Sandel (2020) that shows how people are expressing their success or failure in the meritocracy of the educational system.

Key conclusions on educational change:

- An economic ideology is dominant in educational change.
- A nationalist ideology is also quite strong in educational change
- A moral ideology is of influence in educational change, but not so strong as the economic and nationalist ideologies.

The concept of citizenship can have different orientations (Johnson & Morris, 2010). In our own research we find three orientations: an adapted type of citizenship that emphasizes discipline and the own community; an individualized type of citizenship with a strong emphasis on autonomy; and a critical-democratic type that tries to combine autonomy and social concern, sometimes even also social justice (Veugelers, 2020). The concept of democracy can also have different orientations. Sant (2019) distinguishes 8 different orientations in democratic education: elitist, liberal, neoliberal, deliberative, multicultural, participatory, critical, and agonistic. For our analysis, it is important to be aware of different articulations of the concepts of citizenship and citizenship education and of relevant values like democracy, tolerance, inclusion and active participation.

1.4. Relevant educational activities in citizenship education

There is some empirical evidence that moral and citizenship development are stimulated by the following activities (ICCS, 2017; Malak-Minkiewicz & Tornet-Purta, 2021; Sant, 2019; Solomon, Watson & Battististich, 2001; Veugelers, De Groot & Stolk, 2017):

A whole school approach that includes the activities:

1. The teaching and learning of values:

   - In a specific subject like citizenship education
   - Integration in other subjects
   - Cross-curricular activities

2. A dialogical, cooperative and inquiring methodology of teaching and learning
3. A democratic school culture with active participation of students
4. Inclusive education bringing together different groups of students and teachers
5. Collaboration with the wider community.

Activities 1 (subjects) and 2 (methodology) are on the level of the curriculum. Activities 3 (culture), 4 (composition) and 5 (community) are on the level of the organisation of education. In the report we attempt to point out which activities are concerned.

The concept of education encompasses a broad range of activities that try to influence the development of youngsters and, from the viewpoint of life-long learning, also adults. A distinction can be made between formal and informal education. Formal education, schooling, is organised by the government, often together with social and cultural groups, and has goals and curricula. Informal education is effected by for example media and public life, and in a democracy are less directed by policy.

In this report we will focus in particular on formal education, hence on what policy the EU and the Member States try to realize with citizenship education in primary education, secondary education, vocational education, and higher education.

1.5. Education policy in the EU: Citizenship education actions

The educational policy in the EU consists in particular of declarations and programme actions. We will focus on the implementation of citizenship education in actions. The most relevant actions for citizenship education are: Erasmus+; Horizon 2020/Europe; Europe for Citizens; Creative Europe. Other relevant activities are: developing of Key Competences for Life Long Learning; participation in ICCS-study.

1.6. Outline of the study

Analysis of citizenship education in EU programmes (part 2)

Document analyses and if relevant additional interviews/e-mail exchanges with programme-directors: output, ongoing projects, future developments 2021-2027. Attention will be paid to: special calls for citizenship education; citizenship education as element in other topics; size of the projects; kind of research/activity (e.g. studies of policy, curriculum, school organisation, teachers' actions, student experiences and development)

Presentation and analysis of 10 EU Member States (part 3)

Document analyses and additional interviews/e-mail exchanges with researchers: recent developments; influence of EU programmes and actions; future challenges. Besides the 7 requested countries we add Lithuania, Greece, the Netherlands (to enhance regional balance and balance small – large countries). Starting points are the reports of Eurydice and Teaching Common Values. Recent developments will be added and highlighted.

Table 1: Scholars involved

Country	Involved scholars	University
Croatia	Prof. V. Spajić – Vrkaš	University of Zagreb
Finland	Prof. K. Tirri Dr. J. Löfström	University of Helsinki University of Turku
Germany	Prof. I. Heldt Prof. D. Lange Prof. H-J. Abs	Technical University Kaiserslautern University of Hannover University of Duisburg-Essen
Greece	Dr. A. Kesidou	Aristotle University Thessaloniki
Hungary	Dr. A. Kende	Central European University Budapest
Lithuania	Prof. G. Kvieskiene	Lithuanian University Educational Sciences
Netherlands	Prof. W. Veugelers	University of Humanistic Studies
Poland	Dr. Malak-Minkiewicz Dr. J. Wiśniewski Prof. V. Kopińska	Independent scholar Independent scholar Nicolaus Copernicus University, Torun
Portugal	Prof. I. Menezes	University of Porto
Spain	Prof. M.R. Buxarrais Dr. M. Estelles	University of Barcelona University of Cantabria

Relevant international organisations: Council of Europe; UNESCO; International Civic and Citizenship Education Studies

Conclusions and recommendations (part 4): to improve educational actions EU; interesting developments; policy recommendations.

2. Implementation of citizenship education actions within EU programmes

European Union and education

On the website of the European Commission we can read[8]:

> ❯ 'While the responsibility for education and training systems lies with individual states, <u>the role of the EU is to support and supplement their capacity</u>. The EU therefore supports Member States through policy cooperation (via the<u>"ET 2020" framework</u>) and funding instruments. These include the <u>Erasmus+ programme</u> and the <u>European Structural and Investment Funds</u>. (…) The EU is also helping to build a <u>European Education Area</u> to strengthen educational outcomes and learning mobility, promote common values and facilitate the mutual recognition of diplomas across borders.'.
>
> ❯ 'EACEA's new generation of funding programmes for the period 2021-2027 will be: Erasmus+, Creative Europe, <u>the European Solidary Corps</u>, and <u>the Citizens, Equality, Rights and Values programme (CERV)</u>. These programmes will build on the success of their predecessors (Erasmus+, Creative Europe, the European Solidarity Corps and Europe for Citizens).'

European Union and citizenship education (in 2018):

> ❯ 'The Council Recommendation on Common values, Inclusive Education, and the European Dimension of Teaching' was proposed by the Commission and adopted by the Council according to the ordinary legislative procedure. The Recommendation aims to promote a sense of belonging – conveying common values, practicing inclusive education, and teaching about Europe and its Member States to help increase a sense of belonging to one's school, locality, country, as well as the European family. The Recommendation also seeks to strengthen social cohesion, to fight xenophobia, radicalisation, divisive nationalism and the spread of fake news. It target the achievement of these objectives by:
>   - ❯ Promoting common values at all stages of education.
>   - ❯ Fostering more inclusive education.
>   - ❯ Encouraging a European dimension of teaching, while strengthening the competence of national administrations in this field.
>   - ❯ Offering a diverse range of support to teachers and educational institutions.'

The Commission reports on the application of the EU citizenship provisions every three years. The EU Citizenship Report 2020 shows how much importance the Commission attaches to citizenship education:

> ❯ 'The Citizenship Report is strongly linked to the Commission's six headline ambitions for Europe, particularly the new push for European Democracy and bringing citizens closer to the EU. It should be seen in combination with and as complementing other initiatives such as the new Strategy for strengthening the application of the Charter of Fundamental Rights and in particular the European Democracy Action plan.' (p. 5)

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[8] https://ec.europa.eu/education/education-in-the-eu/about-education-and-training-in-the-eu_en

The Commission argues for empowering citizens' participation in the democratic processes:

> 'Deliberative democracy: 'involving citizens in deliberations on the complex questions faced by the European institutions' (p. 16)
> 'To further encourage the participation of young people in democratic life in Europe' (p.18)
> 'EU citizenship is underpinned by common values, encompassing the respect for democracy, rule of law, equality and fundamental rights'. (p. 29)

The Commission emphasizes the central role of education in citizenship development:

> 'The Council Recommendation on Promoting common values, inclusive education and the European dimension of teaching, invites Member States to step up their efforts to promote common values such as respect for human dignity, freedom, democracy, equality, the rule of law and respect for human rights. The Recommendation also calls for more inclusive education systems, better support for educational staff and teaching about Europe and its Member States to help increase a sense of belonging to one's school, local community, country and also the European family. The Commission will continue to work on innovative projects that promote young people's citizenship education and experiences, including through the future Erasmus programme (2021-2027).' (p.34)

The six general priorities of the Commission for 2019-2024 provide the context for the implementation of citizenship education. They are:

1   A European green deal
2   A Europe fit for the digital age
3   An economy that works for people
4   A stronger Europe in the world
5   Promoting our European way of life
6   A new push for European democracy.

Priorities 5 and 6 in particular belong to the domain of citizenship education.

This overview of general ideas in EU policy documents about citizenship and citizenship shows that on this policy level citizenship and citizenship education are considerd as important. In the following section we will analyse if and how these intentions are becoming concrete in actions.

The educational policy in the EU consists in the first place of declarations and programme actions. Here we will concentrate on the implementation of citizenship education in actions: that is, how the general ideas and goals of policy are operationalized in concrete activities. The most relevant actions for citizenship education are Erasmus+ (2.1) and Horizon 2020/Europe (2.2). Other relevant EU programmes are European Structural and Investments Funds, Europe for Citizens, Creative Europe (2.3). Not an action, but a very relevant activity for citizenship education, are the Key Competences for Life Long Learning (2.4). We will also analyse the participation of the EU in larger international activities and how NGOs in particular try to influence policy and support educational practice. EU participation in larger activities: ICCS-study, Council of Europe (2.5), will also be analysed.

Erasmus+ is the leading EU programme supporting cooperation among educational institutions and the exchange of students and teachers. Erasmus+ Regulation.[9] Horizon is the leading EU

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[9] https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=CELEX:32013R1288

programme for research and innovation. Horizon Europe Regulation. [10] We will pay most attention to these two programmes.

2.1. Erasmus+ programme

Erasmus+ is a very large and important EU programme. On the website of Erasmus+, the programme is described as follows:

> ‘The Erasmus+ programme aims to help generations of Europeans to become active citizens, with the skills, knowledge and experience to tackle the challenges facing our society, both now and in the years to come. (…) There are projects that help us move towards a more circular, green economy, where little is wasted, and pollution is minimised. Other projects nurture the democratic process in Europe and its influence globally. There are projects that focus on inclusion of those who are socially or economically marginalised, while others help prepare today’s youth for an increasingly digital world.’ [11]

Citizenship education is a very important element in the Erasmus+ policy. The Erasmus+ programme guide 2017 refers to it as follows [12]:

> ‘Europe needs more cohesive and inclusive societies which allow citizens to play an active role in democratic life. Education and youth work are key to promote common European values, foster social integration, enhance intercultural understanding and a sense of belonging to a community, and to prevent violent radicalisation.’ (p.5)

There are three key actions in Erasmus+:

> Key Action 1 (KA1) – Learning mobility of individuals,
> Key Action 2 (KA2) - Cooperation for innovation and the exchange of good practices,
> Key Action 3 (KA3) - Support for policy reform

2.1.1. KA1: analyses of students and teachers exchange on citizenship development

The KA1, students and teachers exchange, is the best-known and most-used Erasmus+ action in all EU Member States. This concerns an exchange of students in the area they are studying and of teachers in the field they are teaching. The main goal of the exchange is to develop knowledge and skills in the field of the study. While studying or teaching abroad, the Erasmus+ participant is moreover spending time living in another country and will be exposed to cultural, social and political experiences that can differ from what he/she is used to at home. Through their educational, social and professional contacts, the Erasmus+ student and teacher become aware of what citizenship entails in another country. Students and teachers will discover both commonalities and differences.

During the exchange, this learning by experience is complemented further by learning about the own experiences. Living in another culture makes you more aware of your own country and your own cultural and political context. When you need to speak with others about your own country, you have to contextualise and analyse your own citizenship experiences in terms of their value and

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[10] https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=CELEX%3A52018PC0435

[11] https://ec.europa.eu/programmes/erasmus-plus/projects/priorities_2019-2024_en

[12] https://ec.europa.eu/programmes/erasmus-plus/sites/default/files/2017-erasmus-plus-programme-guide-v2_en.pdf

the moral values embedded in it. By speaking about your own country you become more aware of your own identity and your own culture. The Erasmus student and teacher exchange has a strong indirecht effect on a sense of European citizenship. It shows the cultural diversity in the European Union, the common values, and it can develop a sense of European belonging.

Erasmus Student Network

Each year the Erasmus Student Network conducts a survey to collect experiences of exchange students. In 2019 the topic was active citizenship in light of the European elections.[13] Interesting results were: Erasmus+ Alumni have higher interest and are more likely to vote in European elections than the European average. EU students with an exchange experience wish for more rights as EU citizens and for more European civic education in schools.

'Internationalisation at home' and intensive programmes

An interesting and very relevant effect of the educational mobility among teachers and students is that classrooms are becoming more international by composition and that students and teachers bring international experiences back home. This process has been called 'internationalisation at home'. It makes the classroom more diverse and the curriculum more international.

Student exchanges mainly occur in tertiary education. There are many efforts to increase the quantity of exchange students in vocational education and secondary education. An important obstacle is that the curricula (and assessments) in vocational education and secondary education are tighter and more oriented on the local context than in tertiary education. Therefore many vocational and secondary schools look for other possibilities to have international cooperation and exchange, for example through the KA2 strategic partnerships and the programme 'Citizens for Europe'.

In the Erasmus programme 2007-2013, there was the possibility for intensive programmes in which students and teachers from different countries came together and worked together for at least two weeks. This activity hasn't been financed in the Erasmus+ 2014-2020 because of the desire to stay longer periods in another country. Advantages of the intensive programmes were the coming together of students and teachers of different countries and the compact full-time focus on a specific topic. As we will see in the Erasmus+ 2021-2027 plans, shorter intensive programmes are again possible.

2.1.2. KA2 and KA3 Erasmus+ projects

Besides students and teachers exchange, Erasmus+ offers the opportunity to have more collaboration between schools and universities and to work on the joint development of new activities, curricula and organisations. KA2 Strategic Partnerships are collaborations on specific topics, organised by the national Erasmus Agencies. International cooperation is one of the criteria. KA3 is organised at the level of the EU, and these projects concern more organisational cooperation. Jean Monnet grants are for organising debates and special projects to foster a sense of European identity and commitment through the development of excellence in European integration studies. Erasmus+ has an excellent website that shows an overview of all the projects in KA2 and KA3.[14]

The Erasmus+ website presents aims and results of the different projects. We used the website to find projects on citizenship education. When searching on citizenship education we obtained 627 hits (for education AND citizenship). When we searched for 'citizenship education' we only found 27

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[13] https://esn.org/esnsurvey).

[14] https://ec.europa.eu/programmes/erasmus-plus/projects_en

hits, and a total of 10 projects. Most of the projects below were found following this procedure. We also searched for citizenship education and democracy and citizenship education with active participation. This generally turned up the same projects plus a few others. We will give an impression of the projects we found. First we present the KA2 projects, then the KA3 projects, and then the Jean Monnet initiatives. We checked the overview of Erasmus Mundus Joint Masters, but there is no master in the area of citizenship education. We start with the projects in primary education, then secondary education, following by tertiary education and adult education. We have summarised the texts offered on the websites.

Building together European learning material on Education for Citizenship (ENGAGE)

Good Practice Example

Start: 01-09-2014 - End: 31-01-2017. EU Grant: 146,623.78 EUR

Key Action: Cooperation for innovation and the exchange of good practices

Action Type: Strategic Partnerships addressing more than one field

The 11 developed modules, for pupils aged 8-12 and their teachers, were divided in 3 clusters: '1.) Me and the others: Emotional Identity, Relationship and Conflict resolution, Children's rights; 2.) Society and the world: History and memory, Media education, Diversity and discrimination, Sustainable development, Solidarity; 3.) Participation in democratic society: Human rights, Democracy, Participation'.

Network of Democratic Citizenship Schools

Good Practice Example

Start: 01-09-2015 - End: 31-08-2017. EU Grant: 105,220 EUR

Key Action: Cooperation for innovation and the exchange of good practices

Action Type: Strategic Partnerships for school education

3 school communities from Poland, Portugal and Slovenia shared action experiments for innovative citizenship and school democracy and participation approaches. 'Results of the project include a comprehensive and practical methodology for promoting participation and democracy in regular public. The project learning by doing participatory approach improved active citizenship by their participants, especially youth'.

Education for Democratic Intercultural Citizenship (EDIC+)

Good practice example

Start: 01-09-2016 - End: 31-08-2019. EU Grant: 339,620 EUR

Key Action: Cooperation for innovation and the exchange of good practices

Action Type: Strategic Partnerships for higher education

Seven European universities worked together in developing a curriculum. They each developed a module in the area of moral, intercultural and citizenship education (theory and practice of citizenship education, ethical sensitivity, inclusive education, intercultural education, link with the community, and with parents). An open access book 'Education for Democratic Intercultural Citizenship' was published.

Modernisation, Education and Human Rights (MEHR)
Good Practice Example

Start: 01-09-2016 - End: 31-08-2019. EU Grant: 290,826 EUR

Key Action: Cooperation for innovation and the exchange of good practices

Action Type: Strategic Partnerships for higher education

European Quality Assurance in Higher Education has been at the core of the project. Learning outcomes have been described as a fundamental building block of the Bologna process reforms, and now feature in the quality assessment and accreditation procedures for Higher Education programmes in several countries.

Enhancing Seniors' Competencies for Active Participation in Europe (ESCAPE)

Start: 01-11-2017 - End: 31-10-2019. EU Grant: 51,875 EUR

Key Action: Cooperation for innovation and the exchange of good practices

Action Type: Strategic Partnerships for adult education

The main aim of ESCAPE was to define an educational methodology to support seniors in taking actively part to the construction of the Future of Europe. The final project main result (the E-Book) is now available.

Boosting Global Citizenship Education using digital storytelling (BRIGHTS)

Start: 31-12-2016 - End: 31-12-2018. EU Grant: 494,896 EUR

Key Action: Support for policy reform

Action Type: Social inclusion through education, training and youth

The purpose of BRIGHTS project was to promote Global Citizenship Education (GCE) in formal and non-formal educational contexts in Europe, with the help of digital storytelling (DS) techniques. The project realized a training curriculum and a blended course.

EU COmmon Values INClusive Education (EU CONVINCE)

Start: 15-01-2018 - End: 14-01-2020. EU Grant: 319,021 EUR

Key Action: Support for policy reform

Action Type: Social inclusion through education, training and youth

A joint project of European Trade Union Committee for Education, European Federation of Education Employers and European School Heads Association 'to provide tools and methods to deliver inclusive quality education to all and better deal with citizenship in the classroom and in extra-curricular activities'. The policy outcomes of the project include: 'The Joint Statement on Education for Democratic Citizenship & EU Common Values (2018), and the Joint Statement on Inclusive Schools Within the Context of Diverse Societies (2019)'.

Learning EU's ABC@School: Education for Democracy, Citizenship and Diversity - YOU(th) for EU (YOU4EU)
Good Practice Example

Key Action: Jean Monnet Activities

Action Type: Jean Monnet Projects

The aim of this project was to inform and prepare future active citizens of the EU, as well as to train professors to teach EU courses using means of formal and non-formal education in Romanian high schools. One of the result of the project is a „European Unions' Guide for Students and Teachers. Education for Citizenship, Democracy and Diversity in a Europe of Youth".

Table 2: Erasmus+ projects citizenship education

Name	EU grant	Level	Countries	Topic	Output
ENGAGE	147.000	primary	7	citizenship	curriculum
NDCS	105.000	secondary	3	community	curriculum
EDIC+	340.000	higher	7	democracy	curriculum
MEHR	291.000	higher	all	human rights	goals
ESCAPE	52.000	adult	3	EU citizen	methodology
BRIGHTS	495.000	secondary	4	digital	curriculum
CONVINCE	319.000	secondary	all	inclusive	statements
YOU4EU	Monnet	secondary	9	EU citizen	curriculum

Other relevant recent Erasmus+ projects:

> CitizenHeritage, which aims 'to empower Citizen Science and participation in cultural heritage as a booster for higher education', started in 2020.
> ICEPELL, intercultural education through picture books in early English Language Learning, started in 2019,
> Global Citizenship and Multilingual Competences (GCMC), which aims 'to provide online teacher development resources for secondary schools teachers of all subjects about how to integrate global citizenship goals and plurilingual pedagogies into their practices', started in 2020.

2.1.3. Analyses and conclusions on Erasmus+

The descriptions of the projects and the output they present give the possibility to analyse the projects in terms of how they contribute to the implementation of citizenship education in the EU Member States and to suggest possibilities to strengthen the impact of Erasmus+ on the implementation of citizenship education.

Positive outcomes and critical concerns:

1   The Erasmus+ exchange action (KA1) does not explicitly focus on the development of a political citizenship, but participating students and teachers *experience social and cultural elements of citizenship*. Studying, teaching and living abroad for some time contributes to personal, social and cultural identity development. Commonalities and differences between (and in) different EU Member States can be experienced. That the EU offers Erasmus grants to people can also increase a commitment to the EU. KA1 is an important indirect tool in developing European citizenship.

2   The reports of the projects in KA2 and KA3 demonstrate that the participants have been working together with great engagement, enthusiasm, and with the intention to improve education and the participation of citizens in society. These *projects made a difference* in the life of the participants. For students, it enhanced their development as a citizen, and for teachers, it empowered their ability to teach citizenship education. Most projects were aimed at networking, developing new curricula, and training teachers and other educational professionals.

3   All projects focused on citizenship development and how educational activities can contribute to it. All aspects of the *whole school approach* seem to be relevant and part of projects: specific subjects, integrated in other subjects, cross-curricular activities, and out-of-school learning. School culture and social and cultural composition of students and teachers as part of citizenship education are less explicitly addressed in the projects.

4   The projects focused on aspects of democratic citizenship such as active participation, dialogue and inclusion. There are also links between citizenship and gender issues and sustainability. Explicitly *political issues* like elections (MOCKs), social justice, and democracy are less addressed.

5   The projects try in their *methodology* to challenge teachers and students to reflect on their ideas, have dialogues with others, and to find out how they can contribute and get engaged in a democratic society. These projects try to stimulate reflective, dialogical, and democratic ways of learning. However, most projects are only limited in time and sometimes not at the heart of the educational process.

6   The cooperation between schools and universities from *different EU Member States* contributes to learning from each other and to strengthen the idea of a common community. Diversity is truly an advantage. In most projects different parts of Europe have been included, but this diversity can be enlarged.

7   In most projects, the EU context with its cooperation and its common values was visible in processes and outcomes. The explicit focus on the European Union and on *European citizenship* was only visible in a few projects.

8   The projects used *blended learning*, in which both the live meetings and the online activities were crucial, both ways of learning contributed to experiencing other social and cultural practices and challenged the participants to transform their ideas and practices.

9   All projects sought to be sustainable and to develop *structures* that continue after the external funding. This is however not easy for most of them.

Suggestions to improve the focus on citizenship education in Erasmus+ KA2 and KA3 actions:

1   The KA2 projects are especially interesting in terms of *developing new methodologies and exploring topics*. This can be considered as the power of these projects. However, to increase their impact in education these initial initiatives should be incorporated into large scale innovations, either at the EU level or at the Member States level.

2   We find a lot of interesting and important projects. But what we have found is just a *small part of the many projects* that have been launched under these actions. Considering the relevance of the topic and the support that the European Commission is giving at a formal level to citizenship education, more projects should be launched in the future. Citizenship education should get a *higher priority* in the selection process of Erasmus+ projects.

3   The Erasmus+ website contains a lot of information and is quite accessible. Also the 'Compendium of Inspiring Practices on Inclusive and Citizenship Education' shows a lot of projects, both in and outside Erasmus+. But the meaningful use of the outputs can be improved by a more thematic order and by making secondary analyses of the results of the projects. Not only for citizenship education but for other topics as well, it would be helpful to compile a review of the projects in a specific area every three years. Such an *overview* can stimulate integration of knowledge and activities, generate new questions, and can help new projects to better position themselves.

4   After the project funding ends, the only possibility to use Erasmus+ resources is through grants for mobility of students and teachers. *Sustainability of the projects* will be stimulated if there is a small amount of resources to enable meetings of teachers from different countries (a kind of management team), and to have intensive programmes of a few weeks in which teachers and students of different countries can learn together, and in which they can use the material developed.

5   The Erasmus+ programme is primarily focused on development; often some research is part of this development. *Research* on content and processes of developments should get more attention. Research on the development of curricula, out-of-school activities and school organisation can contribute to a better understanding of 'what works'.

6   For students of vocational education, it is often more difficult to participate in exchange and in projects than for students in universities. From the point of view of equality and to avoid the opposition of international versus national orientations in citizenship, it is very important that *different social and cultural groups* can participate in the Erasmus+ programme. Developing an international orientation in citizenship is important for all youngsters in a democracy. Exchanges for a shorter period and intensive programmes can stimulate participation of all youngsters.

2.1.4. The future of Erasmus+ programme

The new Erasmus+ programme for 2021-2027 was launched in the spring of 2021.[15] The new programme has been announced with high aspirations and with a lot of support from the European Commission (see European Citizenship 2020). The European Parliament is also very positive about Erasmus+. This is how the new Erasmus+ programme has been presented:

> 'Erasmus+ is the EU Programme in the fields of education, training, youth and sport for the period 2021-2027. Education, training, youth and sport are key areas that support citizens in their personal and professional development. High quality, inclusive education and training, as well as informal and non-formal learning, ultimately equip young people and participants of all ages with the qualifications and skills needed for their meaningful participation in democratic society, intercultural understanding and successful transition in the labour market.' (p.4)

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[15] https://www.erasmustrainingcourses.com/uploads/6/5/6/3/65630323/2021-erasmusplus-programme-guide_en.pdf

There are four priorities in the programme: Inclusion and Diversity; Digital Transformation; Environment and fight against climate change; Participation in democratic life. The Erasmus+ programme describes 'participation in democratic life' as:

> 'Another challenge relates to the Europe-wide trends of limited participation in democratic life and low levels of knowledge and awareness about European matters and their impact on the lives of all European citizens. (…) Strengthening European identity and the participation of young people in democratic processes is of paramount importance for the European Union's future. (…)The Programme supports active citizenship and ethics in lifelong learning; it fosters the development of social and intercultural competences, critical thinking and media literacy. Priority is given to projects that offer opportunities for people's participation in democratic life, social and civic engagement through formal or non-formal learning activities.' (p.4)

In the new KA1, individual mobility of students and teachers remains the most important focus. However, more cooperation among educational institutes has entered KA1, and blended intensive programmes are a strong tool in developing transnational curricula:

> 'The objective is to foster the development of transnational and transdisciplinary curricula as well as innovative ways of learning and teaching, including online collaboration, research-based learning and challenge-based approaches with the objective of tackling societal challenges.' (p.41)

Also in KA2, citizenship education is an important topic:

> 'Common values, civic engagement and participation: The Programme will support active citizenship and ethics in lifelong learning; it will foster the development of social and intercultural competences, critical thinking and media literacy. Priority will also be given to projects that offer opportunities for people's participation in democratic life, social and civic engagement through formal or non-formal learning activities. The focus will also be on raising awareness on and understanding the European Union context, notably as regards the common EU values, the principles of unity and diversity, as well as their cultural identity, cultural awareness and their social and historical heritage.' (p.168)

The Jean Monnet Action continues with the focus on the functioning of the European Union itself.

> 'The Jean Monnet Action in the field of Higher Education supports teaching and research in the field of European Union studies worldwide. By EU studies it is meant the study of Europe in its entirety, with particular emphasis on the EU dimension, from an internal but also from a global perspective. (…) EU studies should promote active European citizenship and values and deal with the role of the EU in a globalised world, enhancing awareness of the Union and facilitating future engagement as well as people-to-people dialogue.' (p.269)

Comments on the new Erasmus+ programme to strengthen the impact for citizenship education.

1   It is good that the *Intensive programmes* are again part of Erasmus+. They stimulate cooperation between universities and schools of different Member States in curriculum development and joint educational activities. In an intensive programme, different perspectives can be included and the curriculum becomes more international with a strong comparative component.

2   *Democracy* is one of the four priorities of the programme. This is particularly relevant for the projects in KA2 and the cooperation in KA3. In the selection process, the proposals with the best reviews are honoured. This can result in no or only a few accepted proposals in one of the four priorities. In selecting projects, a spread of projects over the different priorities would be desirable.

3   The KA2 and KA3 projects are in particular helpful in stimulating new developments by educational institutions. They have a role in exploring new possibilities. Successful projects should get the chance to *upscale* their activities or become part of a larger innovation (at EU level or at the level of the Member States).

4   KA2 and KA3 are good instruments to stimulate cooperation between educational institutions. A participation of *different parts of Europe* should serve as a positive criterion.

5   Part of KA3 consists of possibilities for 'Alliances for Innovation'. These are collaborations between educational institutes and enterprises. Why is it not possible to have *alliances in the domain of citizenship education*: collaborations of schools and universities with organisations in civic society and government? /That would open up possibilities for alliances that concentrate on citizenship education, and (hence) on the innovation of democracy.

6   Jean Monnet grants focus on European integration. These are often small grants for activities related to the EU itself. The approach can be on economic values such as global competition, or on sustainable values. From a perspective of citizenship education there could be more focus on the *underlying common moral values* of the European Union: cooperation, democracy, human rights, and social justice.   An European citizenship is strongly addressed in the Jean Monnet programme, but it can be included also in other Erasmus programmes.

2.2. Horizon 2020 and Horizon Europe programmes

Horizon 2020 is the EU's most important research programme. Horizon 2020 was the programme for the period 2014-2020. The new programme for 2021-2027 is called Horizon Europe[16]. First we are looking back at Horizon 2020 and analyse activities relevant to citizenship education.

> 'Horizon 2020 is the financial instrument implementing the Innovation Union, a Europe 2020 flagship initiative aimed at securing Europe's global competitiveness. (…) By coupling research and innovation, Horizon 2020 is helping to achieve this with its emphasis on excellent science, industrial leadership and tackling societal challenges. The goal is to ensure Europe produces world-class science, removes barriers to innovation and makes it easier for the public and private sectors to work together in delivering innovation.'

> 'The specific objective of the Societal Challenge 'Europe in a changing world – Inclusive, innovative and reflective societies' (SC6) is to foster a greater understanding of Europe, provide solutions, and support inclusive, innovative and reflective European societies in a context of unprecedented transformations and growing global interdependencies.'

> 'The scientific and innovation priorities of SC6 under work programme 2018-2020 are focused around three major themes: migration, socio-economic and cultural transformations stemming from the fourth industrial revolution, and governance for the future. (...) The work programmes 2014-2015 and 2016-2017 of SC6 focused on

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[16] https://ec.europa.eu/programmes/horizon2020/what-horizon-2020

overcoming the economic crisis and mitigating its effects (Call EURO), reducing inequalities and promoting social fairness (Call REV-INEQUAL) and integrating the young generation in a more innovative, inclusive and sustainable Europe (Call YOUNG). They also addressed new forms of innovation and untapped sources of growth (Calls INSO and CO-CREATION) and Europe's cultural heritage and identities (Calls REFLECTIVE and CULT-COOP). The strengthening of EU's capacities for developing and improving its external action and international cooperation were also covered (Calls INT and ENG-GLOBALLY).'

2.2.1. Concrete research projects

To identify research projects on citizenship education, we used the website https://cordis.europa.eu [17] In the domain of society we entered 'citizenship education', which resulted in 42 projects, whereas 'citizenship AND education' gave only one project.

Reading the information of the 42 projects led to a selection of 8 projects that have been active since 2014. We present them in the alphabetical order of the acronym.

Bridging the gap between the EU and European youth (CATCH-EyoU)

Start date; 1 September 2015, End date; 30 September 2018

Funded under H2020-EU.3.6. EU contribution 2.498,786 EUR

'Five schools in five different Member States worked directly with young people to increase their awareness and engagement on EU issues. They were asked to choose a local issue they felt passionate about. 'By the end of the intervention, students showed increased awareness of EU social and political issues, increased their knowledge of EU issues more generally and developed a more complex, articulated and sometimes critical vision of the EU and active citizenship'.

Engaging Urban Youth: Community, Citizenship, and Democracy (CMCG)

Start date; 1 March 2016, End date; 28 February 2018.

Funded under H2020-EU.1.3.2. Overall budget: 187,866 EUR

The project suggest that there was a need for a fundamental review and reorientation of citizenship education in schools as well as the expansion of partnership between schools and youth and voluntary organisations. Structural inequalities was identified as a major barrier to youth engagement. This includes equity in the distribution of resources, access to high quality education, opportunities for social and economic mobility, and addressing institutionalised discriminatory practices.

International study into the development of children's everyday practices of participation in circuits of social action (CONNECTORS)

Start date:1 March 2014, End date; 28 February 2019

Funded under FP7-IDEAS-ERC. EU contribution € 1.469, 296 EUR

'The theory of childhood publics allows to understand the child in their everyday lives as they move between institutional spaces typically associated with childhood (e.g. family and school). It provides a lens for understanding children's own encounters, experiences and engagement in their own

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[17] See for a more general overview of projects on democracy and governance https://ec.europa.eu/info/research-and-innovation/research-area/social-sciences-and-humanities/democracy-and-governance_en

terms, with things that move and matter to children as well as prompts to think about how these local to children issues might connect to more global cares and concerns'.

Tackling inequality through inclusive education and social support (ISOTIS)

Start date: 1 January 2017, End date; 31 December 2019

Funded under H2020-EU.3.6.1.2. Overall budget; 4.999,678 EUR

Researchers worked with local providers and NGOs to interview thousands of parents. They learned that parents have high educational aspirations for their children, a positive relationship with teachers, and infrequently experience incidents of being treated unfairly or openly discriminated at the local level. The online Virtual Learning Environment included over 100 multimedia learning activities on topics as identity, language awareness, bridges between home and school, cultural differences and social justice.

Promoting Attainment of Responsible Research and Innovation in Science Education (PARRISE)

Start date: 1 January 2014, End date: 31 December 2017

Funded under FP7-SIS. Overall budget 2.899,978 EUR

The project integrated inquiry-based science education, learning based on socio-scientific issues and citizenship education. This integrated approach was called Socio-Scientific Inquiry-Based Learning (SSIBL). SSIBL was about learning in STEM education through asking authentic questions about controversial issues arising from the impacts of science and technology in society. 18 partners exchanged, tested and improved their good practices of teacher professional development. The SSIBL approach was published in the form of a teacher guide in 11 languages.

Schools of Citizenship: Parent Councils at Public Schools in Italy, Spain, and France (PARENT_CITIZENS)

Start date: 1 September 2022, End date: 31 August 2024

Funded under H2020-EU.1.3.2. EU contribution: 183,473 EUR

The focus of this study is parent participation in parent councils at schools. In an effort to illuminate the viability of parent councils for civic integration, this study utilizes a mixed-method framework to build a conceptual understanding through qualitative methods in the first phases of research which inform a representative survey of parent members in the final phase of the study.

Spaces and Styles of Participation. Formal, non-formal and informal possibilities of young people's participation in European cities (PARTISPACE)

Start date: 1 May 2015, End date: 30 April 2018

Funded under H2020-EU.3.6. Overall budget: 2.575,965 EUR

'Most youth participation is motivated by a search for recognition and belonging. Young people learn democracy and participation through experience, recognition and reflection on their own activities in public space. In contrast, participation is often taught through citizenship education before being endowed with rights and power. Democratising schools is more important in providing opportunities to experience and learn rather than teach participation and citizenship as a subject'.

Providing European cities with tools to prevent radicalisation (PRACTICIES)

Start date: 1 May 2017, End date: 30 April 2020

Funded under H2020-EU.3.7.6., H2020-EU.3.7.1. Overall budget: 3.378,970 EUR

The project 'examined the phenomenon of radicalisation to better understand and anticipate its manifestations, and developed concrete mitigation and prevention tools for European cities'. 'The Digital Me Teacher Toolkit developed by the project invites students to create a digital story in which they give their point of view and try to inspire empathy. In this way, the tool aims to make students feel empowered in their ability to resolve personal and social problems, thereby reducing their vulnerability to radical and extremist discourse.'

Table 3: HORIZON 2020 projects citizenship education

Name	EU grant	Level	Countries	Topics	Output
CATCH	2.499.000	secondary	8	EU citizen	methodology
CMCG	188.000	secondary	1	community	methodology
CONNECTORS	1.470.00	primary	2	actions	methodology
ISOTIS	5.000.000	primary	10	inclusion	curriculum
PARISSE	2.900.000	higher	10	science	curriculum
PARENT	183.000	primary	3	parents	methodology
PARTISPACE	2.576.000	secondary	7	youth action	methodology
PRACTICES	3.379.000	secondary	7	radicalisation	methodology

2.2.2. Analysis and conclusions on Horizon 2020 projects

Strengths of the research projects

1. The projects on citizenship education show a *diversity of topics and methodologies*. All levels of education are addressed. Participative, creative and technological methods are used in the research.
2. Many research projects in Horizon 2020 touch on *citizenship and education*, although only a few really focus on citizenship education. Most projects try to link citizenship development in public life with citizenship education in schools.
3. The studies focus on *different elements of citizenship education*. Often they explore new content and new methodologies and activities. Real effect-studies have not yet been performed. It could be argued that all aspects of a whole school approach contribute to citizenship development: the curriculum, the methodology, school culture, and out-of-school activities. Intercultural communication and contacts are considered very important in citizenship education. And more democratic and inclusive schools and educational systems contribute to more equality and engaged citizens (see also 2.5 on the ICCS-study).

Concerns and how to improve research

1. Projects on citizenship education are scarce: only a very small part of all the projects in the Horizon 2020 programme are about citizenship education. The projects are part of different calls. A *special call about citizenship education* is missing. It is

2 interesting and positive that the projects have been selected in different calls and actions. But why no special call for citizenship education?

2 Different countries in the EU participate in the research, but there is a dominance – in particular in coordination – of countries in Western and South Western Europe. Is this dominance because of the relevance that citizenship education has in policy and public debate in these countries, or is it because of the availability of adequate research capacity in the countries? In project planning and selection of projects, more attention should be paid to a good geographical spread of the participants.

3 Most projects are not very big and last only a few years. Not only more projects are needed, but also projects that have more countries involved, and projects that last for a longer period.

4 Regularly conducting review studies of research on topics like citizenship education can contribute to the integration of knowledge and to influencing future research programmes and projects.

The content of citizenship education

1 Because citizenship is a *politically sensitive concept* (people can have different and sometimes conflicting ideas), the use of different values should be analysed in their social, cultural and political context. Values such as tolerance, active participation, and inclusion are problematized in some projects, but more political values as democracy and human rights are less addressed and analysed.

2 An European citizenship has been addressed explitictly in only one project, but most projects focus on values that are relevant for an European citizenship. Having different parts of Europe in the research projects can show commonalities and differences in and between EU Member States. The focus on commonalities and differences can be strengthened.

3 Citizenship is a contested concept and citizenship education is not a traditional subject in curricula, therefore it is not easy to define in theory or to determine in policy and practice what is part of citizenship education and what is not. However, not many research projects on citizenship education address the hard core of education: the subjects, the teaching and learning methodology, and the school culture.

4 Most research focuses on secondary education. This is the period of life when students strongly develop their identity. But this identity development extends into tertiary education, where developing citizenship interferes with developing a career perspective. A professional career also has citizenship elements in it: it is about the societal role of professions. More attention to citizenship development in tertiary education is needed.

2.2.3. The future of Horizon 2020: Horizon Europe programme

Horizon Europe is the EU's key funding programme for research and innovation. 'It tackles climate change, helps to achieve the UN's Sustainable Development Goals and boosts the EU's competitiveness and growth'. Horizon Europe Strategic Plan 2021-2024 presents 6 clusters. Cluster 2 'Culture, Creativity and Inclusive society is specifically relevant for citizenship education:

> 'Horizon Europe will help develop innovations, policies and institutions to support democratic processes and enhance trust in democratic institutions, through improved transparency, accountability, rule of law and equality, including gender equality. It will support innovative approaches to connecting education and training

> to emerging social and labour market needs while improving societal adaptation and integration in the green and digital transition.' (p.14)

> 'This cluster aims to strengthen European democratic values, including rule of law and fundamental rights, safeguarding our cultural heritage, and promoting socio-economic transformations that contribute to inclusion and growth: Areas of intervention: democracy; cultural heritage; social and economic transformations.'

The work programme for this area is expected in mid-June 2021. The concerns of Horizon research and innovation are mainly in the field of economic growth and climate change. Democracy and developing democratic knowledge, though skills and attitudes are mentioned as well, particularly in cluster 2. We hope there will be a lot of attention in Horizon Europe for citizenship education, in particular about processes in schools and about activities that link schools with the community. This can be as part of different calls and why there isn't a special call on citizenship education that covers all aspects of the whole school approach and shows how teachers in different settings and different EU Member States work in their educational practice on citizenship development.

When we were finalising this report the first announcement for calls in HORIZON Europe have been published. And there is a special call in 2022 for Education for Democracy. [18]

2.3. Other EU programmes: Europe for Citizens, Creative Europe, and European Solidarity Corps.

In this paragraph we bring together other EU actions that support the implementation of citizenship education: Europe for Citizens; Creative Europe; European Solidarity Corps.

2.3.1. Europe for Citizens programme

Europe for Citizens is the EU's programme to fund projects that help the public understand the EU's history, values and diversity, and that encourage citizens to participate and engage in democracy at the EU level. The programme is broader than formal education, but schools can be part of it. There are two programme pillars.

European remembrance — the EU as a peace project

> 'The programme supports initiatives that discuss why and how the totalitarian regimes that blighted Europe's modern history came into power, or look at the EU's other defining moments and different historical perspectives. Priorities for 2019 and 2020 were: commemorations of major historical turning points in recent European history; civil society and civic participation under totalitarian regimes; antisemitism, anti-gypsyism, xenophobia, homophobia and other forms of intolerance: drawing the lessons for today; democratic transition and accession to the European Union.'

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[18] https://ec.europa.eu/info/funding-tenders/opportunities/portal/screen/opportunities/topic-details/horizon-cl2-2022 democracy-01 04;callCode=null;freeTextSearchKeyword=;matchWholeText=true;typeCodes=1,0;statusCodes=31094501,31094502,31094503 ;programmePeriod=2021%20-%202027;programCcm2Id=43108390;programDivisionCode=43118846;focusAreaCode=null;destination=null;mission=null;ge ographicalZonesCode=null;programmeDivisionProspect=null;startDateLte=null;startDateGte=null;crossCuttingPriorityCode= null;cpvCode=null;performanceOfDelivery=null;sortQuery=sortStatus;orderBy=asc;onlyTenders=false;topicListKey=topicSearc hTablePageState

This pillar focuses on the history of Europe and in particular on causes of and responses to totalitarian regimes and intolerance. However, it is surprising that this pillar is only described in a negative way. Why no attention for more justice-oriented movements and efforts to enlarge democracy? Those types of empowering actions should be remembered, too!

The second pillar of the Europe for Citizens programme is:

Democratic engagement and civic participation — getting citizens involved

Town twinning. Bringing together citizens from twinned towns to debate issues on the European political agenda. *Networks of towns.* Towns are encouraged to cooperate with each other in the long term to explore particular topics or themes, share resources and/or interests, increase their influence and/or face common challenges. *Civil society projects.* These projects give citizens an opportunity to participate concretely in the EU policy-making process. They stimulate debates to propose practical solutions to issues through cooperation at the European level. Priorities for 2019 and 2020 were to debate the future of Europe and to challenge Euroscepticism; to promote solidarity in times of crisis; to foster intercultural dialogue and mutual understanding and to combat the stigmatisation of migrants and minority groups. European think tanks (public policy research bodies) and civil society organisations active across the EU are eligible for operating grants. What's interesting about this pillar is that it focuses on activities in civil society regarding EU-policy making and the future of Europe: it's about European citizenship development. In the next financial perspective 2021-2027 the Citizens, Equality, Rights and Values (CERV) Programme will bring together the Rights, Equality and Citizenship Programme for 2014–2020 and the 'Europe for Citizens' Programme for 2014-2020.[19]

2.3.2. Creative Europe programme[20]

The creative arts as tools for democracy

> ‘Through its Creative Europe programme the European Commission supports artists, designers, filmmakers, musicians and theatre professionals in a wide range of initiatives that help consolidate and give expression to this precious democracy. Creative Europe supports the digital arts in offering exciting opportunities to reach new audiences, with a wider range of ages and socio-economic backgrounds than traditional theatres, art galleries and concert venues. These new media have the potential to democratise our very idea of what 'culture' means to different Europeans. The rapid expansion of new media also masks potential threats to our democracy, which Creative Europe-supported projects also explore.’

Two examples of projects:

> EU Collective Plays! promotes international cooperation between playwrights, theatre organisations, communities of different nationalities for sharing creations and the staging of collective plays.
> The project LUCity! consisted of an exchange programme of artists combined with a community arts programme for artistic intervention through light installations in underused public spaces.

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[19] https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=uriserv%3AOJ.L_.2021.156.01.0001.01.ENG&toc=OJ%3AL%3A2021%3A156%3ATOC

[20] https://ec.europa.eu/culture/creative-europe

Creative Europe has some links with citizenship development, but it is not focused on citizenship education.

2.3.3. European Solidarity Corps

Another programme action that has some relationship with citizenship education is the European Solidarity Corps[21].

> ‛The European Solidarity Corps helps young people take part in projects that benefit communities, either abroad or in their own country. These projects offer an inspiring and empowering experience, as well as the chance to bring change while developing your skills and competences. These can be in a wide range of fields – education and training, citizenship and democratic participation, environment and natural protection, migration, culture, and many others.'

The European Solidarity Corps funding is provided in the form of grants to organisations. An example, relevant for citizenship education is presented below.

European Youth Opportunities Unlocker

Start: 01 May 2019 - End: 31 March 2021. EU Grant: 36,116 EUR

Programme: European Solidarity Corps

Action Type: Volunteering Projects

‛The volunteers of the E-YOU Project were directly involved in the planning, organisation and implementation of activities that build up knowledge, awareness and interest in the European Union and Active Citizenship among 120 students in 4 high schools in Craiova. The development of pro-EU, pro-democratic and civic skills, competences and attitudes in both the volunteers and the beneficiaries was the main focus of the project'.

The Commission has launched the first call for proposals under the new European Solidarity Corps 2021-2027.

> ‛The programme promotes inclusion and diversity, aims to incorporate green practices in projects and encourages environmentally sustainable and responsible behaviour among participants and participating organisations. (…) The programme also promotes participation of young people in democratic processes and civic engagement.'

Comments on these actions from the perspective of citizenship education:

1   These actions have in common that they focus on activities and participation in *civil society*: in getting citizens and in particular youngsters involved in society and to find out how they can contribute to society. This is important for active participation, social cohesion, and democracy. Here, democracy is conceived as way-of-life, as living together in a democratic way (as in Dewey, 2016).

2   Many of the activities are ways of *informal education*: supporting citizens to become active, to meet other people, to learn about history, and to contribute to the welfare of others. The actions support all kind of activities, often on a small scale. This exploration and diversity is a good expression of democracy in practice.

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[21] https://europa.eu/youth/solidarity_en

3   Formal education (and this report in particular focuses on formal education) is often a *partner in activities*. All kinds of organisations and initiatives, often NGOs, are approaching schools to cooperate in projects and out-of-school activities. From a community point of view it is important that schools cooperate intensively with civil society. The cooperation is mostly incidental. It would be interesting to start an Alliance for citizenship education (see also KA3) to develop more sustainable relations between schools and their environment.

4   Bringing creative arts (and artists) more *into schools* can stimulate identity development, in particular to become aware of history and to explore new future possibilities of living a good life and living together. Artists can also be partners in Alliances for citizenship education.

5   The European remembrance pillar of the 'Europe for citizens' action focuses on the history of Europe and in particular on causes of and responses to totalitarian regimes and intolerance. Why is this pillar only described in a negative way? Why no attention for *more justice-oriented movements and efforts to increase democracy*? Those types of empowering actions can stimulate youngsters to get engaged and to value democracy and social justice.

2.4. Key Competences for Lifelong Learning

The 2006 Recommendation of the European Parliament and of the Council on Key competences for Lifelong Learning supported the development of competence-oriented teaching and learning, and the need to reform curricula within the European Union. Key competences and basic skills are needed by all citizens for personal fulfilment and development, employability, social inclusion, civic participation, and democracy. The European Council in 2018 adopted an updated Recommendation on Key Competences for Lifelong Learning to further promote the development of key competences in the European Union. The updated Recommendation defines eight key competences for lifelong learning: Literacy, Multilingualism, Mathematical competence and competence in science, technology and engineering, Digital, Personal, Social, and Learning to Learn, Citizenship, Entrepreneurship, and Cultural awareness and expression. Key Competences can help Member States in improving their curricula and to bring it more in line with the educational policy of the European Union: a policy aiming at making Europe innovative, sustainable and democratic.

A first conceptualisation of the key competence of citizenship was made by the European Commission (2019)[22], Key-competences for Lifelong Learning (p.12)

Essential knowledge, skills and attitudes related to this competence

Knowledge

'Citizenship competence is based on knowledge of basic concepts and phenomena relating to individuals, groups, work organisations, society, economy and culture. This involves an understanding of the European common values, as expressed in Article 2 of the Treaty on the European Union and the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union. It includes knowledge of contemporary events, as well as a critical understanding of the main developments in national, European and world history. In addition, it includes an awareness of the aims, values and policies of social and political movements, as well as of sustainable systems, in particular climate and demographic change at the global level and their underlying causes. Knowledge of European integration as well as an awareness of diversity and cultural identities in Europe and the world is

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[22] https://op.europa.eu/en/publication-detail/-/publication/297a33c8-a1f3-11e9-9d01-01aa75ed71a1/language-en

essential. This includes an understanding of the multi-cultural and socio-economic dimensions of European societies, and how national cultural identity contributes to the European identity.

Skills

Skills for citizenship competence relate to the ability to engage effectively with others in common or public interest, including the sustainable development of society. This involves critical thinking and integrated problem solving skills, as well as skills to develop arguments and constructive participation in community activities, as well as in decision-making at all levels, from local and national to the European and international level. This also involves the ability to access, have a critical understanding of, and interact with both traditional and new forms of media and understand the role and functions of media in democratic societies.

Attitudes

Respect for human rights as a basis for democracy lays the foundations for a responsible and constructive attitude. Constructive participation involves a willingness to participate in democratic decision-making at all levels and civic activities. It includes support for social and cultural diversity, gender equality and social cohesion, sustainable lifestyles, promotion of culture of peace and non-violence, a readiness to respect the privacy of others, and to take responsibility for the environment. Interest in political and socio-economic developments, humanities and intercultural communication is needed to be prepared both to overcome prejudices and to compromise where necessary and to ensure social justice and fairness.'

It is interesting to read in the knowledge component that a lot of references are made to Europe, its history, cooperation, organisation and future. Skills and attitudes are more generally formulated, as basic skills and basic attitudes to live together and to participate in a democracy. It is very relevant to pay so much attention to attitudes. Attitudes are at the heart of citizenship engagement: you can have knowledge of democracy, you can have democratic skills, but the attitudes are crucial if you want to be democratic!

The Joint Research Centre (JRC) developed the *LifeComp* framework on behalf of and in collaboration with the Directorate-General for Education, Youth, Sport, and Culture (DG EAC).[23] This is the third competence framework for individuals that the JRC has developed, following the already consolidated *Digital Competence Framework for Citizens*, also known as DigComp, and the *Entrepreneurship Competence Framework*, EntreComp.

In 2020 the conceptual framework for Personal, Social, and Learning to learn (*LifeComp*) was published: of the seven other key competences, this is the one that has the strongest connection with citizenship. *LifeComp* is made up of three intertwined competence areas: 'Personal', 'Social', and 'Learning to Learn'. Each area includes three competences: Self-regulation, Flexibility, Wellbeing (Personal Area), Empathy, Communication, Collaboration (Social Area), Growth mindset, Critical thinking, and Managing learning (Learning to learn Area) (Sala et al., p.9).

The *LifeComp* framework shows the advantage of elaborating concepts more clearly and showing different ways to devote attention to the Personal, Social and Learning to Learn in educational practices. The framework also shows that participating in society should be added to the social life addressed in this Life competence. The political and societal context of the citizenship competence is what citizenship distinguishes of the *LifeComp*.

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[23] https://ec.europa.eu/jrc/en/lifecomp

Developing a similar framework for citizenship can contribute to improving policy on citizenship education at the EU-level and in the EU-Member States, and to the implementation of citizenship education in the EU and its Member States. It has to focus on national, European and global citizenship. Given the importance of citizenship and citizenship education we suggest to start with developing *Citicomp*.

2.5. The EU and international developments in citizenship education activities: ICCS and Council of Europe

The EU operates in a larger world where more activities on citizenship education are taking place. In particular we address here the comparative research of the International Civic and Citizenship Study (ICCS) and the work performed by the Council of Europe on citizenship education.

2.5.1. International Civic and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS)

> 'ICCS investigates the ways in which young people are prepared to undertake their roles as citizens in a world where contexts of democracy and civic participation continue to change. The study was first implemented in 2009 with a follow-up cycle in 2016 and one in progress for 2022. ICCS reports on students' knowledge and understanding of concepts and issues related to civics and citizenship, as well as their beliefs, attitudes, and behaviors with respect to this domain. In addition, ICCS collects rich contextual data on the organization and content of civic and citizenship education in the curriculum, teacher qualifications and experiences, teaching practices, school environment and climate, and home and community support.' [24]

The ICCS-study is the largest comparative study on citizenship education. Many European countries participate in the studies. As part of Erasmus+ programme, the European Commission is supporting countries that participate in the study. The EU pays the fee (220,000 euros) each countriy needs to pay to contribute to the costs of coordinating the study internationally. The countries themselves need to take care of collecting the national data and writing the national reports. The EU's financial support shows the importance of this study for the EU policy on citizenship education. Part of the ICCS studies are regional questionnaires, for example the European Regional Survey (Losito et al. 2018)

In 2016, 14 EU Member States participated in the ICCS-study: Belgium (Flemish region), Bulgaria, Croatia, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, Germany (North Rhine-Westphalia state), Italy, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, the Netherlands, Slovenia, and Sweden. In 2022, 18 EU Member States will participate: Bulgaria, Croatia, Cyprus, Denmark, Estonia, France, Germany (North Rhine-Westphalia and Schleswig-Holstein as benchmarking entities), Italy, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Netherlands, Poland, Romania, Slovak Republic, Slovenia, Spain, and Sweden.

In a recently published book 'Influences of the IEA Civic and Citizenship Education Studies' (Malak-Minkiewicz & Torney-Purta, 2021), Isac (2021) wrote a chapter on how the IEA Civic and Citizenship Education Studies contributes to Educational Research and Policy in Europe. She concludes that, over two decades, these studies as well as secondary analyses of the resulting data have provided insightful and relevant for European citizenship education policy initiatives and practices.

The students' outcomes are the most important part of the ICCS-studies, but the study also collects data about the national school system and about goals and practices of teachers. These data make

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[24] https://www.iea.nl/studies/iea/iccs

it possible to analyse the effects of national systems and characteristics of the approach to citizenship education (See Losito, Agrusti & Damiani, 2021).

In part 1.2 we presented the analyses by the European Commission's Joint Research Centre of the outcomes of the participating EU-Member States in the 2016 study (Blasko, Da Costa & Toscano, 2018). The Education and Training Monitor 2018[25] also devotes attention to the results of the ICCS-study 2016:

> 'Education plays a major role as a critical societal institution to both shape and uphold EU citizens' values, commitment to civil society and active pro-social behaviour. In this regard, schools play a particular role as a formative arena for citizenship competences, as well as nonformal and informal learning arenas. Students' family background, individual experiences and their demographic and social characteristics play an essential role in the process of creating civic knowledge and shaping their attitudes. However, analysis of data from the ICCS confirms that certain schools' practices have a moderate but non-negligible influence on the fostering of adolescents' civic attitudes and behavioural intentions in Europe. This happens when schools adopt an 'open classroom climate', involve students in democratic practices at school, create a suitable learning environment and promote students' civic knowledge and self-efficacy.' (p.13-14)

The JRC's monitors of 2019 and 2020 don't mention a word about citizenship! This shows how important the 2018 ICCS-study is for educational policy in the EU, and that attention for citizenship education is not yet integrated in regular educational discourses.

The ICCS-study is an important tool in developing concepts of citizenship, in measuring outcomes, and in comparing different countries and different educational settings and methodologies.

2.5.2. Council of Europe

On its website, the Council of Europe (CoE) describes itself as 'the continent's leading human rights organisation'. It includes 47 member states, 27 of which are members of the European Union. All Council of Europe member states have signed up to the European Convention of Human Rights, a treaty designed to protect human rights, democracy and the rule of law.[26] Education is one of the areas that the Council of Europe focuses on. The Council is very active in bringing scholars together to develop frameworks and curriculum materials for what they call 'Education for Democratic Citizenship'.

In an analyses of the work of the Council of Europe, Abs (2021, p.4) concludes:

> 'Possibly in order to compensate for its lack of legal, financial and organisational power, the CoE has evolved a wide variety of informational tools to support policymaking. Notably, it has developed overview studies, exemplary schoolbooks, guidelines and recommendations. These materials have been compiled through a cooperative effort mainly by subject-matter experts from CoE member states or by further international organisations, such as the United Nations, selected by the CoE administration. Lastly, in addition to informational tools, networks involving national policymakers have been established, and thematic conferences have been organised

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[25] https://ec.europa.eu/education/sites/default/files/document-library-docs/volume-1-2018-education-and-training-monitor-country-analysis.pdf

[26] www.coe.int.

in order to link the developments in the CoE's EDC policy to the policies of its individual member states.'

The European Union and the EU Member States support the work of the Council of Europe. For example in the Erasmus+ Annual report 2018[27] we read:

> ‹Cooperation with the Council of Europe in the field of education is done through the ‘Democratic and Inclusive School Culture in Operation’ (DISCO) programme co-funded under Erasmus+ with a total budget of €1.15 million. The programme supports projects designed to contribute to building democratic and inclusive societies by promoting education for democratic citizenship and human rights education in the 50 states party to the European Cultural Convention. Its 5th cycle, implementation from January 2018 to December 2019, focuses on two thematic priorities: digital citizenship education and building democratic and inclusive school culture by embedding the learning environment in the local community.'

A first strong point of the educational work of the Council of Europe is that it not only includes the EU Member States but 20 other European nations. A second strong point is the normative foundation of human rights, democracy and global citizenship. A third positive point is the bringing together of scholars and policy advisers to develop frameworks and curriculum material. All together the Council of Europe gives an important impetus to thinking about and acting on citizenship education in Europe.

NGOs try to influence the policy of the EU, in particular regarding normative questions; and citizenship is an important target of NGOs. We will read many examples of the involvement of NGOs in the Member States' reports, in part 3.

2.6. Analyses and conclusions on the implementation of citizenship education in the EU

Citizenship education in policy

1   Citizenship education has become *more important* in European Union policy in recent years. In declarations and in general plans for education, citizenship education has gained a more central place. As mentioned in part 1, the concept of citizenship education is not strictly defined, and we find this ambiguity at all levels of the curriculum: general goals, concrete plans and actions, curricula and in educational practices. This ‘vagueness’ makes it difficult to identify citizenship education in policy, actions and practices. Nevertheless, it can be stated that citizenship education has become more important in EU policy.
This can be attributed to two causes: the threat posed to the EU's core moral values by the growth of extremism, and the renewed recognition of and emphasis on the EU being not just an economic project, but also a social-cultural and political project of peace and democracy.

2   The educational policy of the EU is focusing strongly on technology in order to keep Europe competitive, and on climate change in order to make Europe green. However, *common values and citizenship education* can be seen as part of the social-cultural and political project that founded the EU, and can help make the EU sustainable.

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[27] https://op.europa.eu/en/publication-detail/-/publication/7985705e-41b7-11ea-9099-01aa75ed71a1/language-en

Citizenship education in actions

3   Also at the level of different *actions* like Erasmus+ and Horizon, there is attention for common values such as democracy, inclusion, and active participation. Erasmus+ links citizenship with both formal and informal education. In the new Erasmus+ 2021-2027 and Horizon Europe programmes, the attention for common values, in particular inclusion, active participation, and social cohesion are stressed.

4   In several analyses of the EU's educational policy (e.g. Abs, 2021; Isac, 2021, researchers argue that the EU's policy on education keeps emphasising that each of the Member States is responsible for education, but that the EU - within the priorities set by the EU - can stimulate new developments, *cooperation and learning from each other*. The providing tools and budgets for these activities are increasing. Also in the area of citizenship education, this policy of setting priorities and organising tools is visible.

5   Translating general goals into *concrete activities* is more difficult. In the study we found many examples of the difficulty of translating general goals into concrete plans. The best example is in the Europe 2030 agenda where the first priority includes citizenship:

         ❯ 'Education and training have a vital role to play when it comes to shaping the future of Europe, at a time when it is imperative that its society and economy become more cohesive, inclusive, digital, sustainable, green and resilient, and for citizens to find personal fulfilment and well-being, to be prepared to adapt and perform on a changing labour market and to engage in active and responsible citizenship.' (p.4)

When it comes to concrete targets (p.31), citizenship disappears. The sole focus is on basic skills, digital skills and participation in education!

6   In the Teaching Common Values study of 2017, we concluded that there was not only a *gap* between policy and practice but also *within policy*: between general goals and concrete plans. In recent EU publications, we find efforts to bridge this gap, but it also shows how difficult it is to make abstract goals concrete in a 'soft' domain, particularly when this domain is contested and full of different, sometimes opposing ideas. Nevertheless, this also shows how important citizenship and citizenship education are for living together and organising politics in EU Member States and in the EU.

The concept of citizenship

7   All nations worldwide have a kind of citizenship. Authoritarian regimes don't give much room to critical voices and demand an adapted type of citizenship. The EU has been built on a concept of *democratic citizenship* that supports active participation, inclusion, human rights and justice: in politics, civil society and daily life. But even within a democratic citizenship, different articulations are possible. For a lively and dynamic democracy, it is important to give space to different articulations (for example more liberal or more social) and to organise dialogues about these different perspectives. Such a lively political community is a good moral example for citizenship education.

8   The EU focuses on *national and European citizenship*. Both are morally founded on the same common values, but there are different political arrangements. People

experience national citizenship as more nearby and more concrete. But fundamentally the same values are - at least on an abstract level - embedded in both the national and EU citizenship. On more concrete levels differences between and within Member States are visible.

9   The concept of *global citizenship* is widely used nowadays in research and in for example the work by UNESCO and many NGOs (Torres, 2017; Veugelers, 2020). Global citizenship refers to a care for the world and humanity, and to a joint responsibility for it. It is especially a moral appeal. The political element in global citizenship is often neglected in theory and manifestos. A more social-political orientation in global citizenship criticises the neoliberal economic dominance in globalisation and demands a change to power relations and more social justice. In EU publications, this global perspective and a positioning of the EU in these debates is absent. The focus is on either national or European citizenship, but not on global citizenship.

Concrete EU actions and citizenship education: suggestions for improvement

10   Erasmus+ programme is the most important action of the EU: it focuses on exchange and development, but also engages in some research, particularly in KA3. It is very positive that most activities in Erasmus+ will be continued, in particular the individual exchanges (KA1) and the joint developmental work in KA2. It is also positive that the Intensive Programmes are again part of KA1. Collaboration by different universities in an educational activity generates diverse social, cultural, academic and perhaps even political experiences and hopefully dialogues.

Suggestions for improvement

> An important element of KA2 are 'Alliances for innovation'. These are collaborations of educational institutes with enterprises. Why are there no '*Alliances for citizenship education*' in which educational institutes cooperate with organisations in civil society and with governmental institutions? Innovation not only takes place in technology and economy, but also in citizenship!

> In KA3 there was a special call for 'Promoting social inclusion. In 2019, this cross-cutting priority was introduced to ensure that the Erasmus+ programme continues to be an important instrument for inclusion which also highlights the key role of formal and non-formal education in the development of the values and attitudes underlying active citizenship, as set in the Paris Declaration and affirmed in the Council Recommendation on Common Values, Inclusive Education and the European Dimension of Teaching' (Erasmus+ Annual report 2019[28]). Organise also a special call for *democracy in citizenship education*!

> Remembrance was one of the two pillars of the Citizens for Europe programme. The examples given are negative events like the Holocaust and fascism. Why not also commemorate more *positive social, cultural and political events*: the birth of democracy, women's voting rights, social justice actions, independence of former colonies, first elections for European Parliament, etc.?

> The second pillar of Citizens for Europe was about the EU itself. A growing number of countries (Sweden, Slovakia, the Netherlands, etc) are organising 'mock elections' in which students can practice democratic participation. This could also include

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[28] https://op.europa.eu/nl/publication-detail/-/publication/30af2b54-3f4d-11eb-b27b-01aa75ed71a1/language-en/format-PDF/source-215702783

studying political programmes and having debates. Such 'mocks' can also be organised with respect to *European elections*.

> Developing *Key competence citizenship*. The positive experiences with the key competences of entrepreneurship, technology and personal, social and learning to learn should be a stimulus to start developing citizenship as a key competence.

> The 'Compendium of inspiring practices on inclusive and citizenship education' [29] is important. Bringing all information together – and having review studies – can help develop more coherent views on citizenship education, the upscaling of successful initiatives, and finding new challenges.

> A *central agency* for citizenship education can stimulate such integration. It can develop a European citizenship education and stimulate citizenship education in the EU-Member States by bringing together experiences and creating cooperations at all levels of curriculum development and education.

11   Research

Erasmus+ stimulates development, but the implementation of citizenship education requires a lot of good research on all levels of curriculum development: on policy development, curriculum development itself, teachers' educational practices, learning activities, and citizenship development in young people. All the elements of the whole school approach (and their combination) should be addressed.

Suggestions for improvement:

> The largest international study on citizenship education is the ICCS study. The outcomes of these studies influence the policy on citizenship education of the EU and its Member States (Abs, 2021; Isac, 2021). In this research and its applications, most of the attention goes to the development of youngsters' knowledge, skills and attitudes. However, the study also generates knowledge about *educational systems and practices*. The research on the curriculum practice, in particular, can be intensified to enhance a better understanding of what works in citizenship education.

> In 2022, 18 of the 27 EU Member States will *participate* in the ICCS study, with the EU's financial support. It would be good to investigate why the other 9 Member States are not participating and what obstacles could be removed.

> Besides the quantitative surveys like ICCS, more *qualitative research* on classroom practices and on the identity development of youngsters is desirable (Joris & Agirdag, 2019; Veugelers, 2021).

> School subjects like social studies, history, geography, philosophy, religious studies, economics, cultural studies, etc. are a very essential part of the curriculum, also of citizenship education. Research into the goals, curriculum guidelines, teacher activities and students' outcomes in these school *subjects*, but also in subjects such as science, languages and sport, can identify commonalities and differences in the educational practice of EU Member States.

> Students experience democracy (or the lack of it) in the *organization of their school*. Also in this domain, research can reveal commonalities and differences in the way students are given a voice and can participate actively in their school.

> In citizenship education, the link with the *community* and the wider society is essential. Research on the collaboration of schools and the community, and on

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[29] https://op.europa.eu/nl/publication-detail/-/publication/2edab132-7fbe-11eb-9ac9-01aa75ed71a1

concrete out-of-school learning activities by students, can reinforce this linking of education with society.

> Horizon, now *Horizon Europe*, is the largest research programme. One of its six priorities is society. Research on citizenship education was sometimes done in the periphery of calls in Horizon 2020. Now citizenship is specifically part of Cluster 2, 'Culture, Creativity and Inclusive society'. Special calls for citizenship education that addresses the above suggestions could boost the development and implementation of citizenship education. It will in any case underline the urgency and relevance of citizenship education.

3. Implementation of citizenship education in EU-Member States

The second part of the report focuses on recent developments in the policy on citizenship education in the EU Member States. 7 out of 10 countries have been selected by the CULT committee, 3 others have been added to get a good geographical spread. For each country we invited an expert in this field working at a university in the country involved, to contribute to the report about their country. All invited experts confirmed their participation. The goal of the reports was to give a coherent perspective of the implementation of citizenship in these countries with attention for history, the context (in particular the EU), political debates, the role of NGOs, and research of educational practices and the citizenship development of young people.

For the selected countries the starting point were texts scholars had written for the CULT Teaching Common Values in study in 2017. We selected interesting parts focusing on policy, edited them and added recent publications about citizenship education in this country. We asked the national experts on citizenship education to use this material if possible and to make a text of about three pages and to pay attention to recent developments and research. For five out of ten countries the text in this report contains parts that have been published already in the Teaching Common Values study and were written by the same experts (Finland, Germany, Greece, Poland, and Spain). For these countries, except Greece, We consulted other scholars as well. The other five countries present fully new texts.

Articles on citizenship education

In recent years many articles about citizenship education have been published in academic journals or books. Many of them are about citizenship education in European countries or are comparative studies that include European countries. A search for relevant publications have been done using Google scholar and Researchgate. Also journals and book series that focus on citizenship education have been checked on relevant publications.

Journals (in English) that focus a lot on citizenship are:

> Journal of Social Science Education
> Citizenship, Teaching and Learning
> Education, Citizenship and Social Justice
> Globalisation, Societies and Education
> Human Rights Education Review

Also more general journals have at regular time relevant articles, in particular:

> European Educational Research Journal
> Compare
> Cambridge Journal of Education
> London Review of Education

And the book series:

> Critical Global Citizenship Education (Routledge)
> IEA Civic and Citizenship Studies (Springer)
> Moral Development and Citizenship Education (Brill Sense)

We present the reports of the 10 EU Member States in alphabetical order. The chapter ends with an analyses of the country reports.

3.1. Croatia

Vedrana Spajić – Vrkaš, University of Zagreb

Educational policy in Croatia is officially based on constitutional principles. The Ministry of Science and Education guarantees the safeguarding of the whole set of rights pertinent to a democratic state and society in all forms and levels of education. Nonetheless, it took over two decades of campaign for HRE and citizenship education (CE) to become a part of formal education, although with debatable results. The priorities of the centre-right coalition that was in power for most of that period were strengthening national identity, democratizing the society and joining the European Union but, apart from the establishment of democratic institutions, was lacking political will to support changes in Croatian political culture by, inter alia, introducing CE into schools. Several domestic initiatives in developing HRE and CE, including those supported by international and European organizations, remained on the margins of political attention, together with the Government's *National Program for Human Rights Education* (Vlada Republike Hrvatske 1999) developed as Croatian response to the *United Nations Decade for Human Rights Education 1995-2004*. Attempts to prepare students for democratic citizenship were either halted or marginalised reflecting deep conservative vs. liberal split in understanding the role of contemporary citizens, which has remained until today (Spajić-Vrkaš 2012; Šalaj 2015; Kekez, Horvat & Šalaj 2017; Elezović 2019).

In the course of Croatia' preparation for the membership in EU, the Ministry of Science, Education and Sport published in 2011 the National Curriculum Framework, which defines knowledge, solidarity, identity and responsibility as four key values underlying the competence-based approach to systemic educational change (Ministry of Science, Education and Sport 2011; NN br. 05/2015). While defining a set of main competences to be developed by preschool and elementary and secondary schools, including social and citizenship competence, it follows the Recommendation of the European Parliament and of the Council of 18 December for lifelong learning (2006/962/EC). Citizenship education was included as one of the six "cross-curricular or interdisciplinary topics" (p. 46), together with Personal and Social Development; Health, Security and Environmental Protection; Learning How to Learn; Enrepreneurship; and The Use of Information and Communication Technologies. Its purpose was to prepare the students for "an active and productive citizen's role by acquiring knowledge, skills, and attitudes that enhance their democratic awareness and encourage their active and productive participation in developing democratic relations in the school, local community and society, contribute to developing their own identity, knowledge and respect for others, as well as to sensibilize and enhance their consciousness for solving global problems on the principles of democracy and, in particular, of justice and non-violence" (pp. 46-47). As with other cross-curricular topics, CE was to be taught as a compulsory topic in all school subjects, as well as through "shared projects" and specific "educational modules".

Such introduction was, nonetheless, faced with many obstacles. Only a few teachers' faculties had CE included in their curricula, and only a few seminars for teachers' in-service training organized by the State Agency for Education and Training included issues central to CE, while a great many of relevant activities in CE and related fields that were carried out by experts or civil activists for over a decade had but a tiny impact on educational policy and school practice.

Changes in citizenship education

This was expected to be altered following the reestablishment of the National Committee for Human Rights Education under the centre-right government, which in 2011 nominated a group of CE experts from formal and non-formal education sector to draft the first Croatian *Citizenship Education Curriculum* for elementary and secondary schools (Agencija za odgoj i obrazovanje 2012).

While drawing from both the European approach to strengthening active and responsible citizenship through education, and the NOK, as well as from the results of earlier HRE and CE non-formal programs and studies (Spajić-Vrkaš 2000; Batarelo et al 2009; Bagić & Šalaj 2011), the proposal promoted the idea of the student as the citizen, i.e., the bearer of rights and responsibilities in the context of five interdependent communities – school, local community, the state, Europe and the world. Preparation for such a multi-level citizenship relied on a holistic perspective to developing citizen's competences defined by two interdependent dimensions. The functional dimension encompassing knowledge, skills, values and attitudes was combined with the structural dimension comprised of political, legal, social, (inter)cultural, ecological and economic component. A set of outcomes was defined for each school level by combining the components of both dimensions. New centre-left government approved piloting of the curriculum both as a cross-curricular theme and as an optional subject in only 12 schools from 2012 to 2014 (Ministarstvo znanosti, obrazovanja i sporta 2012). It also approved short preparation of teachers for implementation that was carried out jointly by the public and civil society organisations. The whole process was monitored and evaluated throughout the school year by use of 15 quantitative and qualitative evaluation tools. The results were reported and later published extensively by the National Centre for External Evaluation of Education (Spajić-Vrkaš et al 2015) and Croatian Youth Network (Spajić-Vrkaš, Rajković & Rukavina 2014).

The results revealed the assets and shortcomings of implementation. Many teachers were not familiar with neither the competence-based teaching nor the CE curriculum content as it did not contain syllabuses but general guidelines and grade-specific indicators. In addition, their preparation was in many ways deficient, many self-reported the lack of competence in teaching political, legal and (inter)cultural issues, and a significant number of them had very little or no interest at all in including CE in their school subjects. Students' knowledge on human rights, democracy, citizenship and cultural pluralism was also shown to be, in average, insufficient. In contrast, majority of students, teachers and school principals reported positive changes in some aspects of school culture as the result of the CE curriculum implementation. They stressed improvement in teacher-student and gender relations, in students' behaviour towards their peers from other culture, religion and socio-economic status, and in students' better understanding of interdependency of their rights and duties in the school (Spajić-Vrkaš et al 2016; see also: Bagić & Gvozdanović 2015).

When a revised version of the CE curriculum was prepared in 2014 based on evaluation results it was attacked during public hearing by some NGOs and individuals (Spajić-Vrkaš 2016; Elezović 2019) for its liberal and gendered ideology, and the lack of patriotism found in its basic approach to students as citizens not only of local and national communities but of Europe and the world, as well as for ignoring the rights of parents to choose education of their children according to their own views" (Udruga GROZD 2014; see also: Rukavina Kovačević 2013), while some stated that CE is unnecessary in Croatia since its contents had already been part of the religious instruction (Budimir 2014). The attack coincided with change of the Minister of science, education and sport. While the former minister the member of the centre-left government, supported the curriculum, the new minister - an independent candidate who supported the implementation in public, behind closed doors requested the Agency for Education and Training to develop a new program and shortly afterwards issued the *Decision of introducing the program of inter-subject and inter-curricular contents of civic education for elementary and secondary school* (NN, No. 104 (14). The new program recapitulates constitutional provisions which are normatively accorded to European values, including democracy and tolerance:

> ➤ "By civic education students are prepared for the effectuation of the constitutional principles. They learn what is government, what is its role, what are rights and responsibilities of citizens in democracy, how they may, and under which conditions,

use them. Such learning is needed to enable student to being active and responsible citizen who participates in the development of democratic civic culture or in the ethos of her/his school, place of living, state, Europe and the world, for to be a bearer of the government, because the constitutional democracy is the model of government in which citizen are active subjects…" (p. 105).

The new programme was piloted as a mandatory cross-curricular topic in the school year 2014-15, and was accompanied by the *Experimental Optional Citizenship Education Program* (Ministry of Science, Education and Sport 2014) to assist schools in implementing CE as a separate subject, as well. However, its piloting phase continued for several more years without any monitoring and evaluation data. The program contained the structural dimension of the 2012 CE curriculum but the outcomes of the components of that dimensions were significantly changed to ensure that CE, among other values, strengthens national identity and patriotism in students. One independent study (Pažur, 2016) found that, apart from a low school status of CE and unclear outcomes of the program, teachers were left largely unprepared for its interdisciplinary and cross-curricular implementation. For example, in the *Catalogue of Training Events* of the Agency for Education and Training covering period from November 1, 2016 to February 10, 2017, out of a total of 47 teacher training seminars only one referred to their preparation for CE. The lack of training was also confirmed by the ICCS 2016, in which almost half of Croatian teachers reported not having received training relevant to any of the 12 CE topics (Elezović, 2019). In addition, out of some 1300 elementary and secondary schools in Croatia, only 30 had CE taught as a separate subject. The GOOD initiative that was launched in that period by 56 NGOs advocated systemic and quality implementation of HRE and CE in Croatian schools but its efforts did not led to change of the then implemented program (GONG 2018). This led some local governments, the City of Rijeka being the first, to decide to develop and introduce original CE as an extracurricular school activity in higher grades of elementary schools, which has recently become accessible online.[30]

Recent developments

That interest for CE was progressively fading away at all levels was even more obvious by 2015 following publication of the new Strategy of Education, Science and Technology (NN 124/2014-2364) in the context of which the Comprehensive Curriculum Reform was launched (Jokić & Ristić Dedić 2018). Work on reform started in 2015 under the centre-left coalition government and was in 2016 undertaken by the centre-right coalition. Previous draft documents were reviewed by over hundred of teachers and experts, including from Croatian Science and Arts Academy. The consensus was that draft materials were unsatisfactory in light of Croatian strategic objectives, including their lacking in patriotic and family values. The Revised Comprehensive Curriculum Reform was launched in 2018-20 school year in form of the Experimental Implementation of the School for Life Project in selected school subjects in some 5% of all elementary and secondary schools. The process was evaluated by three groups of external evaluators whose results were summarised in a final evaluation (Karajić et al 2019). In school year 2019-20 the Revised Curriculum became obligatory for pre-tertiary education (Ministarstvo znanosti i obrazovanja 2019).

Citizenship education had its place in both first and revised curriculum as a cross-curricular topic with little difference in content between these two versions. However, its theoretical foundation, objectives and contents became even more blurred. Instead of earlier six-component structure, the new CE outcomes were structured under three headlines, namely, human rights, democracy and civil society with a great deal of terminological confusion and overlapping. The last category was in the Revised Curriculum renamed into "civil community" with no explanation of change. Apart from

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[30] https://gradjanskiodgoj.rijeka.hr)

the lack of terminological and structural clarity, the most problematic issue is that new CE curricula have made the citizen invisible and disempowered. The citizen is literally shifted from the position of the bearer of rights and freedoms by which he/she actively participates in creating the ideas and modes of practice of human rights, democracy and civil "community" to the position of an individual subjected to institutional transmission of knowledge about these three systems. This is the reason why the question of whether education in Croatia serves the citizens to become politically dependent of emancipated, is more valid today than two decades ago (Kovačić & Horvat 2016).

3.2. Finland

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With consultation of Jan Löfström, University of Turku

Finland is a northern European nation, independent since 1917. It is a parliamentary republic with the central government located in Helsinki. Finland has a population of 5.5 million. Finland became a member of the European Union in 1995. Finnish basic education consists of nine years of schooling from the age of 7 to 16. The central goal is to promote the development of each student as a human being and as a member of society. In this regard, the Government Decree (2012) emphasises human dignity, human rights, equity and equality. Following the rise in social-democratic values, the education system was declared free for every student at all levels. It also led to a shift from the previously parallel school system to the present nine-year comprehensive school. The strong financial support for education by the government has resulted in a low share of private schooling.

Policy of Citizenship Education

Citizenship education is a vital means of getting students involved and teaching them to be ethical, active members of society, thereby promoting tolerance and respect towards diversity (Tirri, 2008). Moreover, the need to prepare students for citizenship and improve their knowledge and understanding of democracy and political activities takes centre-stage. The role of education and specifically schools in enhancing these values is vital. These values are also in line with the most common European values as identified by the European Union and the Council of Europe. In addition, the UN's Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Rights of the Child form the legal basis for basic education (NCCBE, 2014, 15).

According to a Government Decree, education not only provides the necessary knowledge and skills for life, but also promotes 'human dignity, respect for human rights and democratic values of Finnish society including equality and equity' (NCCBE, 2014, 20). These values are thus taken into consideration at all levels of decision-making on and the provision of basic education. The next level of governance features the Finnish National Board of Education (FNBE), which provides the National Core Curriculum for Basic Education (NCCBE) including details on the syllabus, assessment, school culture, values and school ethos. The fundamental values of equity, equality, humanity, democracy and cultural diversity, discussed in the Government Decree cited above, are all taken into account in the recent NCCBE and reflected through seven transversal competences: 1. Thinking and learning to learn; 2. Cultural competences, interaction and self-expression; 3. Taking care of oneself and managing daily life; 4. Multi-literacy; 5. ICT competence; 6. Working life competence and entrepreneurship; 7. Participation, involvement and building a sustainable future.

The NCCBE clarifies the specific role and contribution of each subject area in improving all these competences. For instance, the main focus of Competence 7 is to stimulate participation in civic activities in order to ultimately ensure an effective democracy. This is achieved through building participatory skills and a responsible attitude towards the community and future. Competence 3, for example, fosters the skills of taking responsibility for one's own actions, and emotional and social

empathy for appreciating the importance of human relationships and caring for others.

According to curriculum specifications at the national level, all these competences should be covered in all subject areas. For instance, Competence 2 should be included in the subject areas of language and literature, religion, ethics, history, social studies, music, visual art, home economics and guidance counselling. Competence 7 should be addressed in language and literature, geography, health care, religion, ethics, history, social studies, music, visual art, craft, physical education and home economics.

Although international studies show that Finnish students' knowledge about social and political issues is high, their involvement in civil society is low compared to other countries (see Torney-Purta et al., 2001; ICCS, 2010). The new NCCBE (2014), therefore, lays a greater emphasis on participation. As seen earlier, participation has also been introduced as one of the seven competences to encourage schools, education providers and teachers to get students more involved in school activities and to help them learn the skills of decision-making, taking responsibility for and understanding the effects of their decisions, and practicing democratic action.

Practice of citizenship education

The NCCBE introduces the main principles to guide education providers and schools in directing school operations and developing a suitable school culture. Municipalities and schools further design their specific local curricula based on these main guidelines and national goals provided by the NCCBE. Municipalities, schools, education providers and teachers in Finland thus enjoy a high level of autonomy in selecting educational materials, textbooks, and teaching and learning methods. Another principle widely emphasised in school culture is participation and democratic action. Students' active participation in society serves as an important means of promoting their democratic participation. Involving students in activities both inside and outside of schools helps them gain knowledge and practice decision-making and assuming responsibility. Schools should also provide opportunities for students to discuss social and political questions. This is often achieved by encouraging students to be actively involved in decision-making through planning, implementing, and assessing and evaluating school activities. Integrative and multidisciplinary learning are a vital part of school culture. Therefore, schools are encouraged to also use functional activities such as theme days, events and campaigns. Moreover, cooperation between schools and various organisations and communities gives students a chance to expand their sense of involvement and action in civic society.

Knowledge about democratic participation, democratic politics and democratic society is included in different subjects. However, social studies bears the main responsibility for including topics related to these areas. Religious education, history, languages, geography, and philosophy are the main subjects in which democracy is discussed. Teachers also emphasised that based on the new NCCBE, schools have been encouraged to involve students in school life and let them make decisions about activities and processes to practice democracy. Further, the NCCBE highlights integrative and inclusive instruction in learning. Consequently, functional activities in the form of extracurricular projects have been widely used in schools to teach democracy.

According to Seland et al. (2021), the social studies section of Finnish NCCB 2004 contains more focused goals related to civic competences. They include promoting knowledge related to societal topics and promoting the ability to acquire and use critical information related to society and to understand societal processes. Also among the learning objectives is promoting pupils' disposition to be active agents in a democratic society and "take an interest in social participation and exerting an influence." However, there are few explicit references to values (Seland et al., 2021, 49). Löfström writes a lot about social studies. He argues that social studies should contribute to students becoming interested in societal matters and interested to participate in them as democratic citizens.

The results in the ICCS surveys suggest that the pressing challenge lies in the field of participation, and not so much in improving Finnish students' knowledge about societal matters. It is a challenge that obviously also other members of the school community than social studies teachers should take on, because it relates to how school communities in general could be made more supportive of young people becoming recognised and respected as citizens and autonomous actors in the community. The more recent developments in the curricula as well as the introduction of social studies in primary school, with its pronounced objectives in education for democratic citizenship, can be considered to reflect and give further support to a notion of social studies that emphasises constructive societal engagement and intellectual growth simultaneously (Löfström, 2019, 99).

Finnish Principals` Aims for Civic Education

In a study among Nordic school principals, a strong support for critical thinking in civic education was identified (Seland et al. 2021). This emphasis can be explained as a consequence of ideological shifts within the social democratic regime itself. As a result, at the institutional level, civic and cognitive skills such as critical thinking seem to have surpassed political participation in the notion of what good citizenship means. This is a break from the ideas of citizenship underpinning the traditional Nordic model. The concept of *Bildung* is embedded in the historical coordination of education in the Nordic countries at both the institutional and political levels. Seland et al. explain principals' strong support for critical thinking as an attempt to unite recent theory on critical thinking and the German/Scandinavian Bildung-centred Didaktik, which uses processes of lesson planning to facilitate students' meaningful encounters with pedagogical content (Tirri & Kuusisto, 2016). For the critical-constructive Didaktik movement, the crucial point is the teacher's ability to lead students toward Bildung, meaning self-determination, co-determination, and solidarity through the experience of meaning. If students are given examples they can connect to, new insight might help create personal and political agency (Seland et al. 2021, 59).

Support by government policy, constraints and possibilities

The government and the Ministry of Education provide good support towards the cooperation between schools and different NGOs and organisations. Close cooperation between schools and the University of Turku, for instance, has resulted in the widely known and successful KiVa project against bullying. Moreover, during the process of constructing the new core curriculum, the draft version of the document was uploaded onto the website of the Finnish National Board of Education in order to invite discussion, comments and suggestions by different agents, specifically NGOs. Subsequently, UNICEF has played a strong role in adding Child Rights to the curriculum, and environmental NGOs have played a vital role in the inclusion of the necessity of a sustainable way of living in the new curriculum as an underlying core value to be promoted in basic education.

Although the Finnish formal documents seem to represent the common values well at all levels (national, European, and global), the values promoted in practice might be of a more national and European nature (Holm & Londen, 2010). International projects are needed to help students gain familiarity with the idea of entirely different cultures and the meaning of both democracy and of authoritarian regimes.

One of the main challenges is the fact that democracy is taken for granted and students do not have any clear idea about authoritarian regimes around the world, and the fact that democracy needs action. Another important issue that needs to be considered is the revision of pre-service and in-service teacher training in order to introduce teachers to the main changes and national goals of the official documents, since teachers might have limited knowledge about the NCCBE.

We consulted Jan Löfström with two questions: what do you find positive in citizenship education in Finland and what should be improved?

Löfström is Associate Professor in History and Social Studies Education at University of Turku. His specialism are education for democratic citizenship and human rights education

'What I find positive in the parametres of citizenship education in Finland is that the national curricula in Social Studies and in History give more attention than before to 'literacy' skills (historical literacy, media literacy etc.) and that in the 2010's also recognizing the differentiality of interests between people in society and the 'political' nature of many public issues is included in the aims of Social Studies teaching. The picture used to be very 'smooth' in the curriculum and in textbooks but this has changed a little. It also comes forth more strongly in public views now than 20 years ago that 'politics' can and should be discussed in the class and teachers may disclose their political views in the classroom and make political opinions and discussion appear something ordinary and less suspect to students. It's also positive that the curricula and school administration leave freedom to teachers to use the kind of methods and emphasise the content that they think is best. Further the results show that so far there are small differences in societal knowledge and skills between schools.'

'What could be improved is that there is often not much collaboration or contact between school and the various agents in the local community, thus students don't have many opportunities to practice their civic skills in real life authentic situations. In upper secondary school there is also the national Matriculation Exam that is a format that does not easily allow to measure student's ability in some skills, and it may easily lead teachers to concentrate too much on what can be assessed in the exam, i.e. not skills of active civic participation in the local or other community, for example.'

3.3. Germany

Inken Heldt and Dirk Lange (Technical University Kaiserslautern and University of Hannover)

With consultation of Hermann-Josef Abbs, University of Duisburg-Essen

Germany is a federal parliamentary republic. It is one of the founding states of the European Union, and therefore an EU Member State since 1 January 1958. It is also a member of the Eurozone since 1 January 1999. It has a strong literary tradition and is Europe's strongest economy. It also has a sizeable immigrant population comprising more than 7 million people, amounting to nearly 9% of the total population. Amongst Germany's immigrant population, the largest group is of Turkish origin, comprising 2.5 million people or nearly 3% of the population, followed by 1.3 million Poles. The responsibility for the school system lies primarily with the 16 federal states. There are different education systems and plans in place, along with different types of schools and even different subjects.

Germany is represented by the federal state of North Rhine-Westphalia in the 2016 ICCS cycle, which reports on how 14-year-olds are prepared to assume their roles as citizens. The study shows that the political knowledge of 14-year-old students is in the middle range in a global comparison. Compared to students from the European countries of comparison, German students show below-average performance. The students show a wide dispersion of performance. Students whose parents have little education perform significantly worse in the knowledge test than comparable students in other European countries. In no other participating school system, with the exception of Bulgaria, is political knowledge and reasoning so strongly linked to aspects of students' family background. A closer look at the results for North Rhine-Westphalia also reveals clear disparities in political knowledge between students in Gymnasium (providing advanced secondary education with an emphasis on academic learning) and students in other types of schools. In comparison with the European participating countries, students indicate a very low willingness to participate. This applies both to participation in peaceful demonstrations and elections and to involvement in

political parties. Four out of five students in Germany believe that migrants should be allowed to continue their lifestyle and customs.

Teaching common values in Germany is inextricably linked to the subject of citizenship education. Further, the history of citizenship education in Germany is closely linked to the experience of the totalitarian rule in the early days of its democracy. The development of democratic attitudes within Germany was understood to be an indispensable ingredient in building a stable democracy in the Federal Republic after 1945, and in reunited Germany again in 1989. A focus on developing democratic values, attitudes and practices rather than imposing certain ideas 'from above' was required. 'Democracies need democrats' soon emerged as the underlying credo for the concept of citizenship education, valid even today.

During the 1950s and 1960s, civic education was introduced as a separate school subject in Western Germany. Citizenship education was made part of the academic discourse, and its theoretical and conceptual underpinnings were elaborated further. Different conceptions of citizenship education led to polarised ideologies, and experts were split into two camps: one camp believed that the goal of citizenship education is to help citizens make rational judgements; the other believed it is to teach citizens how to emancipate themselves from those who might seek to seize power. At least two state elections centred on the question whether education had the task of passing on traditions to the younger generation or of enabling students to change this world by political means (Reinhardt, 2007, p. 69).

Debates on citizenship education

Despite competing ideas of citizenship education, widespread agreement exists in three basic principles known as "Beutelsbacher Consensus". In 1976, a conference of educationalists from different didactic schools addressed the need to avoid indoctrination. Education as propaganda and as a means of brainwashing citizens has been an especially sensitive issue in the Federal Republic because of former Nazi and communist indoctrination policies (Robert, 2002, 561). The conference participants agreed on a set of guidelines emphasising the notion of 'objective', value-neutral education (Schiele & Schneider, 1977). The first principle prohibits educators from overwhelming students with political opinions, attitudes or values. Any kind of indoctrination contradicts the core idea of a self-consciously critical individual, and is therefore irreconcilable with citizenship education overall. Second, educators are expected to reflect on the variety of perspectives and plurality of interests, and the problems they present. If a topic is controversial in science, politics or society in general, then citizenship education must also teach it as controversial. The third principle postulates that students are to be taught to analyse their own political interests, and to influence society in a realistic way so as to pursue those interests. The "Beutelsbacher Consensus" has played an eminent role in citizenship education in Germany and continues to act as a fundamental pillar.

The federal nature of the German education and political system, with the guaranteed cultural autonomy (Kulturhoheit) of the 16 federal states, means that there is no unified or 'national' curriculum for any subject in Germany. Consequently, there is also no uniform concept of citizenship education. This divergence is illustrated by the varying names given to citizenship related subjects in schools, such as politics and economy (Politik und Wirtschaft), social studies (Sozialkunde) and politics (Politik). Nevertheless, the topics addressed generally include the fundamental principles of democratic societies, contemporary societal issues such as cultural diversity and sustainable development, as well as the European and international dimensions. With regard to its place in the curriculum, citizenship education is structured as a stand-alone subject.

Citizenship education claims to be institutionalised as a school principle in all of Germany's varied formal educational facilities, at every level of education. In practice, however, most schools provide less than the ideal two hours of citizenship education each week. Further, citizenship education

exists not only as a separate subject but also as a pedagogical school principle in all of Germany's varied educational facilities, at every level of education.

On a federal level, the key role of "Democracy as objective, subject and practice of historical and political education in schools" (KMK 2018a) has been reaffirmed. The resolution emphasises that schools must be places where democracy can be experienced and where democratic and human rights values are respected and enacted. It reaffirms the need to foster a democratic school life, as schools that best teach students how to actively engage in democracy are themselves organisations that reflect democratic principles.

Federal Agency

A unique feature of Germany with regard to civic education is the existence of a Federal Agency for Civic Education (Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung; henceforth BpB). Citizenship education, as generally defined in Germany, is aimed at developing durable habits, values, knowledge and skills relevant to students' membership in local, national and international society. It organises learning processes with the aim of developing political literacy (i.e. knowledge of basic facts and understanding of key concepts, processes and institutions with regard to political and societal life); acquiring critical thinking and analytical skills; developing certain values, attitudes and skills; and active participation and engagement. While situated within a normative framework of democratic values and human rights, the subject is meant to be non-partisan as it does not educate citizens exclusively in their relation to the state. It does not simply aim to maintain the democratic status quo, but seeks to develop citizens' abilities to judge and act, which in turn enables them to rethink and reframe citizenship principles and structures, especially those involving critical thinking and political participation (Lange, 2008).

Proponents of the so-called 'democratic learning approaches' point to the fact that one cannot simply deal with citizenship issues in academically-oriented subjects. Instead, a new form of education has to be developed which enables children as well as adolescents to cope with real-life issues. Proponents often draw on John Dewey's pragmatic theory of democracy, which points out that democracy not only touches upon the order of society and the institutional organisation of power, but also concerns the way we deal with one another in everyday life; it concerns culture and our way of life. Understood this way, such civic education cannot only take place in a separate school subject; it concerns the school as a whole, and it needs to transform the schools from within in order to build a democratic school culture.

Citizenship education indisputably has a key role to play in advancing German society's political discourse on anti-democratic tendencies and pluralism, and in contributing to a more integrated society in terms of minorities and social classes. Civic education and the common values of freedom, tolerance and non-discrimination need to be further promoted through national education policy developments, not only as a single school subject but also in terms of developing an overall democratic school culture. School policies that advance more inclusive schools are needed.

Recent developments

In recent years, German public discourse has become increasingly xenophobic. The constant Islamophobic and xenophobic discourse emanating from the extreme right has had an impact on the mainstream political discourse and gained considerable influence over the online discussion (ECRI 2020). Citizenship education moved into the focus of public debate in 2018. Germany's far-right political party AfD demanded a strict adherence to "neutrality" in civic education when teaching controversial or political issues. The party referred to a set of principles that are fundamental to citizenship education in Germany ("Beutelsbacher Consens") when arguing that teachers must not promote political and value-based views in classrooms but provide a balanced

presentation of opposing views, including right-wing views. The AfD's advance has sparked public outcry (Heldt 2020). Authorities, educational institutions and advocacy groups have made it clear that neutrality towards right-wing views is itself a political choice and it is one that bolsters racism and antisemitism. On a federal level, Germany's school authority soon published a declaration making it clear that classroom practice should not be value-neutral but is obliged to take a stand for human rights and democratic values; 'Schools are responsible for conveying a value system which corresponds to free and democratic fundamental and human rights' (KMK 2018a, p.3). Indeed, teachers are legally prohibited from advocating or disparaging political parties, yet at the same time they have a legal responsibility to counteract positions that put antisemitism, racism and discrimination against LGBT+ people or any other form of discrimination forward (Heldt, 2020).

Citizenship education in Germany indisputably has a key role to play in advancing society's political discourse on anti-democratic tendencies and on pluralism in Germany, and in contributing to a more integrated society in terms of minorities and social classes (Abs & Hahn-Laudenberg, 2017; Heldt, 2020). A key challenge of citizenship education includes contributing to strengthening social cohesion, the participation of all members of, and cooperation between different ethnicities and cultures, especially in an era of migration and other global interdependencies (KMK, 2018b).

In recent years, supporting children and young people to participate actively and critically in digital society has emerged as priority for citizenship educators (KMK, 2017). Critical media literacy needs to go beyond the mere skill to use digital tools safely and effectively. Instead, it places awareness and critical reflection on phenomena such as social media, big data systems, algorithms and its impact on democratic culture, sustainable global economy and individual autonomy (BMFSJ, 2020).

We consulted Hermann-Josef Abs with two questions: what do you find positive in citizenship education in Germany and what should be improved? Abs is Professor of Education Research and Schooling, University of Duisburg-Essen.

'On Citizenship Education in Germany. Today, three are exemplary debates:

1   The role of cooperation by schools with out of school associations, e.g. extra-curricular activities in cooperation with youth organisations or NGOs etc.

I acknowledge the positive effect that this cooperation may have. But, we have little research on this and it is also difficult to develop an empirically sound design for this topic. Research should not only look for possible positive effects, but also for risks: A.) School external organisations may not feel subjected to the prohibition against overwhelming students. B.) School external organisations may favour one perspective on a problem, instead of keeping the controversy open. C.) The cooperation may increase social cleavages: Deimel, Hoskins & Abs (2020) show that especially formal instruction proofs to compensate social inequality, while non-binding elements of the curriculum or voluntary school activities are more probable something for students from higher social-economic backgrounds.

2   The meaning and role of prevention in relation to citizenship education.

Citizenship education currently gets a lot of additional funds in Germany, because it is seen as an instrument to prevent extremisms of all kind (right, left, religious) and in order to prevent the electorate to be driven by corrupt social media channels (fake news, political framing, etc.) The question in this context is, whether this might lead into securitization (Versicherheitlichung) and reduce the emancipatory power of citizenship education. Obviously, this point has been made strong by all who see the "capitalist state" as a threat and want to see some kind of revolution. Notwithstanding, I see also a positive potential in this debate for clarifying the meaning of prevention.

3   The political fair balance in the work of support systems for citizenship education

The question is, how to overcome the widening gaps of a political landscape in our societies in citizenship education. How can civic education nowadays still provide a space that deescalates and enables deliberation? And do we need new and stronger guidelines for teacher education and support systems in citizenship education? The last question is also of specific importance when it comes to setting up a *European Centre for Democratic Competences* (https://valuesunite.eu)'.

3.4. Greece

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The awakening of the Greek collective identity under the Ottoman Turks brought about the Greek War of Independence in 1821. This led to the emergence of the Modern Greek state (in 1830), which soon after became the 'Kingdom of Greece'. In more recent history, the heavy turmoil during the Second World War and the subsequent Civil War left Greece in a disadvantaged position for the course of the coming decades. Further, the subsequent efforts of economic reconstruction and political stabilisation were interrupted by seven years of military dictatorship (1967-1974). From 1974 onwards, the long-awaited resolution of severe conflict in the political arena finally brought about the consolidation of democracy and the country's institutions. Greece became a full member of the European Union in 1981 and joined the Eurozone in 2002.

Demographically, Greece is a largely homogeneous country; more than 90% of Greek citizens identify themselves as ethnic Greeks, with a common language and a common religion, namely that of the Eastern Orthodox Church (Papademetriou, 2012). There is one officially recognised minority: the religious Muslim minority in Western Thrace. In recent years, Greece has faced a significant increase in arrivals of refugees and asylum-seekers from Syria, as well as irregular migrants from the wider region. At the same time, the emergence of the economic crisis in 2009 marked the onset of an explosive political and social situation. For over a decade the Greek population was challenged by dramatically rising unemployment and wage cuts, along with significantly rising taxation levels. In 2014, more than a third of the country's total population was at risk of poverty or social exclusion (Eurostat, 2015). The economic crisis also marked the dynamic appearance of a far-right extremist group in the political arena, which formed the third most-powerful political party in Parliament until 2019. After a trial lasting more than five years, in October 2020 the leadership of the party was convicted of running a criminal organisation.

In the 2009 ICCS study, Greek students scored higher on 'citizenship values' and 'participatory attitudes' than 'social justice values' and 'knowledge and skills for democracy'. In the academic literature, this is mainly attributed to the fact that in recent decades, Greece has faced dictatorship as well as greater political instability. Given this framework, Greek youth may well sense an acute need to engage in conventional political systems or protest-based activities (Hoskins, Saisana & Villalba, 2015).

Policy on citizenship education

The education policy of citizenship education is specified by means of important documents such as the Greek Constitution which stipulates the education of Greeks to become free and responsible citizens as one of the basic goals of education; the main Law 1566/1985 which regulates the function of primary and secondary education in emphasising democratic participation and popular support; the Unified Cross-Curricular Framework and School Curricula (2003); the New Curriculum (2011); the annual teaching guidelines of the Ministry of Education, Research and Religious Affairs; and the respective textbooks on social and civic education. It should be stressed that in practice, it is in fact the guidelines and textbooks that determine all aspects of teaching and learning in Greek schools.

New school curricula for primary and secondary education (both general and vocational) are expected in 2021. These have been advertised by the Ministry as a fundamental reform based on competences (in science and technology), life/soft skills and learning outcomes and also on a shift from a textbook-centric to a multi-source education, tailored to the needs of the individual student.

Since the beginning of the 1990s, when Greece became a reception country for immigrants, the key topic which has prevailed in education policy is intercultural education. Even though education for democracy and tolerance is strongly interconnected with intercultural education, the former values as such have not received as much attention in the policy as intercultural education has. With the emergence of the economic crisis of the past decade, as well as the parallel strengthening of far-right extremism in Greek society and politics, teaching common values has slowly started to gain more attention as a means to combat xenophobia, racism and nationalism.

In Greece, citizenship education in secondary schools is mainly offered in the form of a separate subject. Even though CE can in principle take place across the curriculum, it is the prevailing understanding that it mainly concerns the subject social and civic education, which is taught years 5 and 6 of primary, year 3 of lower secondary, and year 1 of upper secondary education. Overloaded curricula, traditional teaching and inherent weaknesses of the highly centralised education system create discrepancies between the curriculum prescriptions and the actual teaching and learning in schools.

While the contents of the curriculum and the respective textbooks include issues, which mainly focus on the knowledge of institutions, it is the aim of the Ministry of Education to foster political participation and democratic politics through the organisation of student communities. According to the relevant requirements, these are considered as a 'cell of democratic life in schools'. Furthermore, the Parliament of Adolescents is an educational programme organised annually with the cooperation of the Greek Parliament and the Ministry of Education, in order to give young people the opportunity to discuss their opinions and conclusions on contemporary issues, as well as to describe their visions for the future. Though teaching common values is included in the national education policy, it is decisively strengthened by the fact that it is also supported by the European education policy.

Extracurricular projects

There is in fact quite an impressive variety of extracurricular projects implemented by teachers. Some examples are Euroscola and the Ambassador School Programme of the European Parliament; the E-twinning Programme, covering areas such as sustainable development, inclusive education and integrating migrant students at school; the Erasmus+ Programme Teacher4Europe: setting an Agora for Democratic Culture (2018-2021). The vast majority of extracurricular activities is organised within the framework of the "School Activities Programme" of the Ministry of Education, focusing on Environmental Education, Health Education and Cultural Topics. This framework provides numerous opportunities for teachers and schools to initiate extracurricular projects based on research methods and experiential learning. In addition, in recent years, rhetoric clubs are increasingly gaining ground at secondary schools, while debating competitions between schools are annually organised by the Ministry or in other settings.

Long-term policy and recent developments

The lack of a long-term education policy in the country is highly problematic. As a result of this, all actors, including teachers and students, are aware of the fact that policy measures taken by the Ministry will sooner or later be withdrawn or replaced by other practices. Teachers also emphasise the fact that education for democracy, in particular, is also strongly dependent on the quality of democracy in the wider society, whether at the national or the European level. Even though

democracy is strongly believed to be a Greek legacy, education for democracy in Greece is rather moderate, both in the school curriculum and in school practice. Since the 1990s, education for tolerance (which is generally not as strong as education for democracy) has gained increasing attention in the curriculum and influence in Greek society. However, it is often seen as an 'imported' European value, which stems from globalisation and aims to facilitate the integration of immigrants, refugees and Muslim populations, thereby undermining national homogeneity.

According to the recent policy announcements of the Ministry of Education and the Institute for Education Policy, the current priorities regarding citizenship education for the coming years include "raising the active citizen of tomorrow" and the "cultivation of creative and responsible citizens with substantial knowledge and up-to-date competencies". Schools are to develop "citizens with self-motivation and critical thinking, who will have the required resources to successfully participate in the global knowledge economy and, at the same time, will be capable of collective action, in order to meet the great challenges of the time" (Ministry of Education and Religious Affairs, 2020). Even though the (active) citizen appears to be at the centre of the intended reforms, it seems that citizenship is now understood within the framework of knowledge societies, with the main aim of citizenship education being oriented more towards discipline and autonomy than social involvement.

Thus, a shift can be seen in the overall policy of the current central-right government (in power since 2019), which is also apparent in certain changes in the secondary school curriculum. In particular, in lower secondary education the "Thematic week" established in school year 2016-2017 by decree of the former left-wing leadership of the Ministry of Education, aiming to create links among the different subjects of the curriculum, emphasising the role of teachers as educators, granting more school autonomy and opening schools to the wider society, was abolished in 2020. The Thematic week included, among others, the topics "Democratic co-existence and human rights" and "gender identities" with a clear relevance to teaching common values. It is to be replaced by the "Competencies Labs", which -after a pilot implementation- are due to be implemented from the school year 2021-2022 in all primary (including kindergarten) and lower secondary schools and are currently portrayed as a major educational reform. The Competencies Labs include four major domains, one of them being "I am interested and I act - Social awareness and responsibility". Contents of the particular domain are human rights, volunteerism, peer mediation and inclusion-mutual respect and diversity.

Even though sceptical of the constant changes in policy and education tools, teachers actively involved in citizenship education seem to be open to the initiative, which they see as a result of their own long-term engagement in the development of relevant extracurricular activities and educational material, thus contributing to a bottom-up school reform. However, constraints such as the restricted teaching time foreseen (1 hour a week), the provision that all four domains should be covered within a school year and the lack of adequate support measures allow for little optimism for effective implementation in school practice.

Most of the recent curricular changes are especially evident in upper secondary education. In the school year 2020-2021, the subject of social and civic education in year 1 was reduced from 3 to 2 hours a week, while the subject "Research project" or elective courses such as "Greek and European culture" and "Management of natural resources" (including the topic of sustainable development) have been abandoned. The most prominent policy example for strengthening the teaching of common values in the former years, the subject "Contemporary world: citizen and democracy" (year 2), introduced in 2018 to counterbalance the impact of far-right extremism in Greek society and education, was also removed from the curriculum in the current school year, leaving no place for social and civic education in the particular grade. In addition, the "orientation subject" Sociology (year 12) will be soon replaced by Latin, thus decisively decreasing social sciences in the upper

secondary school curriculum. Even though in the last few years there was an effort to strengthen creative student projects, which also provided a setting for teachers to include the values dimension, this orientation was given up in the current school year.

Other points of current criticism concern the lack of reform of the school communities. Educational policy in the country has failed to update the basic law regulating their operation, even though substantial efforts in that respect have been made by institutions such as the Greek Ombudsman for Children's Rights in the last two decades. A recent urgent call by the Ministry to all schools to develop an "Internal School Regulation" (March 2021) cannot allow for much optimism toward the establishment of a democratic school culture, as it proved rather a bureaucratic and centralised procedure, allowing minimum student participation.

Refugee education is currently confronted with severe issues of school access and school inclusion for refugee children, which seem to challenge the common values of democracy, tolerance and equal opportunities. As positive developments of the recent years can be considered the strengthening of initiatives, networks and thematic groups of teachers, academics or members of the civil society; the increasing involvement, not only of teachers but also education staff in relevant European projects; and finally, the growing relevant research undertaken by teachers in the framework of MA and PhD Programmes in the thematic area of teaching common values and citizenship education as well as the (rather moderate) steps toward strengthening the values dimension in initial teacher education.

3.5. Hungary

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The Act on National Education (2011, CXC) has the purpose "to create a public education system which contributes to the harmonious mental, physical and intellectual development of children and young people through the conscious development of their skills, abilities, knowledge, proficiencies, emotional and volitional characteristics and cultural education corresponding to their age characteristics, thus educating people and responsible citizens who are virtuous and capable of independent life as well as achieving their objectives, while harmonising private interests with the interests of the public. Its high priority is to prevent the widening of the social gap and promote talent with the tools of education". The content of common values was established mostly in the subject of social studies, later in the subject of history.

The most fundamental legislative reforms affecting the education system took place between 2010 and 2013. The conservative Christian government announced the failure of the previous educational reforms and expressed the need for a centralised, highly controlled and ideologically charged educational reform and legislation. New management and administration as well as new curriculum have been introduced. Schools and teachers have lost most of the freedoms they were previously encouraged to exercise.

Teachers in general are not prepared for teaching values in Hungary. The history teachers responsible for citizenship education since 2012 are also not prepared to teach common values and because of the long socialist past in Hungary, there is also a fear of the accusation of political indoctrination, so teachers feel it is too sensitive to go into "value" issues. Moreover, the integration of history and social studies meant less time for teaching either, so it really depends on teachers how to solve teaching common values. There are so-called output requirements, but in practice there is no control on how to reach them.

National basic curricula

National basic curricula have shaped teaching at Hungarian schools since 1995, establishing the basic content and key competences that every Hungarian school across the country is expected to impart to its students. Already in 2012, the basic curriculum called for the formation of a common national identity. That year, the Orbán government adopted its own curriculum, the one that is now set to be replaced by the new NCC, despite the fact that the original already evinced a strong ideological bent. The NCC 2012 formulated the required role and value of education in accordance with the still very controversial Basic Law, adopted in 2011 – in particular the preamble's emphasis on the Christian-national basic values and its focus on all ethnic Hungarians. According to this curriculum, in addition to providing students with a national and universal education, schools are expected to participate in the "deepening of moral intuition and mental and emotional receptivity" in the service of the common good and in a strengthening of national self-confidence, unity and patriotism. Special attention is paid to Hungarians living outside the country's borders. There is an unequal emphasis on community values versus individual personal development and on duties versus the rights of the individual. In this sense, the terms "nation" and "fatherland" are central to the overarching premise of the basic curriculum; in contrast, the subject-specific components of the NAT 2012 appear subject-oriented and devoid of explicit ideological content.

The NCC 2020 is not a brand-new curriculum, but only the revision of the existing basic curriculum, a patchwork of elements from the NAT 2012, the 'Csépe draft', and a few newly produced passages. The ideologically charged preamble of the NAT 2012 remains valid. The subsequent discussion of pedagogical principles takes new scholarly insights into account. What is truly new is the part of the basic curriculum in which the individual subjects are listed – with their principles and goals, the most important topics and the desired learning results. Here, the largely factual passages of the NAT 2012, especially for the subjects Hungarian and History, have been transformed into ideologically charged formulations. It is not surprising that the most visible changes relate to these subjects, since they were most in need of reform, given their decisive role in the desired creation of national identity through patriotic education. It is thus also no coincidence that precisely these subjects have become the largest bone of contention for the NAT critics.

Recent developments

On 31 January 2020, the Government adopted the issue of the National Core Curriculum (NCC) (Government Decree 5/2020 (I. 31.)). Although it will be introduced in the NCC as a new subject called citizenship education, the new subject's approach lacks everything that could be the goal of civic education in a functioning state governed by the rule of law. The new subject could make a significant contribution to the political socialisation of young people and to shaping their social image, but the newly adopted NCC is only able to convey fragmented knowledge at most, which is faithful to the political ideology of the government but not suitable for the democratic education of students in public education. In defining subject principles and goals, the new NCC interprets the individual primarily as part of the family, local communities and the nation. It also includes the acquisition of basic defence skills. The 2018 draft included the idea of Europeanness, which was replaced by national defence in the adopted National Core Curriculum. In the National Core Curriculum, the definition of the basic principles of the subject emphasises the strengthening of the sense of patriotism, as well as national defence as a civic obligation, whereas knowledge of EU (state) citizenship is completely excluded from the NCC. The role of the family in community and social socialisation, and then especially the traditional family model, is strongly emphasised. Narrowing the concept of family is discriminatory and deprives students of the opportunity to get acquainted with the situation of families actually occurring in Hungarian society (in addition to the so-called "traditional" families, consider single-parent families, rainbow families, etc.). The rights of the child, the rights of students, the "Student Government" which could provide the first participatory,

community-making experience for young people were left out of the new NCC. It covers too many areas at once: economic and financial knowledge, patriotism, national defence, ethnography and cultural values, as well as well-founded planning of career and family life, but this subject is only taught for one hour a week. For the time being, the teaching of the subject requiring the transfer of comprehensive knowledge is the responsibility of history teachers who are expected to master all these loosely connected areas. The students are not actively involved in this learning process, but, like so many other subjects, learn what the creators of the National Core Curriculum consider to be a "good citizen". The new NCC does not take into account the relevant EU or Council of Europe recommendations.

The school community service became obligatory in the 2012/13 school year. The Act on Public Education introduced community service for upper secondary school students as an obligatory extracurricular activity. From 2016, only students who undertake 50 hours of community service can obtain a secondary school leaving certificate. The Act defines community service as social or environmental activity carried out individually or in a group for the benefit of the local community, within an organised framework and with pedagogical support. The aim is to raise social awareness, improve the self-confidence and various skills and competences of students, and to provide an opportunity for career guidance. Community service relies on the cooperation of schools with other organisations (municipalities, NGOs, churches, museums, libraries etc.) as students usually perform community service in these organisations – e.g. in the fields of healthcare, welfare, environment or nature protection.

In terms of segregation, the increasing number of religious schools is very worrying because of their special rules in the selection of children. It is very typical that middle class families choose church schools or local elite schools while Roma children attend the public schools.

Education system and teachers

There is an on-going debate mainly in the media about the conservative turnaround in general and in the education system. Critics claim that Hungarian education is heading backwards, to the time prior to the 1984 educational reform. In that year the rigid Hungarian educational system was loosened and teachers were given substantial freedom to adjust the curriculum to the needs of the pupils. The current reform will force teachers to follow a rigid curriculum, making it more inflexible than education was in the last years of the Kádár regime. The choice of textbooks will be reduced. There is only one official textbook per course that all students will have to use. The ideal is a "national minimum of knowledge" that all Hungarian citizens will be expected to acquire. Such uniformity can be obtained only if teachers use the same official texts. There are not enough skilled teachers to teach common values. The history subject is knowledge-based and includes too much curriculum without allowing enough time to teaching values. The ethics subject is much more appropriate to teaching values, but the skilled teachers are missing and it is not mandatory in secondary schools.

3.6. Lithuania

Giedre Kvieskine, Vytautas Magnus University

The National Education Strategy for 2013–2022 states that Lithuania should achieve a strategic goal: a culture of quality civic education. This goal is highlighted in Lithuania's Progress Strategy 'Lithuania 2030', the National Education Strategy 2013–2022 and other documents. Innovative Lithuanian schools combine smart education strategies, social clustering and innovative educational practices in their everyday education process. In terms of social capital in the state welfare index, Lithuania is today 156th among 167 countries. Young people often perceive themselves as having little influence in the political life of the country, are not interested in it, and

while the turnout in elections in this age group is still low, there is a need to increase young people's political competence, promote active participation in civic life, and to deepen their knowledge and interest in political processes.[31] Networking and intersectoral empowerment help leaders operate the multifunctional, multicriterial, multisector approach and to develop trust-based family, community, and regional and national prosperity. Aspiration to a common objective; consensus on the most important priorities of the public interest; successful social partnership between the public, private, and civic (NGO) sector; and scientific organisations and stakeholders all contribute to creating a modern and sustainable society.

The perception of civic power in Lithuanian society is slowly changing. In society, the influence of ordinary citizens on decision-making is underestimated. There is little interest in politics and the willingness to act is extremely weak. Civic activity is associated with various risks for the majority of the population, and civic passivity is reinforced by widespread mistrust of various public authorities and alienation from public affairs. Lithuanian voter turnout is low compared to most European Union countries. Trust-based research on the social economy, smart education and social partnership, as well as innovative services developed by responsible citizens in many advanced countries have helped to create unique models of civil society at both national and international levels.[32] In a rapidly changing modern world, civic issues are acquiring increasing value, but in ordinary schools and NGOs we need to find new ways to further integrate civic education values. Transformative learning is crucial to making students aware and engaged in environmental and urban issues, but evidence on the attitudes and abilities of teachers globally on teaching ESD and GCED is limited. Therefore, PPMI was contracted to study teachers' awareness of ESD and GCED topics (climate change, sustainable production and consumption, human rights including gender equality and cultural diversity and tolerance), and how they perceive their ability to teach these interdisciplinary subjects). The experience of Lithuanian teachers has been presented in detail in 2017[33]: experiences of the schools participating in the project "Know the State", updated material of the first schools that shared the experience of socio-civic activities, and lessons prepared on the initiative of the Youth Affairs.[34]

Citizenship education in Lithuania's schools

The aim of citizenship education in schools is "for students to acquire knowledge and skills, develop the values necessary for active and responsible participation in the life of Lithuania's democratic state and civil society". To achieve this aim, citizenship problems are discuses systematically at national and international levels.35 Citizenship education in schools is carried out in different ways: 1.) Citizenship education is integrated into general programmes of other subjects for grades 5-10. 2.) A separate course on the fundamentals of citizenship for grades 9-10. 3. Social citizenship activities in grades 5-10.

Schools may provide other forms and methods of citizenship education than those above. As in society as a whole, young people's civic empowerment is greatly enhanced by participation in extracurricular and non-formal education activities and in social-political projects, which are included in grade 5-12 programmes: 20 hours a year in and out of school. Young people's participation in voluntary activities has a significant impact on their civic power. […] The civic power

[31] Tle Legatum Prosperity Index. In: Legatum Prosperity Index 2020

[32] Kvieskiene, G., Kvieska, V., Gerd-Bodo von Carlsburg. 2012. Social Clustering: paradigm of Trust. In: https://www.peterlang.com/view/title/72928

[33] Lietuvių galia iki COVID-19 i9jį ūkio-aukščiausia per dešimtmetį, pilietiškumu išsiskiria mokytojai. Iš: Civitas

[34] Pilietiškumo ugdymas. Prieiga per internetą: Pilietiškumo ugdymas | Jaunimo reikalų departamentas prie Socialinės apsaugos ir darbo ministerijos (jrd.lt)

[35] https://www.lrs.lt/sip/getFile3?p_fid=33651

index values of young people who have volunteered are more than ten points higher than those who do not have volunteering experience.

The results of the International Civic and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS 2017)[36] showed that the understanding of civics by Lithuanian eighth-graders (505 points) is similar to that of other countries participating in the study (the average is 500) but is slightly lower than the European average of 514. Lithuania is one of the four countries with the lowest share of teachers who stated that knowledge of social, political and civic institutions is one of civic and citizenship education aims. Although Lithuanian students' theoretical knowledge is relatively high – even 70% of Lithuanian students answered the theoretical questions about the electoral system correctly (EU average 47%) – more than 70% of students do not believe that their voice can influence decision-making. Also, according to a Eurobarometer survey, 63% of young people in Lithuania are reluctant to get involved in social activities, while the European Union average is 44%.

Action plan

Many of the problems discussed above are identified in the interinstitutional Action Plan for Civic and National Education 2016–2020. This plan sets an ambitious goal: "to enable Lithuanian citizens to take personal responsibility for Lithuania's present and future through civic and national education". Three large-scale tasks have been set to achieve this goal, but the possibilities for achieving the set objectives are questionable. The plan foresaw more than 30 activities in 2016–2018, and each was allocated an average of 30 thousand euros per year. The activities envisaged in the plan are very different, and there is no clear vision or priorities. Therefore, the scattering of funds in all areas does not help achieve the ambitious goals and objectives (especially since part of the activities is developing new plans or measures).

Lithuania is one of the countries where civic education is a separate compulsory subject. Lithuanian experts prepare examples of how grades 9-10 can offer integrated thematic social education by choosing one relevant topic/social phenomenon, which is then examined at different levels: personal, social and global.

External stakeholders, such as non-governmental organisations contributing to citizenship education, have a significant role in developing active citizenship. Therefore, the state's approach and political priorities related to this sector's activities are also very important. Low social capital and mental health are driving a growing number of adolescent suicides, which is now a major cause of death among young people aged 15-19 years in Lithuania and Estonia, recording the highest rate of young people who take their own lives[37]. Schoolwork pressure for boys and girls increased the most in Lithuania, whereas in Estonia and Latvia it remains on the same level.[38] While teaching face-to-face, teachers can facilitate students in the empowerment of social and emotional skills, adopt collaborative teaching methods and create trusting relationships.[39] The changed emotional social environment during COVID-19 needs a new vision of teaching and has encouraged new research algorithms of social emotional intelligence, highlighting the idea of artificial intelligence implementation.

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[36] International Civic and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS). (2017)

[37] Research and reports | UNICEF

[38] 9789289055000-eng.pdf (who.int)

[39] A future for the world's children? A WHO-UNICEF-Lancet Commission (everywomaneverychild.org)

Best practices

In order to empower schools to raise the achievements of all learners, one of the best practice examples is the Future Citizen project. The Lithuanian College of Democracy (LDUK) has run Project Citizen in Lithuania since 1997. It was renamed Future Citizen in 2007. The project is implemented at local, national and international levels and involves three action guidelines: 1.) The motivation of social and civic activity in society using Project Citizen as the main platform. 2.) The 'Leader in civic society' academy of leaders. 3.) Publicity and dissemination.

The main participants of the Future Citizen project are children and young people, although the methodology of the project is based on the development of social networks which also involve teachers, school directors and other community institutions. The methodology for schools, which is also used in informal activities, was accredited by the Republic of Lithuania Ministry of Education and Science. Project participants get the opportunity to identify civic-community problem solutions. They can also educate to raise abilities and resolve important problems for local residents. They find information about the problem, research how others solve it and give their own recommendations to problem solvers. It is a great civic practice which shows that most frequently occurring problems are solvable. The success of the project is guaranteed by its continuity and the fact that Project Citizen was well implemented in different local education institutions. Citizenship researchers and teachers recognise that project work, integrated multi-subject lessons or well-organised socio-civic activities, ranging from 10 to 15 lessons per year[40], are most effective. Therefore, after discussing the most relevant topics for teenagers, using or simulating the "Citizen" methodology[41], students start their analysis with their most outstanding problems: leisure time, early prevention, choice of uniforms, open meetings, school self-government, discussion of rules, etc.

Conclusions

Lithuanian students have a good theoretical civic education background but lag far behind their peers in Europe in terms of practical functioning and real participation in civic life. In this context, it is necessary to invest in developing practical citizenship skills, focusing on pupils and students from low socio-economic backgrounds and regions. Since many schools still do not have student self-governance bodies, it is necessary to pay more attention to the development of democracy in schools and students' involvement in decision-making.

Civic activism, civic power and other attributes related to active citizenship are positively influenced by student volunteering, participation in non-governmental organisations and civic activities. Therefore, various social partners, especially non-governmental organisations, should be more involved in citizenship education. Civic activism or extracurricular student activities usually do not count or mean very little when enrolling in higher education (except for a few programmes where additional points can be added to students). Thus, in order to encourage young people to participate more actively in society, legal preconditions to evaluate and recognise such activities must be created.

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[40] Socialinis-pilietinis ugdymas per praktinę veiklą: mokyklų atstovų ir mokinių patirtys. Prieiga per internetą: Socialinė pilietinė veikla_2020 Nr 4.pdf (smm.lt)

[41] Projektas PILIETIS etapai - Lietuvos demokratiškumo ugdymo kolegija (lduk.lt)

3.7. The Netherlands

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The socialisation function of education has always been strong in the Netherlands (Veugelers, 2007). But socialisation processes are not always the same for different groups of people. A strong class division is still very visible in Dutch society and in Dutch schools with its hierarchy of different and separated levels of secondary education. Even with a strong meritocratic force of giving children chances, reproduction processes are still strong in Dutch education. Citizenship education for lower class children is partly different from citizenship education for elite children. The lower class children have to be disciplined more, the elite children are encouraged to develop their autonomy (Leenders, Veugelers & De Kat, 2008).

A second important aspect of Dutch education that is relevant for citizenship education is the strong focus on assessment, selection, and tracking. Children are assessed a lot, in particular on languages, mathematics and science. At age 12 they are assigned to six different levels of education (3 vocational, 3 general). It is easier to slip down the ladder than to climb up. This early selection and strong competition supports the idea that citizens are personally responsible for their own success and position in society. This is a strong hidden curriculum of citizenship education.

A third important element of Dutch citizenship education is the arrival of many immigrants of Non-Western countries in the last few decades. First, most of them came as 'guest worker', today they are refugees. There is some idea of a multicultural society, but the immigrants have to adapt to Dutch values and norms. Citizenship education is used to learn to live together with different cultural groups and to assimilate immigrants into Dutch society (Sincer, Severiens & Volman, 2020).

A fourth relevant element, and with a long history, is the role of religion. In the Netherlands there are now more non-religious people than religious people, and yet 2/3 of the schools are based on a religious denomination, mostly Christian. These schools are fully paid by the government and have to follow the national curriculum except for the subject religious studies and for religion-related topics. Religious groups don't want to have a strong curriculum policy of citizenship. They say that it's up to each religious group to determine what citizenship means, particularly regarding its social and cultural elements. The government should not interfere too much (Miedema & Bertram-Troost, 2008; Veugelers, 2011).

All in all, the hidden curriculum of citizenship education is full of segregation by social class, culture and religion; different social and cultural groups hardly meet each other, in schools or in wider society. They don't really learn to live together and to build a democratic society together. Many politicians, and in particular advisory boards such as the Educational Council (Onderwijsraad, 2012) and Social-Cultural Plan Office, are aware of this segregation, but they not always explain what this means for citizenship development. A broad social and political movement to enhance social justice and to combat segregation is lacking in contemporary Dutch society. Religious organisations and many parents appreciate the free school choice and schools with a homogenous culture.

The Netherlands participated in the international comparative study on civic and citizenship study (ICCS) in 2009 and 2016. In both studies, Dutch youngsters score quite low on citizenship knowledge and the desire to actively participate in politics. They also score very low on their attitude towards rights for immigrants (Schultz et al., 2010; 2017). There is in the political debates and in education a growing concern about these outcomes and it supports voices calling for more attention for citizenship education. A study commissioned by the European Parliament into the policy and practice of attention for the common values of democracy and tolerance in all 28 EU Member States showed that in Dutch educational policy, the attention for these values is rather abstract, with no

real operationalisation into concrete practice. Also, society-wide segregation and inequality are quite large and growing (Veugelers, De Groot & Stolk, 2017).

Citizenship Education and the curriculum

According to the overt curriculum, since 2006 schools are required to pay attention to citizenship education. The central concepts are 'active participation' and 'social integration'. Cultural diversity should also be addressed. There is no formal curriculum for citizenship education: there are guidelines, and a number of civic competences are included in the core objectives of primary and secondary education. The national institute for curriculum development in the Netherlands (SLO) provides schools with information and tools to develop a vision statement and a citizenship education programme. All subjects, in particular subjects like history and geography, should pay attention to citizenship education. For the subject of history, a 'canon' about Dutch history has been drawn up. Geography should give insight into the place and role of the Netherlands in Europe and the global world. In upper secondary education, there is the subject of social studies (*maatschappijleer*) that deals with social, cultural and political issues. To gain academic recognition, many teachers of social studies emphasise knowledge in their lessons and not so much the development of attitudes. Besides these subjects, the government also calls for service-learning projects in which students help in society and activities in which different cultural groups meet each other.

Researchers and also the school inspectorate show that many schools don't pay much attention to citizenship education (Veugelers, 2011; Onderwijsinspectie, 2015; Coopmans, Ten Dam, Dijkstra, & Van der Veen, 2020). Reasons for this lack of implementation are the weak regulations in the curriculum, particularly in comparison to the strong regulations and assessments of the 'basics'. Schools are strongly controlled by the education inspectorate and parents on the results of the basics, not on their activities regarding citizenship development.

Many scholars and some politicians increasingly recognise that the focus of citizenship education on active participation and social integration is too narrow and that the concept of democracy should be more central. The Ministry of Education has taken several initiatives to define the content of citizenship more clearly, yet without making citizenship education a formal subject and formulating more concrete objectives for the different subjects involved.

Cross-curricular activities and role of NGOs

The Netherlands has a long tradition of non-governmental and other organisations that inform and educate both youth and adults about citizenship related issues. They develop their own extracurricular materials for citizenship education that schools can but are not obliged to use, for example a school programme on LGBT+ or guest lessons about religious differences and tolerance. One of the largest organisations supporting schools is the partially state funded ProDemos ('House for Democracy and the Rule of Law'). Its main aim is to help explain the political system and the rule of law to a wide audience and to show what (young) citizens themselves can do to exert political influence. Many schools organise 'mock elections' in their schools. However, most schools do not make much of an effort to inform students about different political parties and to have debates about the election (De Groot, 2017). A special programme for primary schools, The Peaceful School (*De Vreedzame School*), has been developed by an education support organisation to promote social competence and democratic citizenship. Compared to other European countries, the Netherlands has a broad spectrum of organisations that support schools with citizenship education. There are many interesting examples. However, most schools don't make much use of these resources (Veugelers, De Groot & Stolk, 2017).

Another example is community service-learning. In 2011, the law on mandatory community service-learning was introduced at secondary schools nationwide. Eighty-one percent of the parents supported the mandatory community service-learning (Rijksoverheid, 2010). Three years later it was abolished as a result of a government change. Nowadays, many schools continue some community service-learning voluntarily. In both cases – the explicit attention to sexual diversity and the mandatory community service-learning – caused political and public debate with regard to the mandatory character and the level of state interference.

Challenges and future

The Minister of Education, Arie Slob, recently presented new regulations for citizenship education (Ministry of Education, 2019). The proposal has been discussed with many stakeholders and the parliament. Most people support the idea of having a stronger focus on democracy. However, people differ with regard to the balance between what the government can determine and what belongs to the responsibility of each school board. Christian schools in particular are opposed to strong governmental influence. The challenge remains how to get schools to really work on a formal curriculum of citizenship education, while balancing governmental policy with the ownership of schools.

Nowadays, the subject of social studies is taught only in upper secondary education. In lower secondary education, attention for citizenship is mainly incorporated in history and geography subjects, and in denominational schools in religious studies, but the subject of social studies is missing in lower secondary education. The curriculum foundation of citizenship education should be made stronger by formulating further guidelines and a whole-school approach: including values and citizenship in the different subjects, making citizenship education a separate subject, cross-curricular activities, out-of-school learning in the community, and a more democratic school culture in which the students can experience and practice democracy.

From the perspective of an inclusive society, segregation in society and in education remains a real problem in the Netherlands. Promoting the learning together of different groups requires a more common school system with less selection at a later age, and a stronger focus on public education where all cultural groups are truly welcome.

3.8. Poland

First part Barbara Malak-Minkiewicz and Jerzy Wiśniewski (independent scholars)

Second part Violetta Kopińska (Nicolaus Copernicus University, Torun, Poland)

Part one (Barbara Malak-Minkiewicz and Jerzy Wiśniewski)

The Polish Round Table Talks in 1989 between leaders of the Solidarity movement and Communist regime launched Poland's transition to a democracy and a primarily market-based economy. Since then, Poland has developed into a parliamentary democracy with its own constitution. Poland joined in 2004 the European Union. The Polish education reforms initiated in the early 90s included, amongst others, the parliamentary adoption of the School Education Act of 7 September 1991 (National Parliament of Poland, 1991), which increased the influence of citizens and local communities on school life. The reform decentralized management of educational institutions, which are now under the responsibility of the municipal and district authorities. The reform also provided a framework legitimizing non-public (civic, church and private) schools. In 1990, religion was introduced to school curricula (as an optional subject). Almost all funds for public sector schools come from the state and local government budgets, while non-public schools are mainly financed, in addition to public subsidies, by fees received from parents and funds from private enterprises and

foundations. Most children attend public schools. In the 2018-2019 school year, 6.5% of all primary school students attended non-public schools (https://eacea.ec.europa.eu/national-policies/eurydice/). Polish students do well in the international comparative studies of PISA (OECD, 2012), CIVED (Torney-Purta, Lehmann, Oswald & Schulz, 2001) and ICCS (2010).

Policy of Citizenship Education

The Teacher's Charter, a central document that describes in detail the status and working conditions of teachers, states, amongst others, that, '…teacher responsibility is to educate the young generation in the atmosphere of freedom of religion, conscience and thought and respect for others […] in accordance with ideas of democracy, peace and friendship with people of different nations, race and world views…' (National Parliament of Poland, 1982, Article 6 point 4 and 5). This shows a prominent place for democracy related values in Polish education. Common values are also stipulated in the Education Law Act of 14 December 2016 (National Parliament, 2017). The values, which should be implemented in Polish schools, are indicated in the preamble of the Education Law Act: solidarity, democracy, tolerance, justice and freedom. (National Parliament, 2017)

The relation between learning about values (through transfer of knowledge) and learning values through practical experiences, became an underlying issue for some debate, particularly on the role of the school as a place for developing knowledge and cognitive skills or as a place where youngsters should learn how to act and how to be engaged. NGOs especially, postulated a 'more balanced' approach with more opportunities for students to exercise citizenship in schools (e.g. school parliament) and local community (e.g. through projects focused on problems in the local community, people in need, etc.).

NGOs help teachers in the development and evaluation of such projects (Bacia et al., 2015). The 'traditional' discussion mentioned above is, however, complicated by the more basic discussion taking place in the Polish society, about values themselves, i.e. how to understand them (Public Opinion Research Centre, 2014). With tolerance everything depends on the age of children and the way the topic is introduced to them. One should not act in opposition to tradition and opinions of parents.

Practice of citizenship education

The international IEA studies on civic and citizenship education (CIVED 1999 and ICCS 2009) confirmed Polish students are amongst the best performing in the world on the knowledge test. Polish students were, however, less trustful of public institutions and endorsed less rights for immigrants and minorities than their peers from Western countries. They were also less interested in political and social activities (Torney-Purta et al., 2001; Schulz et al., 2010). Many experts consider this a consequence of the lack of adequate active experiences provided to students by schools (Dolata, Kosela, Wiłkomirska & Zielińska, 2004; Zachorska, Papiór & Roszkowska, 2013).

NGOs often initiate school activities in areas important to local communities such as national minorities, ecological problems, etc. For example, the Centre for Civic Education (an NGO) offered schools the programme 'Voting Youth', within which students of the lower and upper secondary schools organized workshops on the meaning of public voting, held debates between candidates representing different political parties, and finally conducted elections in their own schools based on rules similar to the public election (Centre for Civic Education, 2015). In general, there are still not many schools that adopt the offered programmes and include them in their curriculum. The major obstacles stem from: (i) lack of skills and motivation of teachers, (ii) conflictual expectations, i.e. promoting rather cognitive outcomes of education in this area, and (iii) controversies within society.

Teaching values takes place in various subjects such as knowledge about society, history, and Polish literature. The teaching programmes might be coordinated with an aim to promote critical reflection on values important for the democratic society. However, in the core curriculum, facts are more important than attitudes, and education might be reduced to knowledge. There is no time for a critical reflection left.

In an overview of the reforms of Polish school education Wisniewsky and Zahorski (2020) conclude:

> ‘An in-depth analysis of decision-making in the field of education in post-communist countries was presented by Joan Nelson in a World Bank report. She identified many similarities in the methods of operations of countries which recently adopted a democratic system. She claimed the new authorities focused their attention on economic and political changes, while the public services sector was not treated as a priority. What followed was that the ministries responsible for public services did not have enough political clout, especially in applying for public funds. (…)

> The introduction of new radical reforms every few years often results in resistance or discouragement among teachers due to new working conditions, changes in school groups, and damaged cooperation between people. This presents a threat to all reforms aimed at the modernization of the curriculum as well as the methods and means of teaching and learning. It is much easier to refurbish buildings and replace textbooks than to modify solid didactic methods. The Polish teachers, who worked in the schools of so called "real socialism", later had to reject the values they were previously supposed to believe in. They ultimately experienced a succession of reforms every few years with subsequent changes in curriculum and teaching methods. Hence, they became proficient in the art of mimicry. Some of them report on applying innovative methods expected by the authorities, but change very little, perhaps nothing at all, in their relation to students or teaching methods.’

Support by government policy, constraints and possibilities

Moreover, although policymakers have seen the need for practicing democracy and its values, the support that the Ministry could provide to education practice is limited by political constraints. Even if specific practical programmes are offered to teachers (by governmental or non-governmental organizations), teachers might be afraid of confronting parents and local education or religious authorities when implementing them. Because of this, many practitioners postulate maintaining and even developing a further pluralistic approach to education:

The present conservative government in Poland is accused by many of undermining democracy and democratic values in political and social life. It intends to introduce, amongst others, changes in the education system, through changes in curriculum (e.g. more history and less knowledge about society), to changes in the content of citizenship education. While the values listed in the preamble of the education Law Act remains unchanged; there is a significant shift in teaching values. This shift can be termed ‘preaching national orientation’. The major school subjects for the education of Polish citizens are history and Polish literature.

Conclusion

There are three levels to think about in relation to teaching common values and citizenship education in Polish schools:

First, there is the present state of affairs and the intention of subordinating citizenship education to nationalistic values, with limited attention given to values of liberal democracy.

Second, there are issues related to existing value conflicts within the society, which also have an impact on schools and education. These conflicts can be described along the following dimensions: (i) tradition vs. modernity, and (ii) close vs. open societal organization.

Third, Polish schools suffer from the traditional approach to education as a transfer of knowledge and cognitive skills, with a traditional understanding of the role of the teacher (as the one 'who knows best') in this process.

Part 2 (Violetta Kopińska)

We asked Violetta Kopińska to specify recent developments.

Recent developments in the educational system

In the early 90s it seemed that the educational system in Poland would be heading in the direction of decentralisation, openness to bottom-up initiative, and self-government. In the last 30 years, the structure of the school system in Poland has been reformed twice (in 1999 and 2017). Both reforms were introduced in the atmosphere of numerous protests. Both were top-down. The first reform were introduced in lower secondary schools, the second was the return to structure before 1999. Education law is very unstable. The national core curricula have been altered many times – most recently due to the last education reform (implemented since 2017).

Although Polish schools and teachers have some level of autonomy, it is very limited. All schools have to follow the national core curricula set by the Ministry of National Education. They are established in the form of generally applicable law. Teachers can create their own curriculum, but they must be consistent with the national one. National core curricula also make up a student assessment criterion, which is followed by a criterion for constructing examinations. Schools are under the obligation to enforce national core curricula and are under pedagogical supervision in this respect. Textbooks can be chosen from the list approved by the Ministry (every textbook must be in line with national core curriculum), but teachers may also decide to use materials prepared by other educational publishers or by the teachers themselves. In practice, using a textbook in school is an unwritten rule.

Citizenship education

The importance of citizenship education is also emphasized in the introducing part of the national core curriculum where general tasks of schools are formulated.

> 'These tasks includes: fostering the development of citizenship, patriotic and social attitudes of learners; reinforcing the feeling of national identity, attachment to history and national traditions; preparing for and encourage to taking actions supporting the school and local environments, including involvement in voluntary service, and upbringing of children and youth in the spirit of acceptance and respect for the other human being […]'. (Ministry of National Education 2017, 2018)

But this declarative language do not simply translate into learning goals and outcomes in national core curricula. Indeed, learning objectives and outcomes related to national identity are well represented in these documents but a detailed analysis of national core curricula shows that acceptance and respect for the other human being (mentioned above), issues related to equality/diversity/anti-discrimination are treated marginally. Although previous national core curriculum was similar in this area, the education reform of 2017 contributed to further deterioration of the situation in this respect. Firstly, the provision obliging schools to conduct anti-discrimination activities has been removed from the applicable acts of law; and secondly, the political context of learning of citizenship education has changed (Kopińska 2019).

Citizenship education in Poland focuses on preserving tradition, transmitting national heritage, emphasising the history and knowledge of the country, its institutions and law (Kopińska, 2019). In contrast, both general objectives and specific learning outcomes related to citizenship participation are underrepresented. In the national core curricula at all stages of school education, in all school subjects there is only one general objective addresses citizenship engagement, and only 13 learning outcomes (out of thousands) that refer to citizenship participation (10 of them pertaining to the area of knowledge rather than civic skills or attitudes) (Kopińska 2019a).

The most difficult is discussion about LGBT+. Teachers may be afraid to bring up this topic because the conservative government and the Catholic Church authorities define it as imposing ideology, and the Minister of Education obliges school superintendents to control schools in this regard (Kopińska, 2019). The Catholic Church is very active in the discussion about values in the Polish society. And its prominent presence in schools often pushes both curricula and education practice into the direction of conservative and limited understanding and teaching of common values.

According to ICCS 2009, Polish students evaluated their influence on school decisions as very low (Wiłkomirska 2013). This result is confirmed by other study conducted in Poland in 2015 (Cierzniewska, Gackowska, Lewicka, 2017). Reserchers state that young people have a very limited influence on their school life. Their fields of activity are strongly limited by constant teacher control, which creates a mere veneer of self-governance and, as a result, discourages action (Cierzniewska et al. 2017). Although the student self-government is obligatory in every school, has no legally determined decision-making power (National Parliament, 2017, Article 85). The legal competences of the student self-government have an opinion- and proposal-giving character. The scope of democracy experienced by children in schools is not secured by appropriate legal regulations. It depends on the school (Cierzniewska et al. 2017).

3.9. Portugal

Isabel Menezes, University of Porto

Citizenship education does not have a linear history in Portuguese educational policy. This is a direct consequence of the experience of dictatorship (1926-1974), during which education was supposed to cultivate obedient 'subjects', respectful of authority. During that period, "God, Fatherland and the Family" were major values that permeated the whole curricular experience and were inculcated through the teaching of contents and the *ethos* and organisation of the schools. It is not surprising that fears of indoctrination have been present in the educational policy discourse since the institution of democracy (1974). By those days, even if the constitutional goal was the institution of socialism, curricular devices aimed at fostering some kind of civic/political development of young students (proposed in 1975) were rapidly suspended for fear of ideological inculcation (1976). There was a clear resistance to any explicit definition of "common values" or political learning in schools. This is not to say that education was value-free, but any emphasis on this dimension was always done with extreme caution. Only by the time of Portugal's entry into the European Economic Community (1986), there were political conditions for the institution of the Education Act – Law 46/86 (LBSE) that explicitly defined values and strategies for the education of citizens. Although revised several times (in 1997, 2005 and 2009), the LBSE has kept its defining goals and therefore continues to frame educational policy in this domain, in spite of major curricular changes in the last 30 years.

The LBSE assumes the right to education and culture as a basic right of Portuguese citizens, stressing the need for "a just and effective equality of opportunities in school access and success", as well as the "freedom to learn and to teach". It states that the educational system should contribute (Article 2, point 4 and 5):

> "to the whole and harmonious development of the individuals' personality, fostering the education of free, responsible, autonomous and compassionate citizens who value the human dimension of work",

> and promote "the democratic and pluralist spirit, that respects others and their ideas, open to dialogue and the free exchange of opinions, educating citizens capable of judging with critical and creative spirit their social environment and to commit to its progressive transformation".

Therefore, the goals of education do support the promotion of common values, in line with a democratic and pluralistic regime that depends on critical and participative citizens in a cultural European tradition. The LBSE suggests that this involves the whole curriculum under the designation, until today, of "personal and social education", together with the whole school experience, including governance. As an example, pupils participate in the management bodies of secondary schools and can establish students' associations. However, during the last decades, educational policy has tended to balance between a focus on the teaching of "traditional" subjects and concerns with citizenship education and the whole development of children and youngsters. But the predominant narrative has been on the need to react against the supposed (though never demonstrated) decline of educational standards with a strong emphasis on national exams or assessment tests. This is not to say that education is not conceived beyond its more strictly cognitive dimension, or that the teaching of values or citizenship education is not a discursive concern even in public discussion about education. However, this is more a rhetorical concern than the object of a systematic educational policy. There is however a considerable diversity and some schools emphasise this dimension more openly than others.

The school inspectorate should include these concerns as criteria for a school's external evaluation. For example, a document issued by the General Inspection for 2016-17 refers to the need for schools to demonstrate what is named as "social results", which includes "participation in the life of the school" or "forms of solidarity". However, this is relatively residual in comparison with the emphasis on promoting academic success and preventing academic failure and school drop-out.

Nevertheless, since 2016 there has been a stronger emphasis on citizenship education under a government by the socialist party supported by a left coalition. In 2017, a Students' Profile by the End of Compulsory Schooling was issued. This is a reference document that defines the Principles, Vision, Values and Competence Areas of the education system as a whole. The profile "sets out what young people are expected to achieve at the end of compulsory schooling, and for this, the commitment of the whole school, the teachers' actions and the commitment of families and parents."[42]

As stated on page 10 of this document, "the young learner is expected to be a **citizen** who:

> Develops multiple literacies so that he can critically analyse and question reality, evaluate and select information, formulate hypotheses and make informed decisions in their daily life;

> Is free, autonomous and responsible, self-aware and aware of the world around;

> Is able to cope with the transformation and uncertainty of a fast changing world;

> Acknowledges the importance and the challenges offered by Arts, Humanities, Science and Technology for the social, cultural, economic and environmental sustainability of Portugal and the world;

> Is autonomous and able to make use of several developed skills: critical thinking, creativity, collaborative working skills and communication skills;

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[42] https://cidadania.dge.mec.pt/sites/default/files/pdfs/students-profile.pdf

> Is able to continue lifelong learning as a decisive factor in their personal development and social intervention;
> Knows and respects the fundamental principles of democratic society and the rights, guarantees and freedoms on which it is based;
> Values respect for human dignity, the exercise of full citizenship, solidarity with others, cultural diversity and democratic debate;
> Rejects all forms of discrimination and social exclusion".

Additionally, citizenship and participation are mentioned as core values, defined as 'Demonstrating respect for human and cultural diversity and acting in accordance with human rights principles; negotiating conflict resolution on behalf of solidarity and ecological sustainability; being an active citizen, by means of taking the initiative and being an entrepreneur' (p. 11).

National strategy

In the same year (2017), a National Strategy for Citizenship Education (ENEC) was defined, including:

> 'a set of rights and duties that must be present in citizen education of the Portuguese children and youth. The aim is to have in the future adults with civic conduct that foster equality in interpersonal relations, the integration of difference, the respect for Human Rights and the enhancement of concepts and values of democratic citizenship' (p. 1).

According to the ENEC, citizenship education should be addressed from pre-school education to the end of compulsory education (final year of secondary education – grade 12) and includes two main curricular strategies: a transdisciplinary approach during lower primary education (grades 1-to 4) and upper secondary education (grades 10 to 12); a specific subject, *Citizenship and Development*, to be implemented during upper primary (grades 5 to 6) and lower secondary (grades 7 to 9) education.

The curricular approach involves classroom level and school level, with reference to the significance of promoting "an open and free atmosphere" for decision-making, which influences and shapes the school culture and involves partnerships with other community organisations and municipalities. There are also recommendations for the inclusion of citizenship education on initial teacher training and the training of non-teaching staff, for the definition of a school coordinator whose profile is defined, together with a recommendation for the profile of teachers lecturing Citizenship and Development. The implementation involved a huge effort of in-service teacher training, but in 2020 there has been an intense public discussion and petitions against and in favour of the specific subject. The main objections were related to gender equality issues, especially related to anti-homophobic and anti-transphobic topics.

At other levels of the curricula, there have been no major changes, in the sense that reference to values of democracy and tolerance are included in some subjects (Maternal Language, History, Geography or EFL or Philosophy). In vocational education (grades 10 to 12), a special subject (Integration Area) includes discussing contemporary political/social topics. However, some recent research suggests that many of these topics are approached with little connection with students' daily lives, The discussion of daily controversial issues therefore tends to be relatively absent.

Influence EU

The emphasis on knowledge of national and European history is central. However, when it comes to more controversial aspects of the national history, such as colonialism, the dictatorship or the colonial wars, it appears that the concern is more to present a factual, balanced account of the past – viewed as "the past" and not necessarily related to "the present". A recent recommendation on

Citizenship and Anti-Racist Education (2020) by the Portuguese Education Council emphasises the need for changes in this regard. This is also true in relation to the EU and its institutions, which are described more in an historical perspective that as influencing our daily life. Nevertheless, the international orientation is clear with an international and cosmopolitan orientation that favours Europe but is not limited to it. EFL and the teaching of other foreign languages is certainly a significant curricular context for this.

There are explicit statements to articulate with the local community, which is formally represented in the schools' government bodies. Municipalities continue to have a growing role in the management of local schools, even if to a lesser extent when it concerns decisions about the curriculum, which for the most part continues to be centrally defined by the national government. Nevertheless, there are growing examples of volunteering and community service projects in schools, more as a result of the autonomy of the schools themselves than because of specific policies. There is not exactly a system that allows for school choice, as children attend the school in their area of residence (even if exceptions to this general principle are permitted). Still, there is clearly much to be done to improve equity and social justice in schools.

The EU can issue recommendations for educational policy or to promote research in this domain – as it has done several times in the past – and can introduce programmes that recognise, support and foster children and youth citizenship and active participation. But the EU also has the political responsibility to embrace more participatory formats of interaction with its citizens, higher levels of responsiveness and accountability in relation to their concerns, and an actual commitment to diminish the distance-to-power and anomy frequently experienced by European citizens. In one of our recent projects, one of the interviewers said the EU should not give up its role as a "beacon of democracy" and of the idea of community of "we, the Europeans". This is not an easy task, but it is one that is foundational for any sense of common citizenship.

3.10. Spain

Maria Rosa Buxarrais and Eric Ortega, University of Barcelona

With consultation of Marta Estelles of the University of Cantabria

Spain is the 4th largest European country. The Spanish State became a member of the European Union in 1986. The country is internally organised as a 'State of Autonomies', with 17 autonomous communities. The diversity in social groups and cultures is mainly due to the considerable differences between these territories, which even have their own languages (e.g. Catalan, Aranese, Basque and Galician, next to Spanish). Adding to this diversity is the Romani culture, deeply rooted throughout the Spanish territory. Since the end of the 20th century, due to a great wave of labour immigration, Latin American and Maghreb cultures also became part of Spanish society. According to the official register, out of the total population of 46,438,422 inhabitants, citizens from other countries account for 4,418,898 residents (INE National Institute of Statistics, 1 January 2016).

One of the main characteristics of the Spanish education system is the difference between public and private education. The system comprises three types of schools: public schools (68%), private schools (6.5%) and charter schools (25.5%) that are mainly managed by religious orders. Public schools are publicly owned and run. Private schools are privately owned and managed. Charter schools are privately owned but publicly funded and follow the same curriculum as public schools. Another of the main characteristics of the Spanish educational system is the fact that the Spanish State creates the legal framework for the educational system in the form of an organic law. And it is the different autonomous communities that finally develop and concretely implement the broad

authority they have in educational matters. Thus, the ways in which the guidelines and practices are materialised can change (and in fact often do) substantially between autonomous communities.

Policy of Citizenship Education

The introduction of the subject Education for Citizenship in Spanish schools dates back to 2006, when the Socialist Party was in power. This was a curriculum reform that introduced a new subject called Education for Citizenship and Human Rights, designed for students in the final stage of primary education (10-12 years of age) and for students in one of the first three years of compulsory secondary education. Further, the subject Philosophy and Citizenship was introduced for students in secondary schools. The inclusion of this subject stirred up much controversy in Spanish politics. The Popular Party, which belongs to the Christian Democrat International, considered this move as the moral and political indoctrination of students, and was strongly opposed to it, alleging that the State was seriously invading every citizen's education. The Catholic Church also objected to it, arguing that it was an attempt at State indoctrination on secularism. One of the points most criticised by the Church concerned sexual education, and the teaching of multi-parental or homosexual families as an alternative vision to the traditional values.

Subsequently, when the Popular Party came to power in 2013, one of the key reforms of their new educational law (known as LOMCE) was the suppression of the subject of education for citizenship and the return to the old ethical values in compulsory secondary education and civic and social values in primary education. This subject is only taught to those children not taking the subject of (Catholic) religion. This implies exclusion in relation to education in these common values. Furthermore, this law has eliminated topics considered controversial in Spanish culture and country, a fact that does not contribute to the pluralistic and democratic education called for by the Constitution. Since the basic curriculum document does not specify objectives on the matter, each secondary school can propose its own agenda for citizenship education. The same law permits autonomous communities to establish the subjects they wish to teach. Further, there has been discussion about how these common values should be taught in schools, whether transversally or as independent subjects. For all of this, the educational renewal movements were completely contrary to the proposal of the PP Party.

However, with the return to power of the Socialist Party in 2019 and the approval of a new educational law at the end of 2020 (known as LOMLOE), the situation of citizenship education in Spain has returned, with some changes, to a situation similar to the one it presented in 2006. These changes relate to the recognition of the importance of addressing sustainable development in accordance with the provisions of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development adopted by the UN General Assembly. According to this Agenda, "education for sustainable development and global citizenship must be included in the educational plans and programmes of all compulsory education, incorporating the knowledge, skills, values and attitudes needed by all people to live successful lives, make informed decisions and take an active role - both locally and globally - in addressing and solving the problems common to all the world's citizens. Education for sustainable development and global citizenship includes education for peace and human rights, international understanding and intercultural education, as well as education for ecological transition, without neglecting local action, essential to address the climate emergency, so that students know what consequences our daily actions have on the planet and consequently generate empathy towards their natural and social environment." (LOMLOE, 2020)

Hence, in accordance with this plan, the new law of the Spanish education system adds in the third cycle of primary education (10-12 years of age) an area of Education in Civic and Ethical Values in which special attention is paid to ethical reflection and knowledge and respect for Human and Children's Rights, to those contained in the Spanish Constitution, to education for sustainable

development and world citizenship, to the social function of taxes and tax justice, to equality of women and men, and to the value of respect for diversity. The overall goal is to foster a critical spirit, a culture of peace and non-violence and respect for the environment and animals. It is also included in the law that all students in secondary education will take the subject of Education in Civic and Ethical Values, the contents of which, although adapted to the new age group, will deal with the topics described above.

Education for sustainable development and global citizenship is also expected to have an impact on teacher training processes and on access to the teaching profession. For this reason, the new law establishes that by 2022 the knowledge, skills and attitudes related to education for sustainable development and global citizenship will have to be incorporated into the system of access to the teaching profession. Likewise, by 2025 all teaching staff must have received qualifications in the goals set out in the 2030 Agenda.

Practice of Citizenship Education

Although the elimination of the subject of citizenship education from the curriculum in 2013 has been a reality in the Spanish education system, some teachers have continued to insist on promoting critical, active and responsible citizenship, and some schools have been promoting democracy through different approaches, such as:

1   Through what we call the hidden curriculum or school culture, i.e. the everyday educational practices in the classroom. An example that illustrates this is the establishment of a pyramid of roles in the classroom, so that each student is responsible for a different field (e.g. ICT, playground duty, and mediators in the case of conflict). Moreover, the incorporation of methodologies and dynamics at the classroom and school level enables the development of values such as dialogue, democracy and tolerance, and the use of media to arrive at a critical understanding of issues.

2   Through planned activities in the school, for example, activities to incorporate students coming from other countries such as researching about their different traditions, music, art, and culture. There are also schools that organise an annual conference on values, where a different value is discussed every year, always keeping in mind the overall value of tolerance. Another project that attracted our attention is entitled 'We Are What We Do', and aims to provide every single student of the school with the opportunity to propose an idea for an action that would improve the quality of the classroom, of the school, or the lives of people who are part of their world.

3   Through activities relating to ethical education. This can be achieved in two ways: cross-curricular discussions or tutoring sessions. In these sessions, students choose 'delegates' or class representatives. Delegates are present during evaluation sessions and are the link between their peers and teachers. Delegates can also suggest topics and activities that they believe to be interesting for the class as a group.

4   Through student participation. For example, schools hold regular assemblies where problems or difficulties are discussed and solutions are proposed. Students are actively involved in the school council, after having been nominated as candidates and elected. Class delegates also participate actively in the decisions of the class and the resolution of problems within the group. Some schools encourage projects requiring student participation. One of the more successful initiatives involving the active participation of students in the community is that of Community service-learning. A relationship between municipalities and secondary schools has also created support for campaigns such as Human Rights Cities.

5   Developing critical thinking is kept in mind by most high school teachers. This involves shaping citizens who are able to tackle world problems to the extent of their

possibilities and encouraging students to become agents of change to transform and improve their own environment, society and the world. Some of the schools use NGO materials and trainings.

The new law appears in part to be an attempt to reverse this situation of activities in some schools. The educational policy changes of 2013 have led to an obsession for excellence, and are on the way to a type of education that is more scientific that humanistic. This has led to approaches that promote excellence in individuals, thus stimulating competitiveness among students. And it has meant, in some cases, a return to the use of traditional methodologies, of memorisation and knowledge transmission. Fortunately, there are also teachers who believe in a methodological change, opting for cooperative learning, problem-based learning, and participation in projects.

Conclusion, discussion and recommendations

Every element of the moral and citizenship education policy is difficult to realise in secondary schools, as the curriculum has been extended and there is not even enough time to implement it in its totality. At the same time, the interest in moral and citizenship education, and in the last few years also community service learning, is increasing. Research shows that academic success depends on how students have been educated in these common values. Working on a personal life project and reflecting on the meaning of life are fundamental elements in the development of common values.

We furthermore add the following recommendations:

> A crucial issue is the devaluation of the humanities and strengthening of scientific disciplines. For the teaching of values, it is important to consider this aspect.
> To promote a cultural space that immerses its inhabitants in a civic and democratic co-existence calls for appropriate behaviours and expectations.
> An improvement in teacher training is required, as well as the time for teachers to work on network-building and to take advantage of experiences of other centres and school cultures. Teachers should be provided with (as they also call for) greater flexibility in organising schedules and curriculum contents.

Contribution of Marta Estelles

In Spain, discussions about citizenship education began in 2006 with its introduction as a discrete subject called 'Education for Citizenship and Human Rights' into the National Curriculum, following the guidelines of the EU (2002) (Engel 2014; Gómez and García 2013; González 2014). Before that date, CE was contemplated as an educational aim by the Spanish Constitution (1978). However, it received limited attention (González & Beas 2012; Naval & Arbués 2016). In the 2006 Law of Education (LOE, 2006), CE was implemented as a compulsory subject to be taught at both primary and secondary levels. This subject was not well-received by conservative groups that considered it an imposition on moral values (Engel, 2014). With the change of government in 2012, CE was replaced with two optional subjects: 'Civic Education' and 'Ethical Values' for primary and secondary education respectively. The current Law of Education (LOMCE, 2013) still considers 'essential the formation of active citizens and the acquisition of civic and social skills' (97866), explicitly following the recommendations of the European Council and Parliament (2006). Yet, the importance given to CE content, skills and values is substantially less than the one given by the previous National curriculum and its approach aligns with the conservative and neoliberal turn of the current Spanish curriculum that combines conservative values together with the ideals of entrepreneurship, creativity, individualism and personal development (see Castellví & González, 2020). As a result of these debates and policies about CE, most Faculties of Education in Spain have included CE in their stated goals (Estepa, 2012; Rodríguez & Moreno, 2015).

Yet, the impact of these changes in students' civic engagement is difficult to gauge. First, few large studies exist on this issue. Second, the high number of agents involved in the political socialization processes makes it difficult to isolate influences of schooling and CE (Lopes et al., 2009). According to the International Civic and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS), Spanish students strongly support democratic values, as well as defend gender equality and immigrants' rights more than most of their European neighbours. However, their citizenship efficacy and their interest in political affairs remain very low. While their civic knowledge scores are satisfactory, students do not want to discuss politics and their civic participation rates are below average (ICCS, 2009). A lack of participatory culture was deduced from students' and teachers' answers (ICCS, 2009). This last finding also coincides with what other studies have also shown (e.g., García & De Alba, 2012; Sant, 2013).

Fostering citizen participatory skills at school is probably one of the biggest challenges that CE faces in Spain. Some of the difficulties that lie behind this challenge are the following: an overloaded academicist curriculum (Estellés, 2013), the widespread use of (conservative) textbooks (De la Caba & López, 2006), a generalized teachers' reluctance to deal with current political and social issues (Estellés et al., 2021) and a lack of educational initiatives that strengthen the links between schools and wider society (Sant & Davies, 2017). Accordingly, my recommendations to improve CE in Spanish schools would be the following:

> A less overloaded curriculum that gives teachers more autonomy to focus on current social and political issues that have personal significance for students.
> Support grassroots groups of teachers to design teaching resources for CE that promote students' engagement in current political and social issues.
> Provide preservice and in-service teacher development to help teachers deal with the difficulties of teaching current (controversial) political and social issues.
> Promote initiatives that foster students' participatory skills such as children's and youth councils, town council sessions open to the public, participation in community groups and campaigns, etc.

3.11. Analysis of policy in EU Member States

Policy

1   Growing importance of citizenship education

The reports of the 10 EU Member States show that in all countries there is growing attention for citizenship education. There are many debates, policy initiatives, and activities in and around the schools. Europe is not an exception in this focus on citizenship education. Worldwide there is a growing attention in policy and research on citizenship education. The EU Member States are in the frontline of this development.

2   Debates about citizenship

In all Member States involved in this study, there are formal and informal debates about what is citizenship education and how it should be taught. The debates show that it is not easy to find a consensus on the content and the relevance of citizenship education. However, this exactly shows what citizenship education is: It is about organising society and the life of its citizens and giving meaning to it. It is inherent to a democracy that there are debates about the direction society should take and the role of different participants in it. Democracy – even in its different articulations – requires deliberation, consensus, and policy with respect for minorities. Regarding citizenship education, most of the involved Member States find it difficult to define what citizenship education is or should be (in particular the Netherlands, Greece, Croatia Spain, Germany, and Hungary).

3   Influence of history and context

The debates on citizenship and citizenship education also show historical events and experiences like dictatorship, Nazism, communism, colonialism, and responses to these historical events influence the supposed heritage of a nation as well as the discussions about the content of citizenship education (e.g. Germany, Lithuania, Greece, Hungary, Portugal). Recent contextual developments like immigration also influence discussions about the aims of citizenship education (Greece, Germany). The relationship between citizenship education and religion is complex, in particular in countries where religion has a strong position in educational policy (e.g. Poland, the Netherlands, Spain). The reports show that all countries are struggling with their history and how to incorporate their vision on their history in citizenship education. Again, this is part of a lively political culture and in fact shows the importance of citizenship education as a process of rethinking and sometimes reconstructing history.

4   Citizenship education at the heart of nation building

The debates show that citizenship education is at the heart of nation building and of organising education. It is about designing possible futures for society and its members (in particular Finland, Lithuania, Portugal, Croatia). The debates show the relevance of citizenship education. When there are debates about the content of citizenship education it paradoxically shows the importance of citizenship education. It also puts forward the question of the role of education in developing citizenship; on how societies can stimulate and influence the development of citizenship through their educational system. All involved Member States choose education, and in particular formal schooling, as an important tool to develop citizenship. They all, more or less, have a constructive vision on actively stimulating the development of citizenship through education. But the countries differ in their vision and in how they seek to steer the process.

5   Political, but not too close

Given the ideological sensitivity of the concept, it is not easy to arrive at a consensus on the content and position of citizenship education. Some of the country reports (e.g. the Netherlands, Germany, Croatia) show that it is difficult to come to a consensus, whereas other reports (Spain, Hungary, Poland, Lithuania) mention that changes in the government always have a great influence on the content and the position of citizenship education. It is of course good and inevitable that politics influences the content of education, but addressing actual political issues too much can obscure what could be considered as the democratic core of citizenship education. Nations should strive to develop a citizenship education vision that has broad support and that shows different perspectives on how to practice democracy.

6   Focus on democratic values and on adaptation

In most Member States there is a strong focus at the abstract level on moral values like democracy, freedom, justice and inclusion. At a more practical level they try to balance freedom and adaptation, and individual development and social concern. A focus on active participation and acceptance of the rule of law is also visible in most countries. In all Member States there are tensions between adaptation and individual freedom, both in debates and in educational practices. To have a strong democracy, individual freedom and respect for human rights are crucial. However, quite a lot of Member States and in particular Poland and Hungary put a lot of emphasis on discipline and adaptation and less on freedom and critical engagement.

7   Nationalism and international orientation

Citizenship education is, also in the European Union, a responsibility of the nation states. Of course international developments such as globalisation, migration and climate change and their

ideological 'refractions' have an impact on the national orientation. In many Member States there is however a nationalist orientation in citizenship policy and education. There is a growing attention for global developments, but the nationalist orientation on culture and heritage is strong in many Member States. The national / global contradiction is one of the contested ideas about citizenship, often with a relationship to social class. The elite and middle class have an international orientation, the working class more a nationalist orientation; this also applies at the level of students (Germany, the Netherlands).

8 European citizenship

The European Union is another political domain in which citizens of the Member States have to function. With the growing collaboration in the EU and the influence of the EU on social, cultural and political life in the Member States, European citizenship is becoming more visible and important and is part of national debates in which the nationalist orientation is often strongly promoted (particularly Poland, Hungary). Several Member States (e.g. Lithuania, Finland, Portugal, Croatia) describe in their reports the positive influence of EU policy and actions on the implementation of citizenship education. A more explicit focus on a European citizenship in the EU educational policy can help in bringing about a balance between a national, a European and a global citizenship.

9 Citizenship education and NGOs

Most Member States mention quite a lot of activities together with NGOs, often in the local community (Greece, Spain). It's important that such activities effectively combine participation, reflection and change, to make democracy stronger and society more inclusive and just. NGOs often benefit from EU grants, in particular through the Europe for Citizens programme (now CERV). NGOs argue that a more regular funding can make their work more sustainable. For schools, NGOs can make the link with the community and society more concrete.

10 Implementation of whole school approach to citizenship education

All the Member States involved are working on the implementation of citizenship education, although this is not easy. The complexity and the contested and political nature of citizenship education are fuelling many debates in politics and in schools. All elements of the whole school approach seem important (e.g. Finland and Portugal). In recent years there is a particular focus on thinking about a special subject, to introduce a more dialogical learning environment, and to seeing the school as a democratic experience for students. The other elements of the whole school approach, the integration of citizenship goals in other subjects and the link of schools with the community and society, require more attention. Curriculum development and improving teachers' qualifications for such democratic and dialogical citizenship education should be intensified.

11 Reinforcing the position of citizenship education in education

Many Member States mention that the strong focus on the 'basics' and central exams makes it difficult for schools to really put an emphasis on citizenship education. Schools are monitored intensively on their added effects in these subjects, while the monitoring of the development of citizenship is not strong. This is not a recommendation to assess all aspects of citizenship education, but to create space for schools to work on citizenship education. It in any case applies that the activities of the schools should be monitored, not the student outcomes.

12 Assessment of students

Assessing students on their citizenship development is difficult, in particular with respect to attitudes. Assessing students should mainly mean assessing the activities done by the students. Measuring the outcomes of citizenship education, in particular attitudes, can conflict with the

freedom to express an opinion. Measuring the citizenship development of students, like in the ICCS-study, should give in particular feedback about the effectiveness of educational systems, curricula and teaching methodologies.

13   Combining and expanding activities

To really improve citizenship education requires a combination of supporting new developments and coordinating relevant activities within a larger and coherent framework. Interesting examples of more coordination can be seen in Germany, Lithuania and Portugal.

The reports and the literature show that in many EU Member States, scholars are doing research on citizenship education. There is a growing number of qualified researchers in the domain of citizenship education: in curriculum studies, classroom research, and developmental studies. Recently many researchers in Southern Europe entered the field that used to be dominated by North-Western European scholars. Increasingly, researchers from Eastern Europe are also publishing in international journals and books. Cooperation in development and research can influence citizenship education in nations.

14   Citizenship education as part of a European Education

Citizenship education is of course part of a more general perspective on education. In a recent report for the CULT committee "Towards a European Education – Critical Challenges ahead"[43] the CULT Committee ask for 'Renewing citizenship education programmes at a time of economic globalisation, cultural interchange and global environmental awareness, by mobilising the various tools of global citizenship education in schools, both instrumental (global competencies) and humanist, in order to develop empathy and sensitivity to cultural and environmental diversity (global consciousness).'

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[43] https://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/STUD/2020/652217/IPOL_STU(2020)652217_EN.pdf

4. Conclusions and recommendations

The aim of this study was to analyse how EU actions are contributing to the implementation of citizenship education in the EU and its Member States. In the final conclusions we will in particular focus on how the EU can further improve the implementation of citizenship education at the EU level and the level of the Member States.

EU level

1   Relevance of citizenship education in the EU-policy

There is a growing emphasis on the importance of citizenship education in the EU. The EU sees itself as a community with a moral purpose. It has a common purpose that is at the heart of the foundation of the EU and is necessary for its future. Citizenship education is important to educate youngsters about relevant values and practices and to get engaged in the EU and in its Members States as active citizens who support democracy. The past decade clearly shows that the EU is not only a technical and economic cooperation, but also a cultural one: a culture of democracy. A growing concern about citizenship education is an expression of the moral purpose of the collaboration in the EU.

2   Lively dialogue about the content of citizenship education

In the EU and in its Member States there is often a dialogue about the meaning of moral values and different articulations of democracy. The main focus in these dialogues is on active participation, inclusion and deliberation. There is less explicit focus on freedom, human rights and social justice, though these values are not less important. Focusing more on these values would stress not only processes of democracy like participation and dialogue, but also the moral content of democracy: freedom and social justice. A lively dialogue about citizenship education in politics and in civil society is in itself a model of citizenship education. It shows not only students but all citizens what citizenship and citizenship education can mean.

3   EU citizenship and national citizenship

Citizens of EU Member States have a formal citizenship within the own nation and within the EU. There are procedures and values that are similar for the national and the EU context. There are however different institutions, histories and policies at the EU level than at the national level. And at the national level there are commonalities and differences between the 27 EU Member States. The EU policy on citizenship education should be aimed at both the EU citizenship and on stimulating national citizenship education that is congruent with the EU's common values.

4   Different levels in the EU-policy: a gap between the abstract level and concrete activities

At abstract levels there is quite a lot of emphasis on the importance of citizenship education. However, when it comes to concrete actions, initiatives and research, this emphasis is less strong. Two very concrete examples are: in the Europe for Education 2030 text there is in the beginning a strong accent on values and citizenship education. Yet, when it comes to concrete targets, values and citizenship education are no longer mentioned. A second example is the Horizon 2020 and Horizon Europe research programmes. Again, there is a lot of focus on values, but there is no special call for citizenship education. There is a gap in policy between the abstract level and concrete activities: between the ideal curriculum and the formal curriculum.

5   The EU and its Member States

Citizenship and citizenship education really touch the identity of nations and its inhabitants. It is about what citizens have in common and what are valuable differences. The EU as a political identity is based on the value of democracy. But within that concept, different articulations are possible and nations have the possibility to make their own choices. Culture and education are treated as the domain of each Member State, where each state has a strong influence. This is not full autonomy but a relative autonomy, since each Member State has to manoeuvre within the concept of democracy that is the foundation of the EU.

6   Transformation of ideals into concrete activities

The growing support for citizenship education is apparent in declarations of the European Council and in other policy documents. There is also a growth in actions, initiatives and research. However, it seems that the transformation of ideals into concrete activities is still in an initial stage. Given the high relevance of democratic citizenship and citizenship education, the amount of actions, initiatives and research should be increased.

7   Integration and coordination

Attention for citizenship is part of many actions. This gives many possibilities to start activities and research. However, this diffusion of initiatives makes it more difficult to integrate knowledge, to link activities and to form an overview of the current state-of-the-art. Integration and coordination can be stimulated by special calls for citizenship education, review studies, and a coordinating organisation that brings the information together and can stimulate a more integrated and sustainable approach to citizenship education, in which learning from the experiences of others is a crucial element of working on citizenship education in policy, research and practice.

National level

1   Government and social and cultural groups

It is interesting that many of discussions and policies at the national level are similar to the ones taking place at the EU level. Also at the national level there are debates on what citizenship education and its central concepts and values should be. Similar to the tension between the EU and the Member States at the EU level, at the national level there is the tension between the state government and different social and cultural groups who claim their part of the citizenship education of youngsters, particularly regarding the non-political but social and cultural elements of citizenship.

2   Curriculum policy

More than at the EU level, at the nation level a government can make a curriculum policy that sets out the goals and activities for citizenship education. In the country studies, we saw that all countries are working on policy and practices of citizenship education. There is a growing concern about the role of citizenship education and its crucial components. Of all educational topics, citizenship education is the most 'nationalist' but most Member States also realise that they are part of the European Union and have partly a joint history and future. Within Member States there is the idea, in particular among researchers but probably also among some politicians and teachers, that one can learn from each other through collaboration, exchange of experiences, and participating in comparative research.

A more coherent approach to citizenship in the EU and the EU Member States

Given the importance for the EU and the EU Member States to sustain democracy and to educate its inhabitants, in particular young people, to become engaged citizens who are actively involved in contributing to a democratic society that respects human rights and tries to strengthen a more justice and inclusive democracy, it is necessary to develop a more coherent policy on citizenship education in the EU and in its Member States.

This doesn't mean imposing a particular view on citizenship, but raises the challenge of having dialogues between different articulations of values, to learn from each other and to respect other ideas within the framework of democracy. Respecting democracy is the bottom line for a critical and engaged dialogue on citizenship and citizenship education.

This more coherent approach needs two organisational pillars, both at the EU and Member States level: 1.) An agency that brings together different experiences and stimulates new developments; 2.) A research programme that initiates within a general framework more research on elements of citizenship education and that, by including many Member States, has a strong comparative approach. Smooth cooperation between the two organisational pillars is of course necessary.

Agency for citizenship education

The agency should bring together curriculum material and experiences. But the agency also makes analyses (reviews) of the developments and shows what can be done more or differently. The development of curriculum guidelines like the Key competences can also be included among this agency's responsibilities. The agency can work together with Eurydice, which focuses on policy makers, but a source for curriculum developers and teachers is also needed. The agency will have a strong link with the Erasmus+ programme and other actions that are geared to developing new activities like the Europe for Citizens. An important task of the agency is to help people that are doing interesting work but are insufficiently fluent in English to publish in international journals, so that their work gets the attention it deserves. The agency can be part of the European Education and Culture Executive Agency. But if citizenship education is truly considered a priority, then a separate agency or subagency on citizenship education is desirable.

Research programme

There are already some interesting research projects on citizenship education but, given the importance of the topic and the crucial role of schools, a larger and more coherent research programme that covers all elements of a whole school approach to citizenship with a strong international and comparative approach is necessary.

The programme should address the different elements of the whole school approach and their integration:

- Specific citizenship subjects
- Integrated in other subjects
- Cross-curricular projects, often with out-of-school activities
- Teaching and learning: in particular reflective, dialogical and democratic learning processes
- School culture, in particular more democratic practices and students' participation
- Inclusion of different social and cultural groups in schools.

The research on citizenship education and the Member States reports show that there are presently a number of critical topics which need to be addressed in research on curriculum development, teacher practice and professional development:

> Controversial issues. In many countries the debate about the content of citizenship education generates strong tensions: in policy, in society, and in the classroom. This can be considered as part of democracy, but it often hinders curriculum policy and it is very difficult for teachers to work with controversial issues in classroom. From a pedagogical point of view, it is important to show respect and give room to different perspectives, to have dialogues, and to come to a consensus with respect for other opinions, and all within the parameters of democracy. More research on how to deal with controversial issues at the level of curriculum policy and of classroom practice is needed.

> *Democracy.* Learning about democracy and experiencing democracy should be at the heart of citizenship education. The political dimension of living together should be studied and experienced. Knowledge about the history of democracy, human rights, social justice, and democratic practices should be studied, skills should be learned and practiced, attitudes and values should be challenged and reflect on. Practising democracy can be stimulated by 'Mock-elections' in which students vote for existing parties and study and discuss political programmes and make governmental coalitions. Democracy can be experienced in education by students' voice, student participation, more horizontal organisations, and linking with the community and NGOs. Stimulating autonomy and a concern for the public good and social justice are at the heart of democratic citizenship education.

> *National and international orientation.* Citizenship has national and international components. National citizenship concerns culture and heritage and governing the country. International citizenship concerns participating in a wider world in which globalisation links societies in an economic way, but where different social and cultural ideologies struggle for recognition, autonomy and hegemony. European citizenship seems to have aspects of both national and international citizenship: a common tradition and way of organising the EU and a quest by its Member States for their own specific tradition and history and retaining some autonomy. The EU has to balance these hegemony processes and to fulfil its promise of more democracy. Balancing the national and international orientation is the challenge for the policy of citizenship education and teaching citizenship in the classroom.

More curriculum development and more research on these topics are needed in the EU and in each Member State. Cooperation and sharing experiences is a democratic way of developing and implementing citizenship education.

In part 2 we presented several concrete suggestions on how to improve citizenship education in the EU actions. To summarise the most important suggestions here:

> Stimulate more Intensive Programmes for teachers and students of different universities in the field of citizenship education (KA1).
> Create 'Alliances of Citizenship education' in which educational institutes cooperate with organisations in civil society and political institutions to innovate citizenship and citizenship education (KA2).
> Issue a special call for the development of curricula for democratic citizenship education (KA3).
> In the pillar 'Remembrance' of the Citizens for Europe action, positive and empowering historical events should be addressed as well.
> Develop the Citizenship Key Competence for Lifelong Learning.
> Within the Horizon Europe research programme, citizenship education should consistently be part of different calls, while a special call for democratic citizenship education should be launched.

> In all the actions, the fact that citizenship education is a priority should be taken into consideration in the selection process of concrete projects.

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In December 2020, the European Parliament's Committee on Culture and Education (CULT) requested the drawing up of an own-initiative report on the implementation of the citizenship education actions (2021/2008(INI)). Mr Domènec Ruiz Devesa (S&D, Spain) was appointed rapporteur.

This European implementation assessment (EIA) has been prepared to accompany the CULT committee in its scrutiny work on the implementation of citizenship education actions in the European Union.

The first part of the EIA presents an overview of the EU policy framework for citizenship education, while the second part presents actions in the field of citizenship education supported by EU funding programmes, in particular the Erasmus+ and Horizon 2020 programmes. The second part also presents citizenship education policies and practices in 10 EU Member States.