



BEUCITIZEN
BARRIERS TOWARDS EU CITIZENSHIP

The quest for a European civic culture

The EU and EU Citizenship in policies and practices of citizenship education in seven EU member states

Document Identifier

D8.10 Report 'EU citizenship and education for a civic culture'

Version

1.0

Date Due

31.03.2016 (M35)

Submission date

23.12.2016

WorkPackage

8 – Political Rights

Lead Beneficiary

UNIZG (3)

Dissemination Level

PU





Change log

Version	Date	amended by	changes
1.0	23.12.2016	Wieger Bakker	Final draft delivered

Partners involved¹

number	partner name	People involved
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¹ The authors want to thank the following interns and students for technical and administrative support in research for this report: Pablo Ribera Paya, Petra Šarić and Livija Stanišić for support in the Spanish case, Mia Jerman for support in the Croatian case and Leon Runje for support in the German case.



Summary

Since the Treaty of Maastricht (1992) all nationals of EU member states hold EU citizenship too. EU citizens hold EU citizenship rights in addition to their national rights. These rights include civil, social, economic and political rights. Holding these rights does not guarantee actual participation: there are, for instance, increasingly concerns about (too) low voter turnout and a (too) low number of citizens participating in other activities related to political decision making. Therefore, there seems to be a quest for a European civic culture. Citizenship education, and more specifically European citizenship education, is seen as an important instrument to stimulate the development of a European civic culture.

This study shows that (governmental) policies and practices of citizenship education differ widely between the seven examined countries (the Netherlands, Croatia, France, Germany, Ireland, Spain and Hungary). Citizenship education practices are, for instance, deeply related to the type of the democratic development, type of the democratic regime and social issues within the polity. Furthermore, the education practices show great variety of available teaching modules both in formal and informal way. There also seems to be a certain paradox between acknowledging the importance that civic education has for society, and political readiness to acknowledge that specific training is needed for teachers to be eligible to qualitatively educate and prepare students for their roles as active citizens.

However, all countries share a very similar approach regarding to the European dimension of citizenship: it is a highly neglected area within the national curriculum. The focus is dominantly on the factual and theoretical knowledge on the EU and especially its institutions rather than the promotion of values and the training of skills needed to exercise EU citizenship rights and needed for development of active, participating EU citizens. Hence, European citizenship education within the member states seems to be in its infancy. To develop a European civic culture, socialization and developing civic competencies are important. Therefore, it is important to strengthen and further develop European citizenship education. European citizenship teaching packages may help policymakers and teachers at the national level with these developments.

Moreover, considering the existing underdeveloped conceptualization and focus on EU dimension of citizenship in all studied cases, the introduction of (more) EU citizenship education has to be aware of at least two challenges. The first one stems from the generally dominant notion of elitist type of democracy of EU level, which is perceived to be dominated by the bureaucracy and disconnected to daily needs and practices of EU citizens. The role of EU citizenship education has to raise awareness on existence of interdependence of the decisions made on the EU level to the political consequences for national policies a practices of citizenship. The full emancipation of citizens can hardly be established even at the national level, if they are excluded from active participation at the decision making processes on the supranational level. The second challenge relates to the identity dimension of EU citizenship. There can hardly be EU without some sort of shared solidarity among its citizens. Citizenship education may not be a sufficient tool for achieving this goal, but it certainly is one of the most appropriate ones' on the disposition of the member states.



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1. Introduction: Europe's quest for a citizenry and a European civic culture

Since the Treaty of Maastricht (1992), all nationals of EU member States hold EU citizenship too. EU citizenship complements national citizenship and does not replace it. All EU citizens are granted a set of rights, of which freedom of movement and residence, protection by the diplomatic authorities of all member states, the right to vote and to be elected in municipal- and European Parliament elections, the right to petition to the European Parliament and the right to apply to the Ombudsman are probably the most well-known EU citizenship rights.

Bakker et al. (2016) located EU citizenship rights in four categories: civil rights, economic rights, social rights and political rights. This last category refers to participation in collective or political decision making, which often is considered to be the core of citizenship. The right to participate in collective or political decision making process does not guarantee actual participation. For instance, there are (too) low voter turnout and a (too) low number of citizens participating in other activities related to – influencing- political decision making. Vulnerable groups as socially weak EU-citizens are over presented in the group of non-voters; they are outside the political system and do not exercise their political rights (Gaus and Seubert, 2016).

On the EU level there are increasingly more concerns about these developments. The last decade, the European Commission intensified its activities to get citizens throughout the EU more involved in political participation. The first 'Europe for Citizens' program started in 2004, and 2013 was named 'the European Year of Citizens'. In 2014 the third five year program was launched with an emphasis on stimulating democratic engagement and civic participation (European Commission, 2014). With the recently started 'Europe for Citizens Program' the Commission wants:

- To contribute to citizens' understanding of the EU, its history and diversity;
- To foster European citizenship and to improve conditions for civic and democratic participation at EU level;
- To raise awareness of remembrance, common history and values;
- To encourage democratic participation of citizens at EU level by developing citizens' understanding of the EU policy making process, and by promoting opportunities for societal and intercultural engagement and volunteering at EU level (European Commission, 2014).

These aims reflect the idea that a greater legitimacy for the EU is needed for effective political decision making. To create a greater legitimacy, a mature political community and a civic culture on the EU level is necessary. In this way citizens can identify themselves with the EU and experience ownership over the EU through active participation. Therefore, the EU should stimulate the development of a European political community; a European civic culture.

To develop a European civic culture the EU depends for a larger part on local activities, civil society initiatives and activities within and policies of member states. Citizenship education is seen as an important instrument to stimulate the development of a civic culture. Member states adopted The Council of Europe Charter on Education for Democratic Citizenship and Human Rights Education in



2010. The charter includes recommendations to member states and has a focus on educating for democratic citizenship in general. Throughout Europe we see support for stimulating citizenship education and education for European citizenship. This is notable in the substantive number of initiatives from the sphere of educational profession and science (see for instance Weisseno and Eck, 2009; the NECE network). However, the question arise if citizenship education can or will contribute to the strengthening of a civic culture on the national level as well as the development of a European civic culture. It is not self-evident that there will be a spillover from the national to the European level. This might be even the other way around. Citizenship is mostly connected to the nation state. If national citizenship education is emphasizing the importance of a national identity and political participation on the national level, national citizenship education could even be a barrier for the development of a European civic culture. This will be the case when pupils do not learn how the EU dimension enlarges their national identity and when they do not learn about the importance of their state to be an EU Member State.

In this report, we engage with the later dichotomy: the role of citizenship education policies of the EU member states to socialize its citizens to national democratic polity on the one side, and its role in promoting the values, skills and knowledge of citizens which are necessary for the active democratic participation at the EU level on the other side. To get insight in (European) citizenship (governmental) policies and practices in member states we carried out a multiple case study, which include the Netherlands, Croatia, France, Germany, Ireland, Spain and Hungary. For each case we have looked into (governmental) policies and educational practices on the national level by focusing on three questions:

- What are the policy goals and instruments by national governments concerning citizenship education?
- What is taught, how much is taught and how is it taught?
- In what way and to what extend is the EU and is European citizenship part of policies and practices regarding citizenship education?

Before we zoom in more closely to the used methodology and the establishment of an appropriate analytical framework (chapter 3), we will first define and explore a set of key terms of the proposed study. Chapter 4 till 10 provides a descriptive overview of the national policy programs and practices of the seven selected cases. This report ends with comparative findings and the conclusion.



2. Defining the key terms: citizenship and citizenship education

In order to develop an appropriate analytical framework for the comparative analysis of citizenship education policies and practice, a set of key terms of the proposed study needs to be defined. On the one hand, the competing notions of citizenship as a theoretical concept need to be addressed, while on the other, it is essential to identify how nationally imagined notions of citizens are promoted through nation-wide education policies.

2.1 Citizenship

The concept of citizenship has its origins as far back as Ancient Greek philosophy, but the modern idea of citizenship and the nation state goes back till the French Revolution. The Revolution established the idea of civil equality, entailing rights and responsibilities, the institution of political rights and formal distinctions between citizens and foreigners (Brubaker, 1989, p.30). These early ideas of citizenship rights regulated who was and who was not included in the legal community. The meaning behind such membership changed with the transition to the democratic nation state. Habermas (1996) notes that citizenship gained the added political and cultural meaning of an achieved belonging to a community of empowered citizens that actively contributed to its maintenance (Habermas, 1996, p.129). The idea of citizenship can also be defined as “*what it means for individuals and groups to belong or to be a member of a political and/or socio-cultural community*” (Haas, 2001, p.1). Here, citizenship is defined as both a political and a sociological concept (Berkeley, 2016).

The concept of citizenship today represents one of the most ambiguous terms in social sciences. As Joppke (2007, p.37) notes, citizenship means many things for different scholars. The latest citizenship handbooks utilize citizenship as an umbrella term under which various dimensions and types of citizenship, ranging from the multicultural, post national to sexual and ecological citizenship, are included (Isin and Turner, 2002).

A minimum agreement among the scholars seems that citizenship represent a formal membership in the political community. Nevertheless, as the scholars of post national theories argue, the idea of full members of society has to analytically go beyond the mere formal nationality membership (Soysal, 1994). In the context of globalized world, non-naturalized individuals also participate in the society, have recognized a wide range of social and economic rights, and even though excluded from full political rights manage to express their agency in some formal, but also in informal and alternative modes of political participation. In his influential work on citizenship in France and Germany, Roger Brubaker (1992) highlights the fundamental feature of citizenship in modern world of nation states. Analytically, citizenship is at the same time an instrument and object of closure. It reflects the deeply rooted understandings of nationhood which once institutionalized develops according to such understanding. Through its practices it creates closure among those who are entitled to the formal belonging to the nation state in comparison to all those who are excluded. The excluded do not necessarily need to be non-residents of the nation state. Today, in the number of European countries even the long term residents and their descendants, particularly the migrant populations, may be excluded from the full membership and political franchise of the state in which they have permanent residency.



Moreover, globalization and the interconnectedness and interdependence of states has brought a reality where individuals have multiple identities and loyalties. This questions the appropriateness of a focus purely on national citizenship (Osler and Starkey, 2003, p.244). Therefore, it is suggested that the concept of citizenship needs to be reassessed, in order to take into account the different levels, and to recognize that civil, political, social and economic rights and responsibilities transcend national borders (Lawson, 2001, p.165). Also Habermas claims that the nation state can no longer provide the appropriate frame for the maintenance of democratic citizenship in the future, advocating the development of capacities for political action on a level above and between nation-states (Habermas, 1996, p.137).

The concept of European citizenship was introduced with the Treaty of Maastricht (1992). All EU citizens are granted a set of rights in addition to their national rights. From the literature three aspects of citizenship can be distinguished that are relevant to look at in combination with the attention to the national and the European level of citizenship, namely: (1) citizenship as a legal status, (2) citizenship as active participation, and (3) citizenship as membership of a community. Citizenship as a legal status – the so-called liberal model of citizenship – refers to a specific set of civil, political, social and economic rights each citizen of an EU member states had in addition to his/her national citizenship rights (Leydet, 2011). Bakker et al. (2016) located EU citizenship rights in four categories: civil rights, social rights, political rights and economic rights. Civil rights are rights that provide citizens with personal liberties and equality by law, such as respect for the integrity of persons and the right to marry and found a family. Social rights are rights to guarantee minimal living conditions, such as the right to education, the right to social security and the right to health care. Political rights promote citizens participation in exercising legitimate power and protect citizens against abuse of power by their governments, such as the right to petition and the right to vote in municipal elections. Economic rights, the last category defined by Bakker et al. (2016), stimulate pan-European transactions by granting EU citizens for instance the right to exchange good, services and capital.

Citizenship as active participation and as membership of a community is about the identification with and active membership of a European political community. Kymlicka and Norman (1995) describe citizenship not only as certain status defined by rights and responsibilities, but also as an identity and an expression of someone's membership in a political community. Here citizenship is understood as a feeling of belonging. This is the so-called republican model of citizenship (Leydet, 2011). Bakker et al. (2016) describe participation in the European community as the different activities of citizens that express involvement in the development and functioning of the European Union and active engagement in realizing their rights. These activities can be voting, standing for elections, cross-border activities as student exchange or moving to another country for work, being active in the European public sphere or bringing ideas to the EU by taking part in citizens' initiatives.

This idea of post-national citizenship point to the decoupling of citizenship identity and citizenship rights in an EU context (Keating, 2009, p.137). Whereas national citizenship emphasizes on cultural, ethnic or historical community, citizenship in EU context places the emphasis on the citizen as a member of a political or civic community. It means that citizenship can identify with and belong to a variety of communities in many contexts (Keating, 2009, p.145). This reflects the idea outlined by



Habermas, whereby the level of a shared political culture is separate and distinct from the level of subcultures and pre-political identities. These other identities and cultures should be protected equally, but they should all conform to generalised constitutional principles. With this idea, Habermas wanted to replace nationalism with a sort of constitutional patriotism, what he sees as crucial if diverse ethnic and religious subcultures are to coexist and interact on equal terms within the same political community (Habermas, 1996, p.133).

Although several concepts of citizenship are presented, in this study we prefer the definition of Kymlicka and Norman (1995) as well as the idea of Habermas (1996). Kymlicka and Norman (1995) describe citizenship as a certain status defined by rights and responsibilities as well as an identity and an expression of someone's membership in a political community. More specifically, in this study citizenship is defined as a legal status, as active participation as well as membership of a community. These aspects of citizenship can go beyond the borders of the nation state. For instance, it is possible to actively participate within a country, but also within other countries and/or the EU. This reflects the idea of Habermas (1996) who noted that the nation state can no longer provide the appropriate frame for the maintenance of democratic citizenship in the future.

2.2 Citizenship education

Citizenship has been previously understood as membership of, and relationship with the nation-state. In line with that, the aims of citizenship education have also been revolved around building a common identity and shared history, encouraging a degree of loyalism to the nation (Lawson, 2001, p.165). Many states have focused primarily on education for national citizenship. It is used by states to foster a sense of national allegiance or patriotism. The major themes in such programs are national history, society and symbols, aiming to create and develop a sense of shared identity and belonging with the community they live in. Young people learn about their role within the constitutional and legal framework of the in which they reside, and are prepared for socialization into the nation community (Osler and Starkey, 2002).

Citizenship education is more than the acquisition of knowledge for citizenship. It also includes the development of ideas of active and engaged citizenship among pupils. Heater (2004) outlines a set of skills in order to develop ideas of active and engaged citizenship among pupils. According to Heater several skills – among to knowledge and attitudes – are important, namely: basic skills such as information collection, the ability to argue based on reason and evidence and organizational skills. Heater also mentions the importance of education in judgement, because young citizens come to understand the values central to their judgements of issues. Furthermore, empathy and a critical approach when making decisions or judgements are important as well as communication skills to learn how to express themselves and to understand the communication of other views and to be able to exchange such views effectively (Heater, 2004). Working in groups or teams can serve to develop such communication skills. Citizenship education also often includes interactive, engaging teaching and learning strategies focused upon importance issues for young people, such as councils, schools elections and other similar initiatives which are included as part of the school curriculum (Naval, Print and Veldhuis, 2002, p.110).

While its primary goal can be defined as to strengthen democratic societies and enhance the promotion of development of enlightened, critical and engaged citizens (Schungerensky and Myers,



2003, p.149), how this goal will be achieved in practice may differ widely and depend on the particular stage of the state development, previous democratic and citizenship education tradition and dominant challenges perceived in the wider political community. The role of citizenship education hence can be to either maintain status quo, or alternatively it can be utilized in order to further empower individuals and particular groups (Schungerensky and Myers, 2003). Nevertheless, even within the context of rapid globalization, many states use their education policies in a manner which is primarily focused on reaching the former goal. Through the system of national education students are prepared for socialization to the national political and legal framework (Osler and Starkey, 2002, p.245) while the dimension of wider interrelation of the local democratic polity with the global context is neglected.

However, there is a range of scholarship which argues that trends in citizenship education as primarily focused on the participation in the national polity are gradually changing in order to include the more cosmopolitan aspects. Kivisto and Faist (2007) propose for instance the concept of nested citizenship, wherein national citizenship can be comprehended only if it is understood as embedded in the larger trans-state entities. This approach conceives citizenship as a multi-polity status, as individuals simultaneously may have more than one citizenship identities. Full membership may be possible at the local, regional and national level, while the EU brings the additional layer of citizenship by introducing the formal membership in the supranational community. As Kivisto and Faist argue, the complex citizenship statuses do not work autonomously. Various levels are strongly interconnected and the full potentials of one level cannot be achieved without understanding its contingency on the rights and obligations proscribed by the remaining ones (Kivisto and Faist, 2007). Such interconnectedness of the local and regional with the national and the global is emphasized also in the work of Osler and Starkey (2003) and Pashby (2011). Common to these approaches is that the citizenship is conceived as a continuity and/or gradual expansion of one's identity from local to global.

Citizenship education on the European level shows that its policies are moving towards the more cosmopolitan direction. The emphasis of the key European strategic documents in education on the understanding of human rights, democracy and multicultural understanding and tolerance, reveals that the desired outcome is to expand a scope of citizenship from mere national to more universal and cosmopolitan conceptions. As Keating (2009) argues, such emphasis gives primacy to conceptualization of a citizen as a member of political and civil, rather than cultural, ethnic or historical community, allowing citizens to identify themselves in line with various dimension of their identity, depending on the specific contest within which they act (Keating, 2009, p.145).

The concept of political culture has experienced a broad application in contemporary social sciences following Almond and Verba's study '*Civic culture*' published in 1963. For them, political culture is defined as pattern of orientations towards political objects among the members of the nation (Almond and Verba, 1963, p.15). Civic culture is a broader notion, it is pluralistic, and "*based on communication and persuasion, a culture of consensus and diversity, a culture that [permits] change but [moderates] it*" (p.15). The authors differentiate three elements of individual orientation: (1) cognitive orientation refers to individuals' knowledge of and beliefs about the political system, (2) affective orientation includes feelings about the performance and structure of the political system, and (3) evaluation orientation includes the judgments and opinions regarding political objects. For



them a mature and stable civic culture in which there is political trust, citizens are political competent and do participate. In their definition of a democracy, one sees this civic culture reflected. In their words "*a democratic political system is one in which the ordinary citizen participates in political decisions, a democratic political culture should consist of a set of beliefs, attitudes, norms, perceptions and the like, that support participation*" (Almond and Verba, 1963, p.178)"

In this study we build upon the ideas of Almond and Verba (1963) as well as Kivisto and Faist (2007). We differentiate three elements of individual orientation towards citizenship, namely cognitive orientation, affective orientation and evaluation orientation. In the most ideal situation, citizenship education focuses on all three elements, whereby citizens can have more than one citizenship identity as Kivisto and Faist (2007) argue.



3. Methodology

In this study we explored to what extent the EU and EU citizenship comes to the fore in (governmental) policies and educational practices. Therefore, we carried out a multiple case study. Seven EU countries – the Netherlands, Croatia, France, Germany, Ireland, Spain and Hungary – have been selected for this research. The country selection was made in order to encapsulated the widest possible variations of democratic and citizenship education traditions. Here, we paid attention to three different traditions in citizenship education.

First, within the comparative sample we have selected Croatia, the Netherlands, Ireland and France as countries who all have a standalone subject dedicated to citizenship and/or political education on the secondary level of education. To provide an opportunity for contrast perspectives the Spain is included as the case of the country which for the long period had such subject, but which has adopted the cross subject approach following its latest educational reform. Finally, Germany and Hungary represent the cases with the cross curricular and cross subject approach to citizenship education.

Second, the proposed sample of countries aims to encapsulate the various historical experiences with the democracy; France has a long republican tradition and in citizenship literature is often depicted as the country with citizenship regime with the strong assimilationist features (Brubaker, 1992); national unification of Germany in the aftermath of the end of the Cold War posed particular challenges for creation of unified concept of both German and democratic citizens which makes German case of citizenship education particularly valuable for comparative analysis. In addition, the selection of cases on the one hand includes countries which have over the last few decades witnessed the major immigration influx (this primarily relates to France, Germany, The Netherlands and Ireland and to lesser extent to Spain), while on the other it includes the new member states such as Croatia and Hungary. The later countries add to comparison the specific perspective with dominant issues often non present in older democracies; the key political challenges within their polities are related to consolidation of the statehood and strengthening of the national identity following the democratic transition from socialism to democracy during the 1990s.

Third, we have selected cases which provide an analytical variety regarding the level of centralization of education policies; while Croatia, France, Hungary, Ireland and The Netherlands have a high level of responsibilities for education policies centralized in the national ministry, Germany and Spain represent a more decentralized system where decision power on the content and curricula is delegated to the local and regional authorities.

For each country we have looked into (governmental) policies and educational practices by focusing on three questions:

- What are the policy goals and instruments by national governments concerning citizenship education?
- What is taught, how much is taught and how is it taught?
- In what way and to what extend is the EU and is European citizenship part of policies and practices regarding citizenship education?



For each country we have answered these questions. The first question is answered by carrying out an analysis of national policies on citizenship education. The second and third question are answered by carrying out a content analysis of the curriculum in schools and the relative weight and position of citizenship education in the curriculum. We focused exclusively on secondary education for 15-16 years old pupils.

The most accurate representation of the content dealt with in schools can be found in curriculum documents as well as textbooks and teaching materials. As such, data was collected through official curriculum documents and guidelines and outlines for courses. Here, we focused on the most widely used textbooks in each country, examining its content in detail as well as the theme covered. Special attention was paid to the European dimension and the relation between the national and the European dimension. This study was reinforced with a number of qualitative interviews with experts in the field of (citizenship) education.

Moreover, the study draws upon a number theories (chapter 2) to focus on key elements of citizenship education. In our study, attention is paid to content dealing with citizenship at a wider, cosmopolitan or post-national level. We explore what kind of orientations are promoted in the national civic education policies. Here we look into three aspects of citizenship: (1) citizenship as a legal status, (2) citizenship as active participation, and (3) citizenship as membership of a community. Then we examine whether these orientations are complementary to those that are needed for the development of the positive cognitive, affective and evaluative orientation towards EU citizenship. If civic culture is truly a necessary prerequisite for functional democratic structure, the question of the development of such culture on the EU level seems to be of the primary importance for development of EU as stable and democratic supranational polity.

We also look into a number of other elements which are important in regard to citizenship education, namely (1) core values, (2) educational system, (3) level of implementation, (4) types of teaching, (5) key focus of the official textbook, (6) European citizenship in curricula, (7) teaching hours, (8) place of civic education in curricula, and (9) qualifications needed for teachers. Table 1 shows the framework.

Country	Core values	Educational system	Level of implementation	Types of teaching	Key focus of the official textbook
Netherlands					
Croatia					
France					
Ireland					
Germany					
Spain					
Hungary					



Country	European citizenship in curricula	Teaching hours	Places of civic education in the curricula	Qualification needed for teachers
Netherlands				
Croatia				
France				
Ireland				
Germany				
Spain				
Hungary				

Table 1: Analytical framework to identify citizenship education elements for each country

When focusing on the three aspects of citizenship, the several orientations towards EU citizenship and a number of elements, we can structurally compare European citizenship policies and practices in several EU member states. As a result, it is possible to draw a picture per country about the level of attention for European citizenship in comparison to national citizenship, the kind of information on (civil, social, economic and political) rights that is taught and the way through which youth is socialized and in what direction. The selected countries can be compared in their relative differences in contributing to or hindering the development of a civic culture at the European level.

The representation of the findings within each country is structurally organized around five key themes. Firstly, the main issues regarding the developments of legislation and policies are addressed. This is continued with the analysis of the key topics and dimensions related to citizenship education in the existing legislation and policies. The third section provides the review of the existing citizenship education practices which is followed with the content analysis of the textbooks and teaching materials used in formal education. Finally, the analysis of the European dimension in education legislation and practices is provided.



4. Citizenship education in The Netherlands

4.1 Developments of legislation and policies

The Netherlands is a constitutional monarchy and is a parliamentary democracy. The parliamentary system of government is characterized by a large number of political parties. No single party will have an overall majority and, therefore, cabinets are always multiparty coalitions chaired by the prime minister. Since the end of the Second World War, the coalitions always included right and left winged parties or it included a centre-party; the coalitions were never completely right winged or left winged. The dominant political parties include the Liberals (VVD), the Labour Party (PvdA), and the Christian Democrats (CDA).

The Netherlands has a relative long tradition of civic education, especially in secondary education. Already in the 1950s subjects as 'Knowledge of culture and societal life' were part of the curricula. From 1968 onwards, the subject civic education (*'maatschappijleer'*) has been part of the core curriculum and since then it is compulsory for upper-secondary educational levels (Pertijs, 2015, p.1). Since 1981, there is a formal qualification regulation for teaching *'maatschappijleer'* (SLO, 2015, pp.129,135). In the Netherlands, like elsewhere, the 1990s saw a shift in emphasis towards more neoliberal economic thought. This directly impacted upon education policy, which was seen in a more market-oriented way. Individual actors in education, such as schools, teachers and students, were encouraged to take more responsibility for their own learning processes and school organisation (Veugelers, 2007, p.108).

In 2003, based on demographic changes, individualisation, secularism and growing cultural diversity in society, the Education Council of the Netherlands advised to strengthen citizenship education (Onderwijsraad, 2003). Partly as a result of this report, in 2005, the Dutch Parliament adopted a law that obligates primary and secondary schools to promote and stimulate active citizenship and social integration (Staatsblad, 2005, nr.678). As a result of the freedom of education, which is guaranteed by the Constitutions, schools have the freedom to organise the teaching in their schools (Pertijs, 2015, p.2). Schools also have the freedom to organise active citizenship and social integration. Steenman² (2016) explains in an interview that it seems to be a result of the freedom of education as well as the pluralistic society. These aspects make it difficult to get political agreement about the meaning of citizenship and what it should entail.

Schools are expected to have a systematic approach towards citizenship education. This includes the incorporation of citizenship education in the curriculum of the school (Pertijs, 2014). The Dutch Inspectorate of Education is responsible for the inspection and review of the schools. To determine whether a school meets their duty of citizenship education, the Inspectorate uses a regulatory framework, which is formulated in 2006 (Landelijk Expertisecentrum Mens- en Maatschappijvakken, 2012, pp.1, 13). In 2011, the government chaired by prime minister Mark Rutte (VVD) implemented the law on mandatory community service-learning at secondary schools nationwide. During their study, pupils had to be part of community projects of organisations or businesses, or had to commit themselves as a volunteer in an organisation for a total of thirty hours. In 2012, the minority cabinet

² Sebastiaan Steenman works as a researcher and lecturer at Utrecht University and is an expert in the field of education.



'Rutte I' (VVD and CDA, supported by the PVV) failed. In the same year, the current cabinet 'Rutte II' was formed between VVD and PvdA. And this government removed the mandatory aspect of the community service-learning programme at secondary schools in 2014 (Pertijs, 2015, p.2).

Citizenship education is not a stand-alone subject in the Netherlands, but the subject '*maatschappijleer*' (civic education) is comparable to citizenship education subjects in other countries (Maslowski et al., 2012, p.21). '*Maatschappijleer*' is mandatory at upper-secondary educational levels. Secondary education is intended for children in the age of twelve to sixteen, seventeen or eighteen. Preparatory secondary vocational education ('*VMBO*') takes four years. At this level, '*Maatschappijleer*' is offered in the third and/or fourth year and it is mandatory. Some schools also offer '*Maatschappijleer 2*' as an optional course. Since August 2016, '*Maatschappijleer 2*' is called '*Maatschappijkunde*' (civic skills). Senior general secondary education ('*HAVO*') takes five years and '*Maatschappijleer*' is offered in the fourth and/or fifth year. It is also mandatory. Pre-university education ('*VWO*') takes six years and the subject is offered in the fourth and fifth year and sometimes in the sixth year too. It is also a mandatory course. Since 2011, some schools are part of a pilot study and offer '*Maatschappijwetenschappen*' (civic science) as an optional course for these two levels (EP-NUFFIC, 2015, pp.6-7; SLO, 2011, p.7). From Augustus 2017 onwards, '*Maatschappijwetenschappen*' will be introduced as an optional course in the fourth year of '*HAVO*' and '*VWO*' at all secondary schools (SLO, 2015, p.132).

Furthermore, in 2014, State Secretary for Education, Culture and Science, mr. Sander Dekker started a debate about the future of education on primary and secondary schools. The State Secretary appointed an advisory commission '*Platform Onderwijs2032*' to consider the future of education and to make recommendations for reforms. '*Platform Onderwijs2032*' presented their final advisory report in June 2016. In their report they introduce citizenship education in the mandatory core curriculum. This report might be a first step in reforming the curriculum in primary and secondary schools (Platform Onderwijs2032, 2016). Steenman (2016) notes that the report includes many good elements, but that it is also necessary to reflect critical. He mentions that the report is something that everyone likes on an abstract level, but it will be very hard to implement the ideas of '*Platform Onderwijs2032*'.

4.2 Emphasis of citizenship education legislation and policies

The Ministry of Education, Culture and Science ('*Ministerie van OCW*') is responsible at a political level for the educational system, bound by national legislation. The Ministry is also responsible in large part for its financing, as well as defining the general education policy and specifying the structure and objectives of the educational system (EP-NUFFIC, 2015, p.5). There are several bodies operating under the aegis of the Ministry of Education, Culture and Science, of which the previous mentioned Education Council of the Netherlands ('*Onderwijsraad*') and the Dutch Inspectorate of Education ('*Inspectie van het Onderwijs*') are the most important in regard to citizenship education for the secondary level. Steenman (2016) explains that the European Union does not participate in the design and planning of national educational policy.

With the introduction of the law of 2005, the government gives important tasks to schools. Schools should assume that students grow up in a pluralistic society and schools should contribute to the promotion of active citizenship and social integration, and to the understanding of and acquaintance



with the various backgrounds and cultures of their fellow students (Staatsblad, 2005, nr.678). This shows that citizenship education is described as a general task for schools. Citizenship education is therefore not a stand-alone subject, the Ministry of Education, Culture and Science deemed *'maatschappijleer'* to be the most appropriate platform for providing citizenship education (Meijs and Need, 2009, p.29).

The Ministry of Education, Culture and Science is responsible for the objectives for *'maatschappijleer'* for all levels of secondary school. These objectives come for instance to the fore in the requirements for the final examination, the so-called *'eindtermen'*. Firstly, students of the *'VMBO'* level should learn basic skills such as communication and collaboration, and they must be able to orientate on their career path. Also, the pupils should have knowledge of the following topics: (1) culture and socialization, (2) social differences, (3) power and control, and (4) perception and stereotyping. These core objectives describe desired results, for example: *"candidates must be able to give examples of social differences, must be able to explain the causes of these differences and must be able to describe measurements of the government to decrease social inequality"* and *"candidates are able to recognise different forms of power, must be able to describe the possibilities of citizens to influence politics and must be able to describe the characteristics of a parliamentary democracy"* (Examenblad, 2016a). Here, it seems that the government does not specify objectives in regard to the European dimension: not one of the seventeen described outcomes mention the European level.

Secondly, students of the *'HAVO'* and *'VWO'* level should have knowledge of five domains: (1) skills, (2) the rule of law, (3) the parliamentary democracy, (4) the welfare state, and (5) the pluralistic society. These five domains are the same for both levels. However, the desired results differ between both levels. Students at the *'VWO'* level should have a more detailed knowledge of the parliamentary democracy, the welfare state and the pluralistic society. Each of these domains includes desired outcomes. For *'HAVO'* students, 35 outcomes are specified and 43 for *'VWO'* students. Examples of these outcomes are: *"candidates must be able to describe the values that underpin the democracy"* and *"candidates must be able to make a comparison between the Dutch welfare state and those of another Western country"* and *"candidates must be able to describe the characteristics of a pluralistic society"* (Examenblad, 2016b; Examenblad, 2016c). In the desired outcomes, specific attention is paid to the European level. At the *'HAVO'* level, 5 out of 35 outcomes focus on the European dimension, and 8 out of 43 outcomes focus on the European dimension at the *'VWO'* level. Examples of outcomes that are mentioned on both levels are: *"Candidates must be able to explain the structure of representation at the EU level"* and *"Candidates must be able to explain the consequences of the European Union for the political rights of European citizen"* and *"candidates must be able to explain the consequences of the European Union for social rights of the European citizen"* (Examenblad, 2016b; Examenblad, 2016c).

Only at the *'HAVO'* and *'VWO'* level attention is paid to the European level, but only to a small extent. In general, the focus of the objectives and desired results is on the national level. The emphasis is also mainly on the "knowledge of": students must have knowledge of topics and institutions and must be able to describe, explain and recognise the learned knowledge. To a much lesser extent attention is paid to the "knowledge how": for instance, students do not have to experience how they



can participate in society. In an interview Paul Simons³ (2016) explains the importance of these objectives and desired results. In the Netherlands, teaching material - such as textbooks - is privatised. Publishers of teaching material look into these objectives and desired results, and base their decision to develop and/or publish books on these objectives and desired results. Thereafter, teachers follow the books.

The Netherlands has a tradition of non-governmental organisations which are involved in citizenship education. These organisations inform and educate students about citizenship related issues, and develop extracurricular materials. School can use these materials, but are not obliged to use them. One of the largest organisations is the partially state funded ProDemos (House for Democracy and the Rule of Law). ProDemos aims to help explain the political system and the rule of law to a wide audience and to show what citizens can do to exert political influence. Other organisations are, for instance, Movies that Matter, the Anne Frank Foundation, and the Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender (LGBT) rights organisation COC (Pertijs, 2015, p.2).

4.3 Citizenship education practices

For all pupils in upper-secondary education, *'maatschappijleer'* is a mandatory subject. At the *'VMBO'* level, it includes approximately 80 hours over the last two years of secondary school. In practice, this typically works out at one 45-50 minute class period per week over two years or a double class period in the third year only. At the *'HAVO'* and *'VWO'* level, it includes approximately 120 hours over the fourth, fifth or sixth year of secondary school. When the subject is only taught for one year, it typically works out as a double class period in the fourth year only. All pupils have to make school exams to conclude the subject (SLO, 2015, pp.132-133).

During the interviews experts gave insights in the citizenship practices at secondary schools in the Netherlands. Steenman (2016) mentions that it seems that most schools do not have a clear vision about what citizenship education should entail and, therefore, only provide subjects as *'Maatschappijleer'*. Simons (2016) sees this as a result of the law: schools are obliged to contribute to the promotion of active citizenship and social integration, but does not prescribe what it should entail. Simons mentions the necessity to place citizenship education and citizenship objectives on an operational footing to make it workable. Simons (2016) also notes citizenship education practices within *'Maatschappijleer'* are traditional and have an emphasis on the cognitive aspect: students learn about, for instance, the rule of law, but they do not learn to empathize, to feel or to participate. The focus is on institutions and the knowledge: *"book, notebook and notes. I think that is citizenship education in the Netherlands"* (Simons, 2016).

Next to formal education, extra-curricular civic education is regarded important in the Netherlands. The Dutch government (partially) fund some non-governmental organisations to develop extra-curricular materials or projects (Pertijs, 2015, p.2). ProDemos is one of the organisations who is partly funded by the government. In the funding agreement, the government gives an explicit task to ProDemos to promote active democratic citizenship. In an interview with Inge Faas⁴ (2016) she notes

³ Paul Simons is didactician *'Maatschappijleer'* and *'Maatschappijwetenschappen'* at Utrecht University, contributed to several teaching methods for *'Maatschappijleer'* such as *Impuls*, and is teaching *'Maatschappijleer'* at a secondary school in the Netherlands.

⁴ Inge Faas is project manager at the Education department of ProDemos.



that the Educational Council of the Netherlands described citizenship education as “teaching youth to function – from their own ideals, norms and values – in a pluralistic, democratic society and to develop their ability (and willingness) to contribute to society” (Faas, 2016). Faas mentions ProDemos promotes active citizenship by focussing on knowledge, attitude and skills. ProDemos offers, for instance, educational excursions to political The Hague. This programme is free of charge and meant for pupils attending primary school, secondary school or senior secondary vocational education. Schools can organise school outings and participate in the excursion. In 2015, 57.061 pupils from secondary schools participated in this excursion. From these pupils, 24.392 pupils were from ‘VMBO’ level, 17.812 pupils from ‘HAVO’ level, and 14.857 pupils from ‘VWO’ level (ProDemos, 2016, pp.90-91).

ProDemos also offers activities with a focus on the European Union. These activities are organised around the elections of the European Parliament, such as electoral meetings throughout the country with the aim to inform and to encourage people for the European elections and European schools elections. The education department of ProDemos also provides newsletters around the European elections and other big events (such as Brexit), which include for instance four ready-to-use teaching methods for secondary schools. ProDemos also tries to stimulate teachers to pay attention to Europe in a fun and activating way. Therefore, ProDemos offers free of charge workshops “EU in the classroom” (*‘EU in de les’*) for teacher trainings (Faas, 2016).

Most schools who visit ProDemos return in other years and visit regularly. For ProDemos it is hard to determine if those schools visit because the same teacher organise the trip each year and it also hard to determine who used the available teaching material on the website of ProDemos (Faas, 2016). However, according to Simons (2016) extra-curricular events and citizenship practices outside schools almost do not happen. It only happens when teachers put effort in it and organise these events themselves. Therefore, there seems to be a discrepancy between citizenship education policies and legislation and citizenship education practices.

Furthermore, many schools continued community service-learning (*‘maatschappelijke stage’*) voluntarily despite that the mandatory aspect of the law on mandatory community service-learning is dissolved (Blankert, 2015), but to a lesser extent (Steenman, 2016).

Civic education has traditionally been taught by teachers who were trained in other subjects, such as history or geography. There were no specific requirements for teaching civic education. Over the decades this has been changed. A curriculum was developed for civic education teachers until the level of a specific master’s degree to be allowed to teach civic education at the highest levels of secondary education. As a result, the number of unqualified teachers for *‘maatschappijleer’* is decreasing. Both Steenman (2016) and Simons (2016) confirm this. They mention that unqualified and underqualified teachers are not really an issue anymore at secondary schools. Simons also mentions that future *‘maatschappijleer’* teachers do not learn anything about European citizenship education within their education programme.

4.4 Textbooks and teaching materials

In the Netherlands, the publishing and development of textbooks is privatised. Authors of textbooks for *‘Maatschappijleer’* are mostly teachers. In this section, we focus on the method *Impuls*. *Impuls* is



one of the most widely used methods for *'maatschappijleer'* in the Netherlands (Van der Ploeg, 2013, p.34). *Impuls* aims to encourage students to think about their own contribution to society and contribute to citizenship education at secondary schools (Noordhoff Uitgevers, 2016). For every level of secondary education – *'VMBO'*, *'HAVO'* and *'VWO'* – the method has a separate textbook and exercise book.

4.4.1. The VMBO level

The textbook for *'VMBO'* students consist out of six chapters: (1) upbringing, (2) social inequality, (3) power, (4) discrimination, (5) advertising, and (6) violence (Van der Pols and Simons, 2007a, p.5). Each chapter includes three paragraphs, references to the exercise book, debate exercises and other optional assignments. The geographic level of issues is mostly not specified, because the issues are discussed in a more general way. This is notable in the titles of the chapters and paragraphs, such as “Does money make you happy?” and “Increasing violence”. Europe or the European Union is not mentioned once throughout the textbook and, as a result, there are also no references to European citizenship. The exercise book (Van der Pols and Simons, 2010) is in line with the textbook: issues are discussed in a more general way and there is no attention for Europe or European citizenship. Therefore, it seems that the focus is on the national level with some references to the local level.

4.4.2. The HAVO level

The textbook for *'HAVO'* consist four themes: (1) the rule of law, (2) the parliamentary democracy, (3) the welfare state, and (4) the pluralistic society. Each theme includes three chapters, which all consist of two or three paragraphs. The last paragraph of the first, second and fourth theme includes an international dimension about the theme. These sections consist out of two pages each. All the other chapters and paragraphs focus mainly on the national level. This is notable in the titles of the chapters and paragraphs, for instance “the Dutch parliamentary democracy”, “the Dutch rule of law”, “how democratic is the Netherlands?”, “the Dutch welfare state” and “the Dutch pluralistic society” (Van der Pols and Simons, 2007b, pp.4-5). The themes also include optional assignments, such as debates, assignments on the computer and other optional exercises.

The paragraphs with an international dimension do not necessary focus on the European Union or European citizenship, but merely focus on an international perspective of the themes. The paragraph “McWorld” within the chapter about the ideal pluralistic society focusses on world culture, but the EU or EU citizenship is not mentioned in the paragraph. The other paragraphs with international dimensions are “The international rule of law” and “Towards a United States of Europe”. Here, the European Union and its structures, institutions and decision-making processes are described. In total, 6 pages out of 142 pages focus on an international perspective of the themes and within these 6 pages, 2.5 pages are dedicated to the European dimension. It is remarkable that the whole textbook includes only one explicit reference to active citizenship. In the chapter about the rule of law, active citizenship is explained as “*citizens who help actively to look after the legal system*” (Van der Pols and Simons, 2007b, p.32). Furthermore, there are no explicit references to European citizenship throughout the textbook, although the Treaty of Maastricht is mentioned.

The textbook comes with an exercise book (Van der Pols and Simons, 2007c). The exercise book has the same structure as the information book. The emphasis is on knowledge of the different themes and on developing an opinion about the themes. This is visible in various questions, such as: “What is



the meaning of X?”, “What do you think about X?” and “What do you consider as important in the case of X?” The content is equal to the information in the textbook: the three paragraphs with an international dimension in the textbook also contain an international dimension in the exercise book. In these paragraphs the emphasis is also on knowledge of, for instance, the EU and developing an opinion about the EU and its membership. Examples of questions are for instance “What do you know about Europe?” and “Do you think it is appropriate that the Netherlands has to pay a relatively large amount of money to the EU?”

4.4.3. The VWO level

The textbook for ‘VWO’ students consists the same four themes as the ‘HAVO’ textbook: (1) the rule of law, (2) the parliamentary democracy, (3) the welfare state, and (4) the pluralistic society. It also has the same structure and chapters as the ‘HAVO’ textbook, but the title and content of four paragraphs differ. Within the textbook, three paragraphs include an international dimension about the theme, only in this textbook the paragraphs consist of three pages instead of two pages in the ‘HAVO’ textbook. All the other chapters and paragraphs focus mainly on the national level. The themes also include optional assignments, such as debates, assignments on the computer and other optional exercises.

The paragraphs with an international dimension do not necessary focus on European citizenship, but merely focus on an international perspective of the themes. The paragraph “McWorld” within the chapter about the ideal pluralistic society focusses on the world culture and comparisons between countries. The EU or EU citizenship is not mentioned in the paragraph. The other paragraphs with international dimensions are “The Dutch rule of law in international perspective” and “Towards a United States of Europe”. Here, the European Union and its structures, institutions and decision-making processes are described. In total, 8 pages out of 156 pages focus on an international perspective of the themes and within these 8 pages, 3.5 pages are dedicated to the European dimension. It is remarkable that also the ‘VWO’ textbook includes only one explicit reference to active citizenship. In the chapter about the rule of law, active citizenship is explained as “*citizens who help actively to look after the legal system*” (Van der Pols and Simons, 2007d, p.36). Furthermore, there are no explicit references to European citizenship throughout the textbook, although the Treaty of Maastricht is mentioned.

Like the textbooks, the exercise books of the ‘HAVO’ and ‘VWO’ level show similarities. The emphasis of the exercise book (Van der Pols and Simons, 2007e) is on knowledge of the different themes and on developing an opinion about the themes. The content of the exercise book is equal to the information in the textbook. The paragraphs in the textbook with an international dimension also contain an international dimension in the exercise book. In the exercise book, the emphasis is on “knowledge of” and developing an opinion about the topics.

The text- and exercise books on all levels are in line with the objectives and desired results, which are determined by the government. At the ‘HAVO’ and ‘VWO’ level the European dimension is included in a small extent, but the main focus is on the national level and some references are made to the local level. In the ‘VMBO’, ‘HAVO’ and ‘VWO’ books, citizens’ rights and duties are mentioned at the national level (citizenship as a legal status). The books also entail references to active participation in society and citizenship as a membership of the community on the national and local level.



4.5 European citizenship in policies and practices

In both the objectives determined by the government and the citizenship practices the European dimension has a marginal role. The international and European dimension is only notable in a small extent in the objectives and desired result at the 'HAVO' and 'VWO' level, as well as in a small extent in the text- and exercise books at 'HAVO' and 'VWO' level. The defined objectives about the EU have an emphasis on the institutions, structures and decision-making process of the EU, but also mention political and social rights. In practice, the emphasis is merely on the institutions, structures and decision-making process. European citizenship as a legal status, active participation and as a member of a community is not notable throughout the text- and exercise books. ProDemos does offer activities with a focus on the European Union. These activities are organised around the elections of the European Parliament and other big events (such as Brexit). However, the main focus of this organisation is also on the national level.

Steenman (2016) is not surprised about the marginal role of EU citizenship in the curriculum and practices. He explains that educational policy is constructed on the national level. The EU does not participate in the design and planning of national educational policy. Therefore, it makes sense the national curriculum emphasises on the national level.

According to Simons (2016), it is important that attention will be paid to European citizenship in the future. European citizenship is a hot topic in the political debate, and, therefore, it is important to confront students with it. The government and didacticians need to give substance to European citizenship education, because teachers will not do it by themselves. In case the government defines more explicit objectives for European citizenship, it is necessary to learn students about different perspectives on European citizenship and not only to focus on the cognitive aspect.



5. Citizenship education in Croatia

5.1 Developments of legislation and policies

Today Croatia represents the youngest EU member state and has a parliamentary model of democracy. However, its path towards full EU membership was far from simple, as besides the typical challenges that other post-communist countries had to face in their transition from socialism to democracy, (such as adjustment to the free market economy and introduction of institutions of representative democracy) during the 1990s Croatia had to face additional ones including development of its statehood and defining the citizenry of the newly established democratic polity.

These two tasks were to be resolved within highly unfavorable conditions shaped by the context of a violent break-up of the Former Yugoslavia. The experience of the Homeland war which Croatia fought against the rebelled Serbian minority, strong Catholic tradition of the country and the novel constitutional definition of Croatian state which defined it as a nation state of ethnic Croats regardless of their place of residence, all had a major impact on defining the new Croat identity. Hence, from the first days of its statehood, debates on future civic and political education in Croatia will be contested on reaching two primary and as it seems not always indisputably complementary goals; promotion of the novel Croat identity as the foundation of Croatian citizenship on the one, and education for active citizens capable for full participation in democratic society on the other hand. Which set of goals should be set as a priority, as our analysis will show, is a highly contested issue and source of disputes between the conservative and more liberal sections of public and civil society.

Even though Croatia is a very young democracy, having its first democratic elections held in 1990, it would be misleading to conclude that it does not have any experience with political education provided through system of regular education. As Doolan and Domazet (2007) argue, during the socialism, the compulsory subject taught in the secondary schools was 'Theory and practice of socialist self-management'. The primary task of political education provided by such subjects was to explicitly transfer a socialist ideology and Marxist world view to students and to prepare them to participation in the socialist self-management society.

With the proclamation of Croatian independence and already in the early stages of its democratic transition, Croatia introduced in 1992 the subject Politics and Economics, which until today, with only minor adjustments over the last two decades, represents the only compulsory political education subject provided in Croatian educational system. The changes made within the program of the subject were related to the greater emphasis on issues such as democracy, citizenship and the Croatian institution in 1997 (Doolan and Domazet, 2007, p.211) and the greater emphasis on Croatian position within the international relations and knowledge of EU in the eve of the Croatian accession.

In Croatia pre-university education is organized around two primary pillars; primary and secondary education. Primary education last for eight years and it is compulsory for all children starting from the age of six. Even though secondary education is not compulsory, the Law on primary and secondary education, which is the key legal act that regulates schooling in Croatia, sets that it is



available to everyone and is found on the principles of equality of education opportunities according to the individual capabilities.

The Law also defines four primary goals of education in the system of primary and secondary schools; besides providing comprehensive system for education of students and encouraging their intellectual, physical, aesthetical, social, moral and spiritual development (Article 4, p. 1.1.) and preparing students for acquirement of the basic educational and expert competencies, which should enable them for life and work in the complex social-cultural context shaped by the demands of free market economy, information and communication technologies and scientific developments (Article 4, p.1.4). Croatian schooling system has two goals which are directly related to the idea of active citizens in Croatian democratic polity. Article 4, paragraph 1.3 defines that the task of the schools is to educate students according to universal cultural and civilizational values, including respect for human rights and rights of children and prepare them for full participation in multicultural world, which includes respect for differences, tolerance and active citizenship with the emphasis for the responsible participation in democratic development of society. However, article 4, paragraph 1.2. makes an emphasis that such development of active citizens is not to be promoted in the social vacuum, but that the role of the schools is to enhance and develop the sense of national belonging, preservation of historical and cultural heritage and national identity.

At the organizational level, Croatian schooling system can be defined as centralized even though the law delegates a certain powers to the schools and local government. However, key political decisions regarding to the content and standards that should be implemented on the national level are made centrally through the decisions of Ministry of education, science and sports, Government, national agencies responsible for particular area of education and Croatian Parliament.

Pedagogical standards are enacted by Croatian parliament according to the recommendations made by the Government. National curriculum, which defines the values, principles, general educational goals, learning outcomes and approaches to education is determined by the ministry. National educational plans and programs of schools, including all compulsory subjects are fall within the realms of decisional powers of the ministry. However, schools have autonomy to develop their own pedagogical and methodical approaches and to plan activities and organize their work within the limits and goals set by the National curriculum, educational plans and program and state pedagogical standards.

Furthermore, the Law allows schools to propose experimental programs which may differ from nationally defined plans and programs. Such experimental programs allow schools to introduce new subjects not defined by National curriculum, but also allow testing models that are not yet fully implemented on national level even though the national educational strategies and documents define their implementation in foreseeable future. Nevertheless, before implementation of experimental programs, schools have to acquire approval issued by the Ministry.

5.2 Emphasis of citizenship education legislation and policies

Education in Croatia in general is often described as bad and non-functional. It is argued that, in comparison with other European countries, Croatia is at the mere bottom (Teachers Organized, 2014). Some of the characteristics emphasized in the analysis of Croatian education system are: lack



of interest, corruption, politicization, nepotism, but also unprofessionalism, incompetence and the lack of will on all levels (Teachers Organized, 2014, p.1). Bureaucracy, inefficiency and obsolescence are highlighted as the most important ones. The first one is connected to the mass of regulations which complicate and disable the process of learning and teaching. Inefficiency is connected to the low implementing and performance results in relation to the efforts, time and resources used. Finally, obsolescence refers to the unfitness of methods and legislation to the current time and changes (Teachers Organized, 2014). Additionally, the study recently published by the Croatian Youth Network (2016) emphasizes the political dimension of challenges related to the implementation of comprehensive approach to citizenship education in Croatia. This study highlighted the problems that stem from the system in which the Ministry is the single most important actor in the decision making on any educationally related matter. Since the ministers are often replaced, and each is appointed by politics, it is not unusual that the new minister in the office disregards most of the policy initiatives started by his predecessor. Such system does not offer long terms stability in which educational reform can be successfully implemented as national and long term priority.

One of the most important documents connected to the citizenship education problem is a project by the Council of Europe launched in 1997 under the name of Education for Democratic citizenship. Goals expressed in this document are connected to the knowledge, values and skills which are crucial for the active role in democratic processes, and ways of learning these values and skills in different environment. This project showed some positive results, so in 1999 the Declaration and Program of Education for Democratic Citizenship Based On the Rights and Responsibilities of Citizens was adopted in order to promote the development of human rights and responsibilities culture, which should establish the ideas of cultural pluralism and social cohesion (Sablić, 2013).

One of the major steps towards the comprehensive reform of the Croatian education system was introduction of the National Curriculum Framework in 2010. Published by the Ministry of science, education and sports National Curriculum Framework (NCF) in 2010, had to coordinate/ harmonize local and national with global: *„The National Curriculum Framework is the fundamental document that presents the elements of the curriculum system: the values, goals, principles, content and general goals of educational areas, the evaluation of student achievements, and the evaluation and self-evaluation of the realization of the national curriculum“* (National Curriculum Framework, 2010). According to NCF, Croatian educational system has to be built on the basis of four central values: knowledge, solidarity, identity and responsibility, so as the series of the relevant democratic principles. Here, education is in function of development of competences of all Croatian citizens.

In the line with the prescribed goals of NCF, in 2012 first comprehensive Citizenship Education Curriculum was introduced to Croatian public. Instead of plans and programs based on the scientific-disciplinary control of teaching content usually practiced, National Curriculum Framework introduced the principle of integrated, interdisciplinary and procedural planning of learning content outcome based, whose goal is competences development (Citizenship Education Curriculum, 2012). Hence, the Citizenship Education Curriculum was directed to the comprehensive development of civic competences, which meant that in the same time all of the structural (the knowledge what, the knowledge how and the knowledge why) and functional (human rights, politics, society, economy, inter-culturalism and ecology) dimensions are developed including the use of knowledge learned in the schools and local community (Citizenship Education Curriculum, 2012). The citizenship education



was foreseen to be introduced as inter-subject topic for all years of primary and secondary education, as an elective course for the 7th and 8th grade of primary school and as a compulsory subject in the 1st and 2nd year of secondary education.

Within the framework of the proposed curriculum education for European citizenship was also planned as a topic provided in the 4th cycle, namely in the first two years of high school education. The emphasis would be on the activities connected to planning and conducting research projects in teams and, if possible, on the European and international level. The comparative perspective on the human rights and political issues in different European societies and setting had to be provided additionally to the formal education of EU institutions taught through the subject.

The curriculum was experimentally introduced between 2012 and 2014 in twelve Croatian schools (eight elementary and four secondary schools), where the obligations for the implementation were equally distributed between the Ministry and network of NGOs, each responsible for implementation in six schools. The whole process was systematically monitored and evaluated in order to use the feedback for the further improvements of curriculum (Croatian Youth Network, 2016, pp.27-28). However, the first evaluations of the experimental implementation of the citizenship education curriculum in schools were not promising.

The results (Spajić-Vrkaš et al., 2014) showed that as the students get older, the number of those who claim that they learned „much“ or „very much“ about democracy, citizenship, human rights and similar topic decreases, while the number of those who said that they learned „moderately“, „little“ or „none“ is increasing. The outcomes of political component in the category of „knowledge and understanding“ were unrealized. Not only did students have low results in the final exams, but also this result was weaker than the initial one in the youngest group, in the middle similar to the initial one, and only in the oldest group somewhat higher.

These results confirm that the CE classes did not fulfill the goals, but also that students did not acquire this knowledge through other subjects. Finally, evaluation revealed that only around 40% of teachers feel competent enough to teach the content provided by curriculum. Most of them are self-educated and over 40% stated that they do not possess any previous experience in citizenship education teaching (Spajić-Vrkaš et al., 2014).

On the demand of the Ministry of Science, Education and Sports, based on the results of evaluation, the curriculum was prepared for the public hearing in April 2014 in form of Educational plan and program for Citizenship Education (Croatian Youth Network 2014 :28). The hearings on the curriculum were held through online consultations, of which the results were never made public. The curriculum was placed on hold, while at the same time Ministry prepared two documents: Program for inter-subject and interdisciplinary content of Citizenship Education for primary and secondary schools and Experimental elective program of Citizenship Education for 8th grade in school year 2014-2015. After the period of two months public hearing, held over the summer 2014, these two documents have been enacted and implemented experimentally in 34 schools. According to Croatian Youth Network (2016) there are is no information on whether and how this experimental program was evaluated and what were its results.



5.3 Citizenship education practices

The early academic writings on political culture among the younger generation in the contemporary Croatia emphasized the lack of basic competencies for democratic citizenship often followed with misunderstandings of the civic values and virtues (Vujčić, 2003). It was often argued that the new conditions of the political pluralism demand an educational platform which will enable Croatian youth for better understanding of the work of political institutions and roles that various actors have within Croatian constitutional setting (Bešker, 1997). Within the framework of Croatian educational policy an attempt to fill in this gap was met by introduction of a compulsory subject Politics and Economy into curricula of higher educational system of Croatia. A subject that was originally taught by teachers who before 1990 taught the subject Theory and Practice of Self-Management.

Politics and Economy until today is an only course that on the compulsory basis provides political education to Croatian high-school students. The number of hours per week and the year of high school education in which the course will be offered depend on the high-school stream in which the student is enrolled; students enrolled to program leading to Gymnasium diploma participate in the subject during their fourth year of education where they have classes one hour per week. Students enrolled to vocational training program in their curricula have either one or two hours per week during their second or fourth year of high school education, depending on the type and duration of their vocational training. However, even though compulsory, it could hardly be argued that this course has provided Croatian students with fundamental skills and competencies for the active participation in Croatian political system. Politics and Economy has been focused primarily in providing basic knowledge on the roles of the institutions, while little or no effort has been put in training for competencies for democratic participation.

Hence, it comes to no surprise that politics among Croatian youth is understood in a manner somewhat dislocated from their scopes of interest and is not perceived as an area of social life in which more active participation is either. In general, existing data on social capital show that Croatian youth in general has a very low trust in the political institution, and according to recent pools, it seems that the post war generation is becoming more conservative in the comparison to their parents. However, while the existing data shows that younger Croatian generation in general demonstrate a low levels of trust to political institutions (Šalaj, 2005) some data (Ilišin, 2003) show that in comparison to youth in other European countries, Croatian youth demonstrate a greater potential for political activism, particularly related to the membership in the political parties (even though in general, Croatian younger generation is generally underrepresented in political institutions and major political processes).

However, any serious discussion on the potentials of developments of the active citizenship among Croatian youth cannot be limited only to the formal curricula and educational training provided by the formal schooling. Over the last twenty years, the focus of numerous NGOs was to provide a various modules of civil and activism trainings for different generations of students. NGOs such as GONG, Croatian Youth Network (MMH), Centre for Peace Studies (CMS) have launched a number of peace building and activism trainings whose intention was to supplement formal political education with informal training for capacity building, active citizenship, post conflict community building and advocacy for peace and tolerance.



At the same time, some positive examples of active citizenship and informal training can be identified in the recent Croatian past. In 2008, Croatian students took an active role in creation of educational policy through their demand of free higher education for all students. In the period of several months, Croatian students at several faculties at University of Zagreb organized a student blockade during which they occupied faculty buildings and introduced a model of direct democracy. While in the beginning of the protests public media reported on these events as disorganized attempt of immature student population which does not know what it wants and how it aims to accomplish its goals, the developments of the events related to student protest showed that there lies a great potential for active participation of younger generation in policy processes. While firstly fragmented, students managed to self-organize themselves and provide different modes of political education and political participation to larger student community (Grdešić and Koska, 2008). Even though that protest ended without full accomplishment of all student demands, the blockade introduced several important aspects to Croatian political system (at least to those aspects related to youth politics): firstly, it showed that activism can be introduced on the self-organizational basis: when a critical juncture appears, students can organize and develop the modes of informal training that adequately meets the need for their political protest; secondly, as most of these students later continued with active involvement in other civil society initiatives it demonstrated that democratic political culture that develops in a community strongly connected to the single policy issue may have a positive spill-over effect to the development of the political culture of the wider Croatian society.

Nevertheless, the modes of active participation in political processes and civil society in Croatia are not promoted solely by the so called left and liberal sections of civil society. Over the last few years' conservative sections of civil society, for which the NGO U ime obitelji can be identified as the most prominent representative, have demonstrated that the conservative values can be equally efficiently promoted through the mechanisms of active citizenship. U ime obitelji gained its public visibility through two nation-wide campaigns: firstly, through successful petition for organization of the referendum according to which the marriage should be constitutionally defined as exclusive life community between man and women (in the left-center sections of society often perceived as the anti-gay rights referendum) and secondly, through the campaign for organization of the referendum on electoral changes.

The both proposed referenda were followed with the heated political debates in Croatian public, where particularly the ones over the topic of the referendum on the marriage led to further polarization of society. However, for the purposes of both campaigns U ime obitelji demonstrated high organizational competences in mobilization of citizens through civil society for promotion of conservative values, providing non-formal education on formal institutions and political processes for large number of interested citizens and providing the training for skills needed for successful launch and implementation of nation-wide civil society campaigns on particular issues. The examples provided from all sections of civil society in Croatia show that offer for civic education and training goes beyond the formal education organized through formal schooling.

5.3.1 Public debates and contestation regarding the citizenship education in Croatia

Over the last few years, the question of citizenship education became one of the politically most challenging issues within the ongoing debates on education reforms in Croatia. Before the 2014 it seemed that among the key stakeholders (politicians, administration, academia, teachers, students'



and parents' communities) the consensus has been reached regarding the necessity for introduction of the single citizenship education class both in primary and secondary schools. The remaining disputes were perceived to be more on the particular content of the classes, teachers' competences and qualifications needed for teaching such class and the structure and number of hours per week for such classes within the school curriculum.

However, today the question of the single subject within the curricula seems to be far from resolved since over the last few years significant disputes in the larger public have emerged. Different political stances regarding the citizenship education in Croatia seems to go in line with the dominant ideological and political cleavages within the wider Croatian society. On the one hand, there is a citizenship education framework provided by the GOOD initiative, which since 2009 advocates for introduction of Citizenship Education to primary and secondary schools. The Good initiative closely cooperates with the academia and NGOs conducting research on education policy. The citizenship education promoted by the GOOD initiative is focused on a student as active citizen, who develops political literacy, critical thinking and values, skills and knowledge for active participation in society. Here, citizenship education is foreseen as a separate subject, which should be introduced either as elective or compulsory subject. On the other hand, this model is highly opposed by conservative sections of civil society represented mostly by NGO U ime obitelji. Here, the citizenship education is foreseen as inter-subject content, where there is no need for special citizenship education subject. This model puts emphasize on family, conceived as the primary unit of the society, and parent's role as a schools' partner in providing education for their children. Within this alternative framework, the primacy of citizenship education should be on promoting Croatian values and identities which set the ground for active citizenship, and schools should promote more active role of parents in providing such education to their children. The proponents of this model argue against what they perceive as the imposition of liberal values against the traditional values through courses such as citizenship education. However, what both approaches have in common is their somewhat secondary focus to EU citizenship. It is primarily perceived in its instrumental role related to EU grants and to lesser extent as a set of extended formal rights that come with the Croatian membership to EU.

At this moment, it is hard to conclude where in the long term will the debate over the citizenship education in Croatia lead and with what consequences for education of active citizens in Croatian society.

5.4 Textbooks and teaching materials

The only subject in Croatia which deals with questions of politics, political institutions, citizenship, human rights and similar topics is still Politics and Economics though as compulsory subject in secondary education. According to Doolan and Domazet, a closer look at the content of the curriculum for Politics and Economy reveals that the curriculum, developed by the ministry of education, is intended to develop patriotism and civic dedication to the Croatian Constitution, symbols and the developing a sense of political participation (Doolan and Domazet, 2007, p.213). However, in the textbooks focus regarding citizenship is primarily on the aims and tasks of political institutions and politics in Croatia while the components of active citizenship are neglected (Doolan and Domazet, 2007).

In the study from 2007, Doolan and Domazet (212) analyzed the content of the textbooks used in Politics and Economy classes and showed the frequency of notions relating to knowledge, values,



skills, attitudes and participation, and compared them to the level at which these concepts are addressed (local, national or supranational). It can be argued that the official programme for political education in Croatian secondary schools is predominantly knowledge based and national in character. The authors concluded that the general message about what it means to be a „good“ citizen is akin to a more passive conception of citizenship *„in which the identity conferred upon an individual is seen merely in formal, legal and judicial terms (...) and the citizen is seen as a private individual with the task of voting for representatives“* (Doolan and Domazet, 2007, p.213). They also presented a comparison of different textbooks from different periods according to the frequency of elements of political education in content of textbooks, which suggests that participatory dimension is significantly neglected and ignored.

The overview of the textbook used for the same subject today reveals that the program of the subject did not change substantially till today. One of the official Croatian textbooks for gymnasium (Benić and Vulić, 2016) for the Politics and economics mostly covers the institutional and formal knowledge „of“ politics in Croatia, whereas the knowledge „for“ citizenship is completely ignored. The content of the textbook is separated into two sections: a) politics and b) economy. Within the politics section, which is foreseen to provide the education for citizenship and knowledge on political institutions, the topics are organized in eight chapters: (1) Politics, political actions and political competition, (2) People, nation, minorities, national of Republic of Croatia, citizen, (3) Types of political systems, (4) Political parties, (5) Elections, (6) State, structure of Croatian state, (7) Politics and public, human rights, politics and religion, and (8) Globalization and globalization movement.

It can be noticed from the list of chapters that Politics and economics subject mostly provides a technical knowledge about different institutions in Croatia, its structure and functioning. It is mostly uniformly presented and the European level is somewhat ignored – there is no education for European citizenship, only basic knowledge about Croatian international relations, which include the EU. In total, content on European Union covers three pages in Politics section and seven pages in Economy section. In sum it makes less than 6 per cent of total content of the textbook.

5.5 European citizenship in policies and practices

As the previous section of report on Croatia shows, European citizenship is neglected in the content of the only compulsory subject taught in secondary schools. The Benić and Vulić (2016) textbook for Politics and Economy provides general information on developments of the EU institutions. However it indirectly provides a normative framework for students' evaluation of the justification of EU as a right choice for Croatian development. It emphasizes the potential economic benefits Croatia may gain from the membership in the long term, hence, the membership is perceived primarily as the economic instrument for the Croatian state development. Emphasis is put on the amount that Croatia has to pay to EU budget and the amounts available to Croatia through EU funds (pp.186-188). The further note on political aspects of the EU membership highlights that even though all Croatian governments were proponents of the EU accession, there is a danger for Croatian sovereignty and identity with the membership in political community of more than 500 million people (p.102).

Such notions go in line with general perception of the role that EU has for Croatia. As all our informants stated during the interviews, EU is primarily perceived as an economic organization and skills that Croatian citizens need are pushed toward the direction of the best possible utilization of



EU grants and structural and cohesive funds. The political aspects of citizenship, including EU identity are completely ignored. In cases where they are discussed, it is through elitist conception of Brussels bureaucracy which at the end is reflected in the non-formal trainings on EU provided to students. These are usually in the form of various simulations of the EU parliament, while the citizenship culture needed for active participation at the EU level is still outside the theoretical and policy scope. The experimental curriculum for citizenship education did provide promising foundation for development of these aspects, but as it is currently on hold, it remains to be seen how and whether European dimension will be integrated to future models of Croatian citizenship education.



6. Citizenship education in France

6.1 Developments of legislation and policies

France has one of the longest democratic traditions of all European states. The Fifth Republic – founded by De Gaulle in 1958 – set the tone for the type of democracy French people still enjoy today. This type of democracy is shaped by strong Republicanism, underpinned by a President with executive powers in a semi-presidential political system.

Citizenship education has traditionally been high on the agenda in France. Already in 1882, *Instruction morale et civique* was introduced as a compulsory subject in the curriculum (Féron, 2008, p.104). Based on the revolutionary ideals of '*liberté, égalité et fraternité*', the aim was to help to integrate a very diverse population into a single, national Republican culture and to create good and loyal French citizens. Since the introduction of the subject, citizenship education in France has undergone several changes. During the 1960s, the provision of civic instruction courses declined. In 1976, the *Instruction morale et civique* was replaced by *Éducation civique*. Due to the absence of timetabled lessons, the course disappeared from view. However, since the 1980s, the interest in citizenship education re-awakened due to tensions in society and the Socialist government introduced citizenship education again as one of the main objectives of the French school system (Osler and Starkey, 2001, pp.289-290; Féron, 2008, pp.105-106). This tradition in citizenship education has only been strong in primary schools. In lower secondary schools⁵ (*collèges*) efforts towards citizenship education were introduced after the Second World War. Until the year 2000, no such education had been introduced in upper secondary school⁶ (*lycée*). From 2000 onwards, civic, legal and social education was integrated into the programme of the *lycée professionnel*.

In 2013, the New Education Law was introduced (Ministry of Education, 2013) and led to the establishment of the new programme entitled *Enseignement Moral et Civique* (EMC). In September 2015, propelled by the shooting targeting Charlie Hebdo (Paris, January 2015), the government implemented the EMC programme to replace the previous programmes in primary and secondary classrooms. With the introduction of the new programme, the French government stepped up plans to enhance programmes for moral and civic education and to teach secularism and Republican values (Berkeley, 2016, pp.36-37).

6.2 Emphasis of citizenship education legislation and policies

France has a centralized education system and the educational policy is determined at the national level. The Ministry of Education designs curricula and sets educational standards and goals. However, each primary and secondary school has the autonomy to choose how to teach the curriculum and how to achieve the educational goals (Cornu, 2015, p.290).

In our examination, we focus on the so-called Cycle 4, which includes the *cinquième*, *quatrième* and *troisième* with students aged between twelve and fifteen years old. The Ministry of Education

⁵ Lower secondary school begins at the age of eleven in the *sixième* (6), and continues to the *cinquième* (5), *quatrième* (4) and *troisième* (3), before students complete the *Brevet des Collèges* examination.

⁶ After lower secondary school, students begin upper secondary school and continue to the *seconde*, *première* and *terminale*.



defined and described four curriculum themes for the EMC programme in Cycle 4. The first theme is entitled '*La sensibilité: soi et les autres*'. The objectives of this theme are: the identification and the expression of emotions and feelings, learning to listen and to empathise, as well as feeling part of a community. Students should learn the principles, symbols and values of French and European citizenship. The Ministry of Education designed this curriculum with participatory and interactive elements and, therefore, defined examples of classroom activities. For instance debates and discussions on exclusion and discrimination and role plays and research projects related to solidarity and development (HISTOgraphie, 2015; Berkeley, 2016, p.39).

The second theme is entitled '*Le droit et la règle: des principes pour vivre avec les autres*'. The objectives of this theme are: understanding the reasons for obeying the law in a democratic society and understanding the values and principles of the French Republic and other democratic societies. Students should learn about the rule of law, the variety of Human Rights declarations and their importance and the principles of justice. The Ministry of Education defined the following examples of classroom activities: attending a real-life court hearing, engaging with historical or literary examples of trial and judgements, analysis of everyday practices in accordance to law, projects relating to the setting of school or class rules, and discussions on relevant topics (HISTOgraphie, 2015; Berkeley, 2016, p.39).

The third theme is entitled '*Le jugement: penser par soi-même et avec les autres*'. Objectives of this theme are: the development of critical reflection on issues and moral judgement, being able to form coherent arguments, and differentiating personal interest from the general interest in society. Students should learn about different dimensions of equality and potential tensions that may arise, forms of discrimination, issues of war and peace, fundamental freedoms of democratic societies and the principle of *laïcité*. The defined examples of classroom activities are projects related to media and its role in political and social life, organising competitive debates on important issues and delving into issues surrounding discrimination and equality (HISTOgraphie, 2015; Berkeley, 2016, pp.39-40).

The fourth theme is entitled '*L'engagement: agir individuellement et collectivement*'. Objectives of this theme are: taking responsibility in and outside schools, considering aspects of collective life and developing social and environmental awareness among citizens. Students should learn about social and political responsibilities of citizens including participation in the democratic systems, political-social- and humanitarian interventions, the involvement of France in European and international situations and issues of national defence and threats posed to democracy and its freedoms. Examples of classroom activities are the election of student delegated and the entire voting process it entails, the study of French military presence abroad, participatory activities through student clubs and dealing with environmental risk through projects (HISTOgraphie, 2015; Berkeley, 2016, p.40).

The curriculum themes and their objectives include the French values of '*liberté, égalité et fraternité*'. The emphasis is mainly on the national and local level, but the European and international level is visible too. European citizenship is described in addition to French citizenship.

6.3 Citizenship education practices

EMC is a common level subject in lower secondary education and is upheld as an integral part of the wider *Histoire-Géographie-EMC* programme. The time requirement for the broader subject is



identified as three hours per week in *sixième*, *cinquième* and *quatrième*, and three hours and thirty minutes for *troisième*. There is no specific time allocated for each of the elements, except for the *sixième*: it is specified that thirty minutes a week should be assigned to EMC. Teachers should determine the time necessary for the teaching of EMC to fulfil the requirements of the programme, with respect to the parity of hours between Geography and History (Réforme du Collège 2016 en Clair, 2015).

Other than the standard teaching qualification, there is no specific qualification required for teaching EMC. Teaching of EMC seems mostly to be assigned to teachers of Geography and History. Therefore, Féron (2008, p.106) mentioned that “most teachers (...) are not trained in this area, and therefore lack the knowledge necessary (e.g. in law and political science) to provide adequate instruction”.

Citizenship education is implemented by schools as well as by non-governmental organisations at the local level (Féron, 2008, p.104). These organisations develop, for instance, extracurricular materials of citizenship education that school can use. French schools also celebrate special event days on which students are given the opportunity to leave school and contribute to civil society. For instance, schools in France celebrate annually the *Journée Nationale des Droits de l’Enfant* (National Day of Children’s Rights). This day is intended to promote thought and discussion about children’s rights (Eurydice, 2005, p.36). However, due the limited available teaching time for EMC and the autonomy of the schools to decide how to teach the EMC curriculum the question arise if citizenship education is actually practiced outside the school. The practices can differ between schools and, therefore, the question cannot be answered straightforward.

6.4 Textbooks and teaching materials

The textbook for EMC in Cycle 4 is called *Vivre ensemble, comment?* (Hazard-Tourillon and Heyman-Doat, 2015) and is especially designed for the EMC programme. Examination of the textbook shows that one theme is visible throughout the textbook, namely: living together (*vivre ensemble*). Chapters on liberty, equality and solidarity focus on this idea. The first two chapters of the textbook focus on living together in school and the promotion of engagement among students in the school community. Anti-discrimination, solidarity and conflict resolution are topics that are covered in these chapters. Attention is also paid to processes for student delegates and representation on a school level.

In relation to (European) citizenship, Chapter 7 and Chapter 8 are particularly important. Chapter 7, ‘*Être citoyen*’, questions what citizenship is and discusses how to be an active citizen. Rights and duties associated with citizenship are outlined, followed by the legal aspects of citizenship in the French constitution and the rights citizens enjoy. This section includes references to the EU and how French citizens are also European citizens. The textbook includes accompanying questions to make students consider and understand EU law and the rights of political representation in EU Member States. In this chapter, two pages are dedicated to different types of political and social engagement. Included topics are political parties, trade unions and humanitarian organisations. Each topic has its own section with suggested interacted group tasks to explain how to become involved. The next section is dedicated to symbols of citizenship. The focus here is on the French national anthem and the French flag and their meanings, but at the end of the page students are encouraged to think about the EU flag and other symbols that represent EU citizenship. The chapter closes with exercise



questions related to the content of the chapter to test the knowledge of students and to remind them of the key terms related to citizenship (Berkeley, 2016, pp.40-43).

Chapter 8 is entitled '*La République française, une démocratie*' and focuses on national level structures and political institutions. To do so, the separation of powers at a state level is explained, as well as the elections in France. Other topics that come to the light in this chapter are the role of media in democracy, the role of internet in political life and how public opinion can shape democracy. Each topic covers two pages. The chapter also closes with exercise questions to test knowledge of students and to remind them of the key terms and topics (Berkeley, 2016, pp.40-43).

The curriculum themes and objectives of the EMC programme are represented in the EMC textbook. The French values of '*liberté, égalité et fraternité*' are visible in the curriculum and objectives, as well as in the textbooks. The emphasis of the EMC programme is mainly on the national and local level, but the European and international level is visible too in Chapter 7 of the textbook. The curriculum includes specific elements of citizenship. In the curriculum there is attention to knowledge of citizenship, as well as knowledge how to put behaviours into practice by active learning methods. However, the content of the textbook is mostly knowledge related; most of the content is dedicated to rights and duties, political institutions and symbols (Berkeley, 2016, pp.40-43).

Despite the represented curriculum and objectives which includes (EU) citizenship, teachers can determine the time necessary for the teaching of EMC with respect to the parity of hours between Geography and History (Réforme du Collège 2016 en Clair, 2015) and schools have the autonomy to choose how to teach the curriculum and how to achieve the educational goals (Cornu, 2015, p.290). As a result, EMC teachers and schools can tailor the course and it is likely that a mismatch will occur between schools.

The three aspects of citizenship – citizenship as a legal status, citizenship as active participation and citizenship as a member of a community – are addressed. In the textbook, citizenship as a legal status is addressed at the national and European level. The textbook describes which rights and duties EU citizens have as a French and EU citizen, with in particular attention for the political and social dimension. There is also a focus on citizenship as a member of a community. The first two chapters of the book focus on the promotion of engagement among students in the school community. Here, the focus is mainly on the local level, but also the national level is addressed throughout the textbook. This is visible in the overall theme of the textbook: living together. Citizenship as active participation is also notable to some extent. Students learn how they can participate as a representative at the school level, how they can be an active citizen and learn about the representation at the EU level. The textbook is mostly knowledge related and focuses less on actual active participation of students, in contrast to the recommendations in the curriculum. It depends on teachers and schools to what extent active learning methods will be included to encourage students to participate in society.

6.5 European citizenship in policies and practices

The values and principles of the French republic are the basis for the national curriculum. The focus of the curriculum is mainly on the local and national level, but the European and international level is visible too. In practice, the focus is also mainly on the national and local level and to a much lesser extent to the European level. This is also visible in the examined textbook: only one chapter of the



examined textbook has an emphasis on the European dimension of citizenship. Although the specific attention to European citizenship is minimal, it is worthwhile noticing that EU citizenship is described in addition to French citizenship in both the curriculum and the textbook.



7. Citizenship education in Germany

7.1 Developments of legislations and policies

The German school system has a relatively long tradition of citizenship education. In 1919, the Weimar Republic included elements of citizenship education by introducing '*Staatsbürgerkunde*' (civic studies). Since then, citizenship education has undergone several changes. Authoritarian government under the Nazis centralized the school system to create loyal citizens (Faas and Street, 2011, p.469). As a result, German citizens had limited awareness of democratic principles and processes. The Allies powers occupying Germany in the aftermath of Second World War wanted to address this problem with a re-education programme. In West Germany, the programme had to contribute to the acceptance of democratic power and structures, and to the democratization of Germany (Lange, 2008, p.89). In East Germany, the aim was to instil support for state socialism (Faas and Street, 2011, p.471). After unification, the Western structures and programmes were transferred to the Eastern states (Wilde, 2004, p.8).

Due the federal nature of the political and educational system, there is no unified or national curriculum for any subject in Germany. The system guarantees the cultural anatomy of the federal states (*Länder*) and, therefore, the responsibility for the education system is shared between sixteen states. Each state has its own Ministry of Education. As a result, the importance of citizenship education may vary from federal state to federal state. In secondary school, for instance, the names of subjects related to citizenship education differ. The classes can be called 'social studies', 'civic education', 'politics', 'community studies' or 'political science/economics' (Lange, 2008, p.93). Hence, there is no uniform concept of civic education or citizenship education in Germany, but there are objectives taught under different names and in different subject areas (Händle, Oesterreich and Trommer, 1999, p.33).

7.2 Emphasis on in citizenship education in legislation and policies

In the 1990s, the focus of the German curricula moved from the emphasis on education for foreigners to intercultural education. This reflects the recognition that many of the labour migrants of the 1960s and 1970s had settled in Germany for good. There was also a visible change in emphasis for native German children. In response to anti-immigrant violence, native German children were instructed to practice tolerance. These developments led to an agreement on common guidelines between the education ministers of the sixteen states on "Intercultural Education in Schools". With the agreement one of the first statements of civic goals was made (Faas and Street, 2011, pp.471-473), namely that all students should "*become aware of their own cultural socialization, gain knowledge about other cultures (...) and learn to solve conflicts resulting from ethnic, cultural or religious affiliation in a peaceful manner*" (Kultusministerkonferenz, 1996, p.5).

The last years, the growing socio-cultural diversity created new challenges. Schools are faced with the task to give all children and young people the opportunity to fully participate in education, regardless their backgrounds. In this way, schools can contribute to integration processes and to a peaceful, democratic, and globalised world. Therefore, in 2013, the education ministers revised the guideline on Intercultural Education in School of 1996. In this revised guideline on education, several principles are described (Kultusministerkonferenz, 2013, pp.2-5):



- Schools should accept diversity and recognise it as a potential;
- Schools should contribute to the acquisition of intercultural skills in the teaching of all subjects and by extra-curricular activities;
- Schools should be a central place for training in language skills;
- Schools should actively organise educational partnerships with parents.

These guidelines are not binding and does not include requirements for the curricula. Therefore, variation in citizenship education depending on the political constellation of the states is expected (Faas and Street, 2011, p.473). To test this hypothesis, Faas and Street (2011) compared the curricula laid down by the states of two regions for children between the ages of ten and sixteen. They draw upon citizenship curricula from two states with historically opposite political constellations: Berlin and Baden-Württemberg. Berlin was ruled by the Social Democratic party for more than 40 of the past 60 years and Baden-Württemberg has been ruled by the Christian Democratic Union for the entire post-war period. Citizenship curricula in the two states overlap in certain respects. They both share an emphasis on the fragility of democracy and the need for citizenship to be vigilant and active in protecting it. The curricula pay considerable attention to the ideals of the German constitutions and make some reference to diversity within the citizenry and its challenges.

There are important differences too. Firstly, the curricula apply to all schools in Berlin, but Baden-Württemberg separates instructions for vocational and academic schools. In general, the curriculum for the '*Hauptschule*' (the vocational schools with the lowest reputation) in Baden-Württemberg is much more similar to the Berlin curricula. Secondly, the citizenship curricula in Berlin pay more attention to "intercultural" perspectives and questions of collective welfare in diverse populations than those in Baden-Württemberg, where the concept of "tolerance" is preferred. Thirdly, the citizenship curricula in Berlin do not always specify the geographic level at which relevant organisations and institutions has to be studied, but most references are made to the local political level. The curricula at the vocational schools ('*Hauptschule*' and '*Realschule*') in Baden-Württemberg refer primarily to Germany and Europe, with a major focus on the Nazi past. The curricula also refer a few times to the world at a global level. At the academic schools, the geographic and institutional focus is mainly on the national level. However, also some references are made to the European and international context: three out of ten topics covers international or European issues (Faas and Street, 2011, pp.474-475). These research results show that variation in citizenship curricula exist in Germany.

Germany has a Federal Agency for Civic Education ('*Bundeszentrale for Politische Bildung*') that provides high-quality information and teaching material for Civic Education. It offers charts, dossiers, comprehensive information on issues, and teaching materials. All schools can obtain information and materials from the website of the agency, but this is not obliged (Händle, 2002, p.6).

Extra-curricular civic education is regarded very important in Germany (Händle, 2002, p.6). Students can engage in a variety of activities outside the classroom, such as working in education centres, civil and army service and at memorial sites. These extra-curricular citizenship education activities are supported by political parties, religions and spiritual communities, unions, trade associations, academies and independent institutions. Private funding for citizenship education has also noticeably increased (Lange, 2008, p.94).



7.3 Citizenship education practices

In the previous section, the research results of Faas and Street (2011) are described. Their results show that variation in citizenship curricula exist, but that the two states share an emphasis on the fragility of democracy and the need for citizenship to be vigilant and active in protecting it. Unfortunately, their research does not include information on the actual implementation of citizenship education, i.e. citizenship education practices. Other existing research suggests that the actual implementation of citizenship education varies from state to state and from school to school, depending, for instance, on the socio-economic background of students and teachers (Faas, 2010). The extent to which the states choose to position citizenship education within other subjects and the number of lessons that are available also differ between states (Wilde, 2004, pp.10-11). In practice, it seems that nearly every school less than two hours per week of citizenship education provides. In some states the subject leads a precarious existence due budget cuts (Lange, 2008, p.93). Besides, the German schools start at 8:00 a.m. and finish at 1:00 or 2:00 p.m. in the afternoon. Due this half-day school system, there are little opportunities for extra-curricular activities in practice (Händle, 2002, p.6).

Civic or citizenship education is often taught by teachers without specialist subject knowledge. Since the end of the Second World War, civic education is offered as subject at all German universities. However, there seems to be a discrepancy between the study and teaching Civic Education at school. Händle (2002, p.6) mentioned that: *“The offers and opportunities within the study courses are hardly of any relevance to the teaching job later. Often it is only after they graduated from university and completing their two years of practical teacher training (‘Referendariat’) that teachers get acquainted with the demands of teaching Civic Education at school”*.

7.4 Text books and teaching materials

Due to the decentralized nature of the German education system, the approaches to citizenship education differ between the German states. Therefore, we are unable to capture the used Textbooks and teaching materials in Germany.

7.5 European citizenship in policies and practices

There is no unified or national curriculum for civic or citizenship education in Germany. Therefore, curricula and citizenship practices might differ between states and schools. Research result of Faas and Street (2011) show that the geographic level at which citizenship can be studied differ between states and schools. For instance, the citizenship curricula in Berlin do not always specify the geographic level at which relevant organisations and institutions has to be studies, but most references are made to the local political level. The curricula at the vocational schools in Baden-Württemberg refer primarily to the national and European level and in the academic schools in Baden-Württemberg the curricula focus mainly on the national level, with some references to the European and international level. However, to draw more conclusions about the position of European citizenship in the German educational system, research is needed. Further research is also needed to get insight in (European) citizenship practices in Germany.



8. Citizenship education in Ireland

8.1 Developments of legislation and policies

Despite the dominant role of the Catholic Church in political affairs and Ireland's extreme conservatism during the latter half of the 20th century, Ireland has never experienced authoritarian rule or threats to democracy since independence. Until the 1990s, there was a quasi-two party system with two parties dominating the political agenda. From then on, with the rise of the number of smaller parties, coalition governments became the norm. All political parties support Ireland's EU membership (member since 1973) and the membership has never been questioned (Berkeley, 2016, pp.47-48).

Civics was first introduced into post-primary schools by the Minister for Education Donagh O'Malley in 1966. From 1984 onwards civic education was mentioned under different names in various documents and in 1992 a feasibility study was conducted of a draft of the Civic, Social and Political Education (CSPE) course. This led to the introduction of a pilot of the CSPE syllabus and towards the introduction of CSPE to the Junior Cycle⁷ Curriculum (NCCA, 2005, p.8). From 1997, CSPE has been compulsory for Junior Cycle students (12-14 years) in Irish education and includes a final state examination as part of the Junior Certificate qualification. It is a stand-alone subject in the school system (NCCA, 2005, p.4).

Since the introduction of CSPE, the curriculum has not been significantly changed. Over the last years, there have been critics of CSPE. One of the main critics is the absence of a Senior Cycle subject which includes citizenship or political education for students (Liddy, 2015, p.78). There has been strong lobbying to include learning about political issues in the Senior Cycle in Ireland, for the Leaving Certificate examination (Berkeley, 2016, p.55). In September 2016, the course will be introduced to a small cohort of schools who *"have the capacity and interest to take on the subject as an optional Leaving Certificate subject"* (NCCA, 2016a). Another recent development is the changing position of CSPE in the school system. The CSPE curriculum will be replaced as a wider 'Wellbeing' course from 2017 onwards. This will incorporate Physical Education (PE), Social, Personal and Health Education (SPHE) as well as Civic, Social and Political Education (Berkeley, 2016, pp.53-55). Thus, CSPE as a stand-alone subject will disappear from the Irish school system (Department of Education and Skills, 2015, p.21).

8.2 Emphasis on in citizenship education in legislation and policies

Civic and citizenship education has been a medium policy priority in Ireland (Kerr et al., 2010, pp.32-33). The Department of Education and Skills is the department of the Irish state with responsibility for education and training. There are several bodies operating under the aegis of the Department of Education and Skills, of which the National Council for Curriculum and Assessment (NCCA) is the most important in regard to citizenship education for the secondary level. The NCCA is a statutory Council and the members of the Council – appointed by the Minister for a three-year term – represent school managers, parents, business, teachers, trade unions and other educational interests. The NCCA deals with curriculum policy, policy-decisions and design. The CSPE curriculum was also designed by the

⁷ The Junior Cycle lasts for the first three years of secondary school, followed by the Senior Cycle.



NCCA and a wide range of actors – included by the NCCA - from the national arena, such as the Association of Secondary Teachers of Ireland and the Teachers Union of Ireland. European actors did not participate in the design and planning of the national education policy (Keating, 2014, pp.106-108).

The aim of CSPE is to develop active citizens *“through active exploration and study of citizenship at all levels (personal, local, national, global) in the context of contemporary social and political issues”* (NCCA, 2005, p.2). To develop active citizens, CSPE focuses on three domains of citizenship: (1) the affective dimension (feeling), (2) the cognitive dimension (knowing), and (3) the pragmatic dimension (doing). Firstly, CSPE aims to develop active citizens with a sense of belonging. The idea is that students will only be encouraged to be active participants in their communities if they feel a sense of attachment to them. To do so, this domain focuses on social inclusion and matters of identity and values. Secondly, the cognitive dimension represents the idea of the necessity to have basic knowledge before action can be considered. Here, it is important to gain access to information and structures relating to society. Thirdly, students must have the confidence and ability to participate in democratic society, and to practice citizenship through meaningful action (Berkeley, 2016, p.49). To achieve this, students are obligated to undertake a minimum of two action projects during the three years of CSPE (NCCA, 2005, pp.4-7).

The objectives of CSPE are outlined in terms of knowledge, concepts, skills and attitudes/values. Through their work in CSPE, students should acquire basic knowledge and a broad understanding of: citizenship, human rights, freedoms and responsibilities, participation, sustainable development, democratic system, globalization, and contemporary issues and current affairs. Regardless of the chosen approach when teaching CSPE, seven key concepts are an integral part of CSPE and students are required to have a broad and basic understanding of each of these concepts at the end of three years. The seven key concepts are: (1) rights and responsibilities, (2) human dignity, (3) democracy, (4) law, (5) development, (6) stewardship, and (7) interdependence (Berkeley, 2016, p.50). These seven concepts are central in the course and the students should come to understand how these concepts serve to inform and clarify the concept of active participatory citizenship. In exploring these concepts, students should have the opportunity to develop and practice identification/awareness skills, analysis/evaluation skills, communication skills and action skills. Students should also be encouraged to recognise values and develop positive attitudes in relation to themselves, other people, the environment and the wider world. To achieve these objectives, active participatory class work is encouraged, with an emphasis on learning-by-doing (NCCA, 2005, pp.4-7).

The national curriculum shows a major emphasis on knowledge and understanding of civics and citizenship, communication through discussion and debate and developing positive attitudes toward participation and engagement in civic activity and society. There is also some emphasis on creating opportunities for student involvement in decision-making in school, community-based activities, analysing and observing change processes in school and in the community, reflecting on and analysing participation and engagement opportunities, and developing a sense of national identity and allegiance (Kerr et al., 2010, p.37). In the curriculum it is mentioned that citizenship should be studied at all levels, personal, local, national and global level, but it not specified how this exactly should be done (NCCA, 2005, p.2).



As mentioned, from 2017 onwards, CSPE will be part of the 'Wellbeing' programme. This reform is in line with the Government's framework "*Better Outcomes, Brighter Futures: the National Policy Framework for Children and Young People 2014-2020*". This framework sets out a vision and outcomes to enhance children's wellbeing (NCCA, 2016b, p.9). The aim of the 'Wellbeing' programme is to enhance the physical, mental, emotional and social wellbeing of students and to enable students to build life skills and develop a strong sense of connectedness to the school and the community. The programme will introduce a more caring dimension into learning, as well as a strong link between students' wellbeing and positive cognitive educational outcomes. There are six indicators identified as central to 'Wellbeing', namely: (1) active, (2) responsible, (3) connected, (4) resilient, (5) respected, and (6) aware. Drawing on these indicators and their short descriptions and a number of curriculum components, each school has the autonomy to design the 'Wellbeing' programme (NCCA, 2016b, pp.5-7, 37). Although the programme has not been implemented yet, an educational consultant at the NCCA gave some insight into the 'Wellbeing' programme in a recent interview (in Berkeley, 2016). The CSPE components within the 'Wellbeing' programme are *Rights and Responsibilities*, *Global Citizenship* and *Exploring Democracy*. The component *Global Citizenship* suggest that topics as EU or European citizenship will be covered here, but this is not the case and these topics will have no specific attention (Berkeley, 2016, pp.53-54). Therefore, in this new curriculum, it seems like the emphasis of the programme is more on the wellbeing of the students and being a 'good' citizen and not on (European) citizenship.

In the curriculum of the new course 'Politics and Society' attention is paid to citizenship and the European Union. The course will be introduced on a pilot basis starting September 2016. The aim of this course is to develop student's ability to engage in "*reflective and active citizenship, informed by insights and skills from social and political science*" (NCCA, 2016c, p.7). The curriculum specification shows that the course is organised in four strands: (1) power and decision-making, (2) active citizenship, (3) human rights and responsibilities, and (4) globalisation and localisation. In these strands attention is paid to, for instance, decision-making on the EU level and its effects, developing skills to come to reflective and informed decisions, examining (international) human rights, as well as dealing with issues on the national and global level (NCCA, 2016c, pp.21-38). Although this curriculum emphasises active citizenship and includes European and international elements, the curriculum does not make explicit references to active citizenship at a European or more supranational level (Berkeley, 2016, p.55).

8.3 Citizenship education practices

CSPE is a common level and a stand-alone subject in the Irish school system. It is a short course and includes approximately seventy hours over the three years of the Junior Cycle. This typically works out at one forty minute class period per week (Department of Education and Skills, 2005, p.4). However, as mentioned earlier, the citizenship education practices will change. From 2017 onwards, CSPE will be replaced by the wider 'Wellbeing' programme and the new syllabus 'Politics and Society' for the Senior Cycle will be introduced in September 2016. The 'Wellbeing' programme will be available as a short course, which requires one hundred hours of student engagement during the three years of the Junior Cycle (Department of Education and Skills, 2015, p.21). The 'Politics and Society' course is designed to be taught in 180 hours and a double class period that is allocated each week is recommended during the Senior Cycle (Department of Education and Skills, 2016, p.11).



There is not much information available about practices of citizenship education outside schools, such as extra-curricular civic education on, for instance, study trips and school outings. However, in the CSPE curriculum the emphasis is on active learning methods. These methods should enable students to experience being an active citizen by, for instance, working on action projects. In these projects students can take steps to organise field trips or invite guest speakers (NCCA, 2005, p.7). These action projects are obligatory, but the drawing up and the details are in hands of the students and the teacher. As a result, it is possible that practices of citizenship outside schools may occur to a marginal extent, with practices differing between schools.

Since the establishment of the CSPE curriculum, there has been no formal support to teachers from the Department of Education and Skills. Prospective teachers enrol in the Primary Masters in Education (PME) to earn a teaching qualification for all subjects in second-level education. CSPE has been an option, i.e. an additional subject to add to their principal area of expertise. Other organisations, such as the Association of CSPE teachers and the Professional Development Service for Teachers (PDST), have provided workshops and training days as well as providing assistance in the form of school visits. This kind of training began in 2000, and as a result, most CSPE teachers have training in teacher education programmes. However, in an interview, Harrison⁸ mentioned (in Berkeley, 2016, pp.55-56) that most schools do not have a model for the selection of teachers to teach CSPE. Teachers will often be chosen to take such classes or teachers with interest in political issues will volunteer. It is also possible that teachers will be conscripted to follow such classes due the lack of general interest or to fill timetables (see also: Clarke, 2002, p.121).

Despite having core objectives, the CSPE curriculum leaves discretion to the teacher in regard to the methods used in teaching and the topics and materials to cover (NCCA, 2015). As a result, the CSPE teachers can tailor the course to their own expertise and interest. In this way, it is likely – even with the new curriculum – a mismatch will occur between in schools in regard to available citizenship education (Berkeley, 2016, p.55).

8.4 Textbooks and teaching materials

In this section, we cannot include the new curriculum. Textbooks and teaching materials have not been finalised for the ‘Politics and Society’ course and each school will have to develop their own ‘Wellbeing’ programme. For CSPE, the most widely used textbook is ‘*Make a difference*’ (third edition, 2011) by Conor Harrison and Máirín Wilson.

The introductory chapter of ‘*Make a difference*’ (Harrison and Wilson, 2011) is entitled ‘Active Citizenship’. In this chapter, the seven key concepts are introduced and different ideas of citizenship and its meaning are discussed. The active dimension of citizenship is outlined, including examples of participation and active citizenship. Each concept is attributed its own chapter. In the chapter on interdependence issues of European citizenship and the EU are visible. In this chapter the idea of students as global citizens is introduced. The students learn about other countries and their interconnectedness. Also, international trade, fair trade and issues of justice in trade with other

⁸ Conor Harrison is involved in the CSPE programme as an educational consultant, an advisor to the Professional Development Service for Teachers (PDST) and as an expert in citizenship education for the Council of Europe.



countries are described. The following section of the chapter deals with international grouping. Here, the EU gets an important role. The European Court of Human Rights and the Council of Europe are explained, followed by fifteen pages of information about the EU. Examples are the history of the EU, EU Member States, and descriptions and explanations of EU institutions, their functions and the interaction between these institutions. Also, a part is attributed to Ireland and the EU. Here, the impact of the EU on Ireland is discussed and Ireland's contributions on the European level. Examples are, for instance, Irish presidencies of the European Council and content related to the Irish constituencies for the European Parliament elections. Students are encouraged to find out about their MEPs: what they do and who they represent. Furthermore, the chapter contains a 'Stop and Think' section. These sections – which are notable throughout the textbook – encourage students to think about issues and reflect on them, such as membership of the EU. This section closes by examining the benefits to Ireland from its EU membership. Several projects in Ireland that are funded by the EU are listed, for instance harbour development and motorways. There is also attention for other international organisations such as the United Nations (Harrison and Wilson, 2011, pp.255-270; Berkeley, 2016, pp.50-52).

CSPE aimed to focus on three domains of citizenship: (1) the affective dimension (feeling), (2) the cognitive dimension (knowing), and (3) the pragmatic dimension (doing). In practice all these domains of citizenship are noticeable to some extent. The affective dimension is visible in the development of a sense of belonging and the importance of institutions and processes. The cognitive come to the fore in the examined materials, in the amount of knowledge transmitted in the classroom. The pragmatic dimension appears in discussion and debates about issues related to justice, fair trade and the environment. Here, the focus is mainly on political participation. The focus of the CSPE curriculum and materials remains mostly on the local and national level, with most of the content dedicated to state institutions, processes and realities, i.e. the knowledge of citizenship. Despite the focus on the local and national level, the international dimension is notable too in the comprehensive chapter on the EU (Berkeley, 2016, pp.56-57).

If you translate this to the three aspects of citizenship – citizenship as a legal status, citizenship as active participation and citizenship as a member of a community – we see that also these three aspects are addressed in the Irish case. The idea of active citizenship has strong influence throughout the curriculum and the examined textbook. Students learn 'how' to be citizens, rather than merely knowledge about rights. However, the participation aspects are limited to the local and national level. Students also learn about their rights, in particular about concrete political rights, and general human rights. Furthermore, students develop an attachment to their community by learning about the Irish state and their role as Irish citizen. This community feeling is mainly focused on the local and national level, but also references to European citizenship are visible.

8.5 European citizenship in policies and practices

The current national curriculum mention that citizenship should be studied at all levels: personal, local, national, as well as the global level. The curriculum does not specify how this exactly should be done. In practice, the focus of the CSPE materials remains mostly on the local and national level, with most of the content dedicated to state institutions, processes and realities, i.e. the knowledge of citizenship. The participation aspect and the community feeling also mainly focus on the local and



the national level. References to European citizenship are notable too in a comprehensive chapter on the EU, but to a much lesser extent in comparison with the national and local level.

The future 'Wellbeing' programme will include the component *Global Citizenship*. This suggests that the topic European citizenship will be covered, but this will not be the case: European citizenship will not get specific attention in the new curriculum. In the curriculum of the new course 'Politics and Society' attention is paid to citizenship and the European Union. Although this curriculum emphasises active citizenship and includes European and international elements, the curriculum does not make explicit references to active citizenship at a European or supranational level.



9. Citizenship education in Spain

9.1 Developments of legislation and policies

During the authoritarian Franco regime in 1970's Spain the education law was Ley General de Educación. It eliminated a national-catholic 'citizenship education' FEN (Formación del Espíritu Nacional), and had cross-curricular formation on moral, civic and religious values in both primary and secondary school. After Franco's death in 1975, the first free elections were held in 1977, reestablishing the system of parliamentary democracy under constitutional monarchy. Between 1975 and 1978 in secondary schools a subject called Democratic Convivence was taught (Convivencia Democrática) as one of the first that contained the concepts of sociology and political science.

With minor changes⁹, the 1970s law survived until 1990s, when the socialist government made a new law LOGSE (Ley Orgánica de Ordenación General del Sistema Educativo) that established a new system, increasing the duration of compulsory education by establishing a model of 6 years of primary school and 4 of secondary, plus 2 more of non-compulsory high school (Bachillerato) to access superior vocational training or university. The law proposed an extensive pedagogical reform, made religion an elective, and maintained citizenship education as a cross-curricular element across most subjects. In 1995 amendments parents and students were given a more active role in the governance of schools.

There were no major changes¹⁰ in the area of education until 2006 when the socialist government under PSOE (Partido Socialista Obrero Español) passed LOE (Ley Orgánica de Educación), a new education law introducing for the first time Citizenship Education as a standalone subject. The conservative circles¹¹ criticized the law despite being in line with European Recommendations (EURYDICE, council). In the events following the economic crisis in 2008, the government made a sharp policy change towards austerity, also influenced by EU mandated spending cuts, which led to the massive demonstration throughout the country and to the occupation of the squares (particularly in Madrid). This movement changed the political landscape, giving birth to new parties (Prodemos) and citizens' movements such as the Green Tide (education) and the White Tide (healthcare).

In 2013 the center-right Popular Party (PP) government with José Ignacio Wert as the Minister of Education introduced new law (LOMCE - Organic Law for the Improvement of Educational Quality). According to the Spanish government, the primary goal of LOMCE is to address one of the top economic and social problems of Spain, the extremely high school drop - out rate, which in Spain

⁹ In 1985, LODE amended some aspects of the 1970 law. In citizenship education, it updated the values for the cross-curricular aspects (tolerance, freedom, etc.) and regulated the participation of students and teachers in the governance of schools.

¹⁰ In 2002 the conservative government led by Popular Party passed LOCE, an extensive reform stressing evaluation of students, with strong opposition from teacher and the rest of parties. It was derogated in 2004 and never came into force.

¹¹ Popular Party and the Catholic Church accused it of imposing a socialist doctrine.



stands at 25% compared to the 13% EU average¹² and to adjust Spain's education sector with those of other EU countries.

The law transferred an elective Catholic Religion into the group of obligatory specific subjects, and deprived Citizenship Education its standalone status; it became a part of the subject called Social and Civic Values (in primary school) and Ethical Values (in secondary school). LOMCE has been heavily criticized by teachers, parents and civil society¹³ but also by some regional authorities for its efforts towards centralization¹⁴ (allowing usage of regional languages only for specialty and optional subjects). With opposition from rest of the parties to the law and the unstable political situation, it is unclear how to proceed with the eighth attempt of educational reform in over forty years.

9.2 Emphasis of citizenship education legislation and policies

Citizenship Education in Spain is conducted through subjects Social and Civic Values (on primary school level) and Ethical Values (on secondary school level). The basic structure distinguishes between the dignity and autonomy of the person, the interpersonal relations, the ethical and moral dimensions of society, and finally the creation of deontological codes to ensure personal dignity and environment conservation regarding scientific progress and technical developments (Annex II of RD 1105/2014 –pp 534-549 Section I, BOE 3rd January 2015)¹⁵. It has two main stated goals; building a fair, free and egalitarian society while fostering participation and acknowledging the value of institutions, political pluralism and human rights and development of personality and personal autonomy.

The topics are divided in six blocks (main topics covered according to the law -RD 126/2014, RD 1105/2014 and Regional Law): Identity and Dignity of the Person; Understanding, Respect and Equality in Human Relationships; Ethical Reflection; Justice and Politics; Ethical Values, Law and Human Rights, Ethical Values and their relationship with science and technology.

The block Justice and Politics topics vary from dealing with ethic and civic values as foundations of democracy, risks of democracy, citizen participation, values and principles in the Spanish Constitution, alongside with human rights and duties of citizens in the constitution. It also deals with topics regarding the European Union and its history, goals, achievements and advantages.

¹² http://www.spanishreforms.com/document-legislation/-/asset_publisher/l3dIXOACv5oU/content/organic-law-on-the-improvement-of-the-quality-of-education-lomce-;jsessionid=EAE55E2B130E2928BD06BB38904F5C32?_101_INSTANCE_l3dIXOACv5oU_commitment=1.+GROWTH+AND+COMPETITIVENESS

¹³ Civil Society Memorandum opposing the transformation of Citizenship Education into Ethical Values: <http://www.fundacioncives.org/Documentos/noticia14/MEMORANDUM-English.pdf>

¹⁴ In Catalonia, opposition to this change was so fierce that the central government finally declared that if the Catalan government did not obey the law, it would give parents money to enroll their children in private schools, then later deduct the amount from funds normally transferred from Madrid to Catalonia, <http://monitor.icef.com/2015/03/spanish-education-at-a-crossroads/>

¹⁵ Cross-curricular elements: 'civic and constitutional education will be part of all subjects [In Primary School]' (art. 10 of Royal Decree 126/2014), together with mentions of equality for men and women, pacific resolution of conflicts, and values of freedom, justice, democracy, solidarity and rejection of terrorist violence. For instance, Social Sciences, in its 3rd block of contents, has parts for the European Union, the Constitution, and the Rights and Duties of citizens. (Annex I, RD 126/2014). Article 7 of Royal Decree 1105/2014 establishes the same cross-curricular ideas for secondary school



The 2006 LOE reform officially included in the Spanish curricula the contemporary societal issues that students face in their daily lives; tolerance, discrimination, cultural diversity, and sustainable development were the most common themes addressed.

Citizenship Education subject content relates mainly to history, culture and literature, as well as to economic, political and social issues and is mainly theory-based. One of the guidelines prescribed by the law for the subject Ethical Values (Social and Civic Values) is “Social and Civic Competence” is preparing the students to take part in everyday democratic society, in the political system and in community life as a whole and to understand the values, norms and rules of society. It pays attention to the local, regional, Spanish and European identity and multicultural dimension; entails critical thinking and active participation in the community and neighborhood, along with all three levels: local, national and European.

Informal education in Spain is provided by organizations such as the Cives Foundation. It aims to disseminate information and train teachers in matters related to ethical and civic education. The Cives Foundation organizes workshops, conferences and seminars, but also publishes popular books on education for citizenship. The official website contains news, resources and various types of information about the subject, creating knowledge networks on civic education and education for democracy.

9.3 Citizenship education practices

Even though national education law prescribes the curriculum and main objectives in teaching, some of the practices may differ in certain regions and schools. Although the preamble of the law and the description of the subject refer to ‘knowledge how’ competences, there are no specific guidelines for obtaining those competences in the curriculum for Citizenship Education. Some initiatives like the ‘Model of European Parliament’, try to enable students aged between 16 and 17 to learn about parliamentary protocol and to develop the skills and attitudes essential for a complete education, such as teamwork, speaking in public, respect for others’ ideas and negotiating to achieve consensus¹⁶, thus offering, to some extent, the needed ‘knowledge how’.

Some examples of citizenship education practices can be found on the local level. In 2008, the Department of Education of the Autonomous Community of Castile and Leon initiated a training program to encourage families and students to participate in education governance¹⁷. In 2009 the Vicente Ferrer National Award for Education for Development¹⁸ selected 15 school projects from all educational levels each year, with a goal of raising awareness, developing critical thinking and encouraging the active participation of students in the pursuit of global citizenship, solidarity, eradication of poverty and sustainable development. European environmental recommendations regarding education for civic culture and citizenship can also be found in Spanish nationwide program devoted to the recovery and educational use of abandoned villages (Programa de recuperación y utilización educativa de pueblos abandonados)¹⁹.

¹⁶ Citizenship Education in Europe, Educational, Audiovisual and Culture Executive Agency, 2012, page 66

¹⁷ http://eacea.ec.europa.eu/education/eurydice/documents/thematic_reports/139EN.pdf

¹⁸ The Vicente Ferrer National Award for Development Education is a part of the collective programme DOCENTES PARA EL DESARROLLO (Teachers for Development), <http://www.aecid.es/EN/aecid>

¹⁹ Citizenship Education in Europe, Educational, Audiovisual and Culture Executive Agency, 2012, page 66-67



Citizenship education in Spain is, as stated before, taught in primary schools as a part of the subject Social and Civic Values and in secondary schools as part of the subject Ethical Values. At primary school level, teachers must have a Primary School Teacher Bachelor Degree with general formation in all subjects and different tracks, but no specific citizenship (or social sciences) track combined with internship practice in teaching. On secondary school level teachers are required to have a Bachelor degree related to the field plus a Master Degree in teaching, combined with internship practice in teaching in secondary schools²⁰. The MA has several tracks and offers Citizenship as an elective within the track of Philosophy²¹.

According to the study of EURYDICE, the general tendency in Spain is presenting citizenship education almost exclusively as part of in-service teacher training programs (EURYDICE, 2005, pp.48-49). In some specific subjects, such as human rights teaching, a recent report of Amnesty International has warned of absence of specific practical training programs in the institutions that deal with training of education professionals (Amnistía Internacional 2003)²².

An example of initiative trying to underline the importance of citizenship education is the workshop 'Barcelona, Citizenship Classroom' led by group of researchers at University of Barcelona. The workshop is making an effort in directing school teachers towards a model which takes the school as a core and driving force of the Citizenship Education, beyond considering it a mere subject or limiting it on what each teacher does in their classroom. The goal of the workshop is to bring together the local administration and work on citizenship education values with teachers.²³

The curriculum contains general and theoretical definitions of values like tolerance, diversity, understanding and learning about democratic practices in the free society, but does not equip the students with set of practical skills. Following the curriculum, it remains unclear what sort of activities every citizen has the right to conduct in his or her efforts to participate in the community on the local, national, or EU level. Aside from responsibilities students learn very little about what are their rights as citizens. What is particularly interesting is that the students in Spain could see and experience first-hand what it means to be an active citizen practicing the right to protest during the Occupy Movement and protests in 2013 when introducing LOMCE law.

9.4 Textbooks and teaching materials

The analysis of the two textbooks for secondary school Ethical Values shows that the structure of books follows the six aspects (main topics) described in the law. The books cover the first (1st-3rd years) and second cycle (4th year) and are published by editorial Proyecto EDUCA. also include an extensive set of complementary materials online, such as videos²⁴, texts, games and recommended readings.

²⁰ <https://www.ucm.es/estudios/grado-educacionprimaria-estudios-estructura>

²¹ Example of the UCM (to be chosen instead of history of philosophy)
<https://www.ucm.es/masterformacionprofesorado/especialidades#OrientacionEdu>

²² Naval, Jover, The Research on moral and civic education in the Spanish educational theory – evolution and trends, *Journal of Social Science Education*, 2006, 98.pg

²³ <http://www.ub.edu/congresice/english/workshops/11.html>

²⁴ This one, for instance, explains the creation of the EU https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rgitH89_yw8



In the first cycle textbook there is a broad explanation of the theoretical foundations of ethics, morals, and democracy, representativeness, and the state. It describes the institutions of the Spanish state and models of citizen participation. It also includes an institutional description of the EU, with its history and achievements, symbols, and the articles 1 to 5 of the EU Charter of Fundamental Rights. It covers in detail Spanish national themes, unlike those regarding the European level which is covered in limited aspect. Mostly providing the 'knowledge of', as examples of 'knowing how' it contains proposal for the mock Congress debate, encouraging students to identify key issues, formulate questions and debate about the previously learned concepts such as the convenience of having a written constitution, the nature of the state, or the advantages or disadvantages of being a member EU state. The structure and history of the European Union is introduced, as well as its main institutions, values, goals and achievement. Proposed activities include a discussion about the advantages and disadvantages of EU membership. The book finishes the EU chapter explaining the symbols of the EU (flag, motto, flag day) and attaches articles 1 to 5 of the EU Charter of Fundamental Rights.

The second cycle book mainly covers the same topics, but in more detailed manner. Citizen is defined rather unclearly, as a person part of the state that serves its people, as opposite from subject. Furthermore, the concept of human rights is explained merely to introduce the role of international organizations responsible for their protection (UN), tackling the issues of Spanish military interventions abroad in relation to the matter.

The local or regional level of government is covered to smaller extent while the EU is not mentioned at all. Most of the content is 'knowledge of', but examples of 'knowledge how' can be found in the exercise debating Habermas' ethics, the discussion on the role of head of state, the exercise in which students are encouraged to propose a solution for ending corruption, a debate on a Constitutional Court's rule banning civil servants from becoming consciously objectors in marrying gay couples, and a group project on coming up with a way of ending terrorism.

Spanish curricula included some of European recommendations on developing civic culture and citizenship education, but mostly pursue theoretical knowledge about EU's institutions, lacking practical knowledge and civic engagement on the EU level. National citizenship education is notably more represented than European citizenship education. The imbalance has been increased after the 2013 law changes which made Citizenship Education an elective subject, setting it on equal foot with Catholic Religion. Moreover, the change from Citizenship Education to Ethical Values has greatly diminished the citizenship content, substituted by broader ethical and moral contents.

9.5 European citizenship in policies and practices

European identity is mentioned in the curriculum and active citizenship is mentioned on all three levels, local, national and European. When mentioned, European identity is linked with national identity and the related sense of belonging. Emphasis is mostly on the EU institutions, decision making process and clarifications of responsibilities and rights Spain derives from the EU membership. European level of citizenship education and union membership is alluded to only in the form of succinct and precise references to unions' origins and achievements. Participation in the institutional sphere is limited to information about political institutions, ranging from local authorities to the European Parliament. In the case of the European Union (EU), the texts (Bruño V,



Elkar VI, Erein VI, Santillana VI) analyze the origin, development, and institutions of the EU, as well as the principal concerns expressed by European citizens. Furthermore, with the recent change in the law, the textbooks are extremely new and more research is needed.



10. Citizenship education in Hungary

10.1 Developments of legislations and policies

Hungary was a communist country till 1989. After the 1989-1990 there were political changes and reforms towards a parliamentary republic. There has also been a fundamental reform in educational policy. The Public Education Act of 1993 transformed the school system from a centralised to a decentralised system and established a National Core Curriculum (NCC) (European Commission, 2016). The NCC outlined the compulsory requirements in every school for the first ten years of education. It also included requirements for secondary education outlined in the regulations specified for the Secondary School-leaving examination (Pepper, Burroughs and Groce, 2003, p.32).

Although living in a democracy became an everyday experience, the democratic values did not become automatically deeply rooted (Setényi, 1995). There were important problems in regard to implementing democratic practice in schools. Citizens were sceptical and distrusted the government. As a result, Hungarian educators faced obstacles in their efforts to teach young citizens the values and principles of democratic citizenship (Pepper, Burroughs and Groce, 2003, p.34).

Whereas the nation-state was associated with the state socialist past, local governments were expected to be the source of a democratic republic (Council of Europe, 2008, p.19). Therefore, in 1999, there was an amendment of the Public Education Act which strengthened the role of the local government even more (European Commission, 2016). In 2000, the Hungarian Minister of Education published the Framework Curricula. They elaborate the implementation of the NCC and serve as a basis for developing the local curricula. The Framework Curricula restore the subject system, determine types of tasks and activity formats to ensure skill and capacity development and set a minimum number of lesson hours for teaching subjects. The local curricula are developed by schools in accordance with the NCC and the relevant Framework Curriculum (Council of Europe, 2013, p.10; Balogh et al., 2001; Halász et al., 2001).

In 2010, the government decided to base educational policy on new principles and approaches in order to meet the educational challenges of the new century. The government introduced the Act CXC on Public education in 2011, which came into effect on the first of September 2012. One of its important tasks is to educate people how to *“become responsible citizens whose skills, competences, knowledge will effectively serve the interests of the community and the public (...) and also to develop and operate a new system of talent care and equal opportunities for all children in education in harmony with the EU trends and guidelines”* (European Commission, 2016). The Act also updated the NCC and included social and civic competences among the key competences. Civic education is thought within the subject area *‘Man and Society’*. It contains the following subjects: history, moral and ethics, civic education, society and economy, knowledge of the homeland, the nation and national culture (Council of Europe, 2013, p.11).

10.2 Emphasis on citizenship education in legislation and policies

In Hungary, responsibilities and decision-making in determining educational content are divided between the central, local and institutional levels. The Parliament passes the laws, such as the Public Education Law, which grants the government regulatory power over the NCC and exam regulations.



The Minister of Education has the most widespread decision-making power and presents bills and decrees, which establish the legal framework for content regulation to the government and parliament. The Ministry of Labor and the Ministry of Interior also play a role. The regional level plays a weak role in contrast to the local level. Schools and their maintainers have wide responsibilities in the definition of educational content. More than ninety percent of school maintainers are local government. Furthermore, the most important decisions that influence the content of education are made at the institutional level. Examples are the selection of textbooks, the organisation of fields of knowledge into subjects and the planning of education programmes. Curricular decisions are made partly within the professional sphere of autonomy of the teachers or faculty (Halász et al., 2001, pp.25-28). These decisions have to be made in accordance to the NCC and the Framework Curriculum.

There are also other institutions participating in content-related changes. Most important are the National Institute for Public Education (OFI, formerly OKI) and the National Institute for Vocational Education (NSZI). OFI is the largest national institute of professional service provides of public education. OFI's task is to create a selection of curricula for schools preparing their local curricula. It includes a unit engaged in program- and curriculum development. The NSZI is responsible for the developments of the qualification requirements and the educational content of professions as well as the coordination of related tasks (Halász et al., 2001, pp.55, 68).

The NCC is the most important document regulating the content of the public education system. It contains the development fields, educational goals, and the tasks and values of the national education system and the content of subject areas (Council of Europe, 2013, p.10). The NCC does not specify subject content (Kerr, Keating and Ireland, 2009, p.25), but it defines areas of learning, such as *'Man and Society'*. Schools decide which subjects will cover the objectives and contents of the areas (Eurydice, 2009, p.2). However, the NCC does describe key competences and key development tasks. The key competences describe those competences *"which every individual needs for personal fulfilment and development, active citizenship, social inclusion and employment"* (Ministry of Education and Culture, 2009, p.3). The following key competences are described: (1) communication in the mother tongue and in foreign languages, (2) mathematical competences, (3) competences in Natural Science, (4) digital competences, (4) learning to learn, (5) social and civic competences, (6) sense of initiative and entrepreneurship, and (7) aesthetic and artistic awareness and expression. The competences are equally important and may partially overlap and intertwine (Ministry of Education and Culture, 2009).

The NCC also describes key development tasks. These tasks build upon the key competences. The following key development tasks are described: (1) self-image and self-knowledge, (2) homeland and peoples, (3) European identity - universal culture, (4) education for active citizenship and democracy, (5) economic education, (6) education for environmental awareness, (7) learning to learn, (8) physical and mental health, and (9) preparing for adulthood (Ministry of Education and Culture, 2009).

Social and civic topics are a general educational objective and included in all parts of the curricula. The NCC includes social and civic competences:

"Personal, value-oriented, interpersonal, intercultural, social and civic competences are prerequisites for a harmonious life and community integration, a commitment to and activity for the public good.



These comprise all forms of behaviour that an individual should master in order to participate in an efficient and constructive way in social and working life, in an increasingly diverse society, and, furthermore, if need be, to resolve conflicts. Civic competence enables an individual to apply his or her knowledge of social processes, structures and democracy in order to actively participate in public affairs” (Ministry of Education and Culture, 2009, p.6).

The NCC prescribes necessary knowledge, skills and attitudes for personal, value-oriented, interpersonal, intercultural and social competences. The NCC focuses on five topics where students should have knowledge of for the development of these competences. Students should have knowledge of (1) his/her own physical and mental health, (2) the decisive role of a healthy lifestyle, (3) the norms and accepted rules of behaviour and codes of conduct, (4) the basic concepts concerning individuals, groups, work organisations, gender equality, non-discrimination, society and culture, and (5) the multi-cultural and socio-economic dimension of European societies and the interaction between national cultural identity and European identity. Also, according to the NCC students should have the following skills: (1) ability to communicate efficiently in different spheres of life, (2) consider and understand various viewpoints, (3) invoke trust in negotiating partners, (4) show empathy, and (5) coping with stress and frustration and responsiveness to changes. Students have to develop attitudes in regard to cooperation, assertiveness, integrity, interest in social and economic development and intercultural communication, and the recognition of social diversity (Ministry of Education and Culture, 2009, p.6).

The NCC also prescribes necessary knowledge, skills and attitudes for civic competences. The NCC focuses on five topics where students should have knowledge of for the development of civic competences. Students should have the knowledge of (1) the concept of democracy, citizenship and civil rights as defined in the Charter of the Fundamental Rights of the EU and other (international declarations, (2) major events and tendencies of national, European and world history, (3) goals, values and policies of social and political movements, (4) the idea of European integration and the EU’s structures, main objectives and values, and (5) European diversity and cultural identity. According to the NCC, students should have the following skills: (1) efficient cooperation in public matters, (2) solidarity with and interest in resolving problems that concern the local and broader community, (3) critical and constructive analysis of community activities and decisions made at various levels (local, national and European), and (4) participation in decision-making, primarily through voting (Ministry of Education and Culture, 2009, p.6).

According to the NCC, students have to develop attitudes in regard to (1) full respect for human rights, including respect for equality and democracy, (2) understanding the cultural diversity of religious and ethnic groups, (3) sense of belonging the locality, the country, the EU and Europe in general, (4) an openness to participating in all levels of democratic decision-making, (5) demonstration of responsibility and acceptance of and respect for the common values that ground community cohesion, and (6) supportive attitude towards civic activities, social diversity, social cohesion, and sustainable development and respect for others’ values and privacy (Ministry of Education and Culture, 2009, p.6).

The key developments tasks of the NCC build upon these competences. In regard to (European) citizenship education it is worthwhile to highlight two tasks. The first task is ‘European identity –



universal culture'. This task refers to European citizenship and the European Union. Students must have knowledge of the history of the formation of the European Union, its constitutions, institutional structure and its political principles. Students must be able to embrace the opportunities and become European citizens while maintaining their Hungarian identity, because "*Europe is the larger home of Hungarian people*" (Ministry of Education and Culture, 2009, p.6). Students should also find their place in the European open society and they must be – through the reinforcement of their European identity – receptive and open to cultures outside Europe. Furthermore, students should collect information on common and global problems and they should develop a greater sensitivity to the core and causes of these problems, to underlying relationships and to explore possible solutions (Ministry of Education and Culture, 2009, p.6).

The second task is 'Education for Active citizenship and Democracy'. This task refers explicit to citizenship education. One of the major tasks of the public education system of the Republic of Hungary is to provide formal, non-formal and informal learning opportunities that help students become active citizens. Participation in civil society, the professional or cultural community, and the residential and/or political life is seen as a condition for the development of society, personal fulfilment and someone's happiness in a democratic constitutional state (Ministry of Education and Culture, 2009, p.6).

As mentioned, formal, informal and non-formal learning play a role in citizenship education. Since January 2016, it is required for secondary school leaving examinations to complete fifty hours of community service. This way of learning should enrich students' experiences of career orientation as part of lifelong learning and breaks down prejudice against the elderly people, the disabled and vulnerable groups. It should also contribute to a sense of social solidarity and educating for democratic citizenship (Council of Europe, 2013, p.14).

The most important actors in informal and non-formal learning are NGOs, because they insist on further development, make professional programs for teachers and organise nationwide events for students. The most well-known organisations are (Council of Europe, 2013, pp.12-13):

- Model European Parliament (MEP): the MEP is a network of schools on both national and European level. It organises simulation games of the working of the European Parliament for students ages sixteen till nineteen years old. The aim of the programme is to give young people insight into the working of the European Parliament and to raise awareness of European citizenship;
- Foundation for Democratic Youth (DIA): the DIA focuses on citizenship and global education. For instance, it has coordinated National Youth Service Days campaigns, campaigns to raise awareness about social responsibility and democratic participation and teacher training;
- Civitas Association: Civitas is an International Civic Education Exchange Program. It supports collaboration between the United States and emerging democracies around the world to help make democratic ideals a reality. Its aim is to strengthen effective education and informed and responsible citizenship in new and established democracies around the world. Civitas has a partnership with Hungary (Pepper, Burroughs and Groce, 2003, p.31) and organised, for example, a national student competition for upper secondary school students: "the Citizen in a European Democracy";



- Association for Hungarian Student Councils (MODE): it aims to support the work of student councils, to enhance their cooperation, to help students acquire democratic attitude and prepare them for an active role in public life.

10.3 Citizenship education practices

The NCC does not formulate the curriculum contents into subjects. As a result, schools have the opportunity to determine their subjects independently (Halász et al., 2001, p.30). As citizenship is a cross-curricular theme (Kerr, Keating and Ireland, 2009, p.24), and its mode of appearance is decided at school level, it is difficult to summarise citizenship practices. The NCC mentioned that the subject area 'Man and Society' includes the tasks 'Education for Active Citizenship and Democracy' (Ministry of Education and Culture, 2009, p.6). Therefore, we will look into the practices of the subject area 'Man and Society'.

'Man and Society' takes eight till fifteen percent of the curriculum time in secondary school (Government of Hungary, 2012, p.27). The development of knowledge, skills and attitudes within 'Man and society' depends on the quality of teaching and learning organisation processes. Therefore, the teacher plays an important role. Those who teach social and civic subject are mainly history teachers. Those teachers did not have specific teaching trainings for teaching civics. Civitas Association played an important role in assisting Hungary in creating standards for teaching training in civics. The standards of the Civitas programme constitute a unified system within the teacher training institutions (Pepper, Burroughs and Groce, 2003, p.41).

As mentioned, there are many NGOs in the field of education, but in practice only a few young people are members of any organisation (Council of Europe, 2008, p.5). The membership of young people in NGOs and other representative bodies is below the European level. The political interest of young Hungarians is also low and decreasing, and out of the different forms of political participation direct democratic participations – such as demonstrations, flash mobs and petitions – and issue politics are the most preferred activities by the Hungarian youth (Oross, 2015, pp.9-10). Since January 2016, students have to complete fifty hours of community service (Council of Europe, 2013, p.14).

10.4 Text books and teaching materials

Due to the fact citizenship education is a cross-curricular theme and its mode of appearance is decided at school level, we are unable to capture the mostly used Textbooks and teaching materials in Hungary. However, Civitas Association provides materials, training, and support to teachers who begin to incorporate civic education into their classes. Although we cannot guarantee that these materials are mostly and widely used by Hungarian teachers, we will analyse these materials to get insight in possible practices at the grass root level.

Two programmes of The Center for Civic Education of Civitas are widely used: 'Project Citizen' is used in 75 countries and 'Foundations of democracy' is used in more than 40 countries. 'Project Citizen' equips students with the knowledge and skills required for competent and responsible participation in the political life of their communities. Level 2 of the program is designed for high school students and young adults. Youth learn to interact with their government and community leaders through a



six-step process that entails: (1) identifying problems to be dealt with by public policy, (2) selecting a problem or problems for your class to study, (3) gathering information on the problem you will study, (4) developing a portfolio to present your research, (5) presenting your portfolio in a simulated public hearing, and (6) reflecting on your experience (Centre for Civic Education, 2016a). In this curriculum, citizenship as active participation is notable: students learn the knowledge and skills to participate in the political life of their communities. This also includes citizenship as a legal status with a main focus on political rights of citizens.

The other program, 'Foundations of Democracy', focuses on four concepts to understand politics and government: authority, privacy, responsibility and justice. The suggested textbook for high school students is 'Foundations of Democracy'. The authority curriculum teaches students how to distinguish authority and power, how to choose people for leadership positions, analyse benefits and costs of authority, and to take a position on the scope and limits of authority. The privacy curriculum teach students the importance of privacy in a free society, the benefits and costs of privacy and the limits of privacy. The justice curriculum teaches students differences between distributive, procedural and corrective justice, and to take a position on issues of justice. The last curriculum, the responsibility curriculum, teaches students how to choose among competing responsibilities, how to assign and accept responsibilities and how to evaluate the benefits and costs of being responsible (Centre of Civic Education, 2016b). In this curriculum, the focus is on the knowledge of citizenship: students merely learn about political rights.

Civitas also provides lessons with a focus on the concepts of the 'Foundations of Democracy' curricular programme. In partnerships, there are unique lessons developed which mainly focus on the countries who were involved in the development of the lesson. There is one lesson for grade nine till twelve developed in partnership with Hungary: 'All equal – all different'. The purpose of these lessons is to make students realize that they can be regarded as a minority any time; to make them realize how it feels to be treated differently and how the belonging to a minority group can affect their daily life (Civitas, 2016). This lesson has a clear focus on citizenship as a member of a community.

10.5 European citizenship in policies and practices

The NCC includes several references to European citizenship within the description of civic competences. For instance, students should have knowledge of (1) the concepts of democracy, citizenship and civil rights as defined in EU declarations, (2) events and tendencies of European history, (3) the idea of European integration and the EU's structures, main objectives and values, and (4) European diversity and cultural identity. This shows the emphasis of the NCC on the European level (besides the local and national level). It is hard to capture the practices of European citizenship in secondary schools in Hungary due the fact that citizenship education is a cross-curricular theme and the selection of textbooks, the organisation of fields of knowledge into subjects and the planning of education programmes is decided at school level. However, in the examined teaching materials we do not see an emphasis on European citizenship. The examined materials focus on general aspects of civic education and do not specify geographic levels. This seems to be a result of the fact that the materials are not designed for one specific country or region.



11. Comparative findings

In chapter 3 of this report we established an analytical framework for our comparative study. Based on our research, we are able to fill in the framework. Annex I shows a comprehensive overview of the framework per country. In this chapter, we want to highlight the most notable comparative findings. Here, we make a distinction between comparative findings in relation to the (governmental) policy approach, citizenship practices and the focus of the curricula.

11.1 (Governmental) policy approach

In this study we examined the (governmental) policy approach of the seven explored countries. Here, we focus on three aspects, namely the core values within the policy, the educational system and the level of policy implementation.

Country	Core values	Educational system	Level of implementation
The Netherlands	Social integration and active citizens	Centralized	Institutional level
Croatia	Democracy, citizenship and the Croatian institution	Centralized	Institutional level
France	Moral and civic education, secularism and Republican values	Centralized	Institutional level
Germany	Citizenship as protector of democracy, German constitution and intercultural skills	Decentralized	Local and institutional level
Ireland	Developing active citizens	Centralized	Institutional level
Spain	Social and civic competences; understanding values, norms and rules of society	Centralized	Institutional level
Hungary	Democratic values, social and civic competences	Decentralized	Institutional level

Table 2: Policy approach – core values, educational system, and level of implementation

From the comparative review of seven explored country studies, it is clear that citizenship education practices are deeply related to the type of the democratic development, type of the democratic regime and crucial social issues within the polity. Countries with the longer experiences with immigration are putting the emphasis on the values such as intercultural and social integration, while the debates regarding the citizenship education in countries such as Croatia seem to revolve over the disputing issues to what extent the models of civic education focused on critical thinking and active involvement of students may endanger a national culture and national identity. In such context, streams of Croatian society go in line with Hungarian approaches to citizenship education, which undermine the necessity of separate citizenship education class, and emphasize that the school should prepare democratic citizens, but primarily embedded and socialized with national identity. In



countries such as France, citizenship education is seen as a tool for protection of republican values and following the socially constructed threat to French republicanism following the terrorist threat; it is reflecting the overall general public attitudes toward greater secularism in schooling. Needless to say, specific experience of democracy and transition to it, guides the direction of civic education towards the national notion of what to be a citizen means (hence e.g. the German understanding of the fragility of democracy imposes civic education as a cross curricula and educational guidance of the whole system rather than just focusing on single class).

The challenges of thorough understanding of civic education further stem the type of democracy across the countries. In decentralized states the importance and content of citizenship education are not determined at the national level. In Germany, for instance, the responsibility of the education system is shared between sixteen federal states and there is no unified or national curriculum. As a result, civic education can differ largely between different federal states and schools. Another example is Hungary. In Hungary responsibilities and decision-making in determining educational content are divided between the central, local and institutional level. The national level prescribes the National Core Curriculum, which defines areas of learning, but does not specify subject content. The decisions in determining educational content are made at the institutional level, which lead to different civic education practices between schools.

Also within countries with centralized educational systems civic education might differ between schools. Citizenship education can differ from the type of school in which it is taught to the type of implementation of goals in schools, which are defined at the national level. For instance, in the Netherlands the national government defines core objectives and desired outcomes, and prescribes the exam program. However, schools have the freedom to organize the teaching in their schools. Hence, schools and/or teachers have the autonomy to make decisions in regard to the methods they use, the materials to cover and how to achieve educational goals. This autonomy is also notable in other countries with a centralized educational system, such as France, Spain and Ireland.

11.2 Citizenship practices

In this study we also examined the citizenship practices of the seven explored countries. Here, we focus on three aspects, namely place of citizenship education in the curricula, the teaching hours, and the qualifications needed for teachers.

Country	Place of citizenship education in the curricula	Teaching hours	Qualification needed for teachers
The Netherlands	' <i>Maatschappijleer</i> ' as compulsory subject, general task for secondary schools, integrated into several subjects, informal training is provided by NGO's	Depends on level - HAVO/VWO: 120 hours in total - VMBO: 80 hours in total	Formal qualification regulation for teaching ' <i>maatschappijleer</i> '
Croatia	' <i>Politics and Economy</i> ' as a compulsory single subject; but secondary school is not	1-2 hours per week	University degree in subjects related to social sciences; no specific



	compulsory, informal training is provided by NGO's		qualification needed
France	'Enseignement Moral et Civique' (EMC) as compulsory and common level subject	3-3,5 hours per week for 'EMC'; no specific time allocated for each element	General degree for teaching; no specific qualification needed
Germany	No uniformed concept of citizenship education; objectives of civic education are taught under different subject areas	Not unified; maximum 2 hours per week	Civic education is offered at all German universities, but no special subject knowledge is needed
Ireland	'Civics, Social and Political Education' (CSPE) as a standalone subject; from 2017 onwards integrated in several subjects as 'Wellbeing' course	70 hours in total for CSPE	Teaching qualification for all subjects in second-level education
Spain	'Ethical values' as a standalone subject, informal training is available	2-3 hours per week	MA level is needed to teach at secondary schools
Hungary	Cross-curricular theme within the subject area 'Man and Society', informal training is provided by NGO's	8-15 percent in total	No specific qualification needed

Table 3: Citizenship education practices – place in the curricula, teaching hours, and qualification needed for teachers

Education practices show great variety of available teaching modules both in formal and informal way. Formal education is provided by schools and taught through textbooks, but citizenship education is not in every country a compulsory subject. Some countries encourage certain modes of informal education, such as extra-curricular activities and service learning. Here, NGO's play a crucial role in providing trainings and a variety of simulations and skill development practices for students. For instance, in France NGO's develop extra-curricular materials that schools can use, and the Dutch government (partially) funds some NGO's to develop extra-curricular materials or projects.

However, examples show that when informal learning is not compulsory, a majority of students do not have access to these modes of learning. Community service-learning in the Netherlands can be used as an example here. In 2011, the Dutch government implemented the law on mandatory community service-learning at secondary schools nationwide. It obliged students to be part of community projects or to volunteer in an organization. In 2014, the mandatory aspect of the program at secondary schools was removed. Some schools continued community service-learning, but to a lesser extent. Hence, when there is no mandatory aspect to informal modes of learning not all students will have access to these modes of learning through which the civic skills and competences can be acquired.



There also seems to be a certain paradox between acknowledging the importance that civic education has for society, and political readiness to acknowledge that specific training is needed for teachers to be eligible to qualitatively educate and prepare students for their roles as active citizens. For instance, in France citizenship education is seen as a tool for protection of Republican values, but there is no specific qualification required other than the standard teaching qualification for teaching *EMC*. Civic education also gains importance in countries as Hungary, Ireland and Germany, but also in these countries civic education teachers do not need specific qualifications. The Netherlands seems to be the only exception here, where *'maatschappijleer'* teachers need to have a specific degree to be allowed to teach the subject.

11.3 Focus of the curricula

Formal education is provided by schools and taught through textbooks. Therefore, we analyzed the mostly used textbooks in secondary schools to examine what exactly is taught. Here, we focus on two aspects, namely the key focus of the textbook and EU and EU citizenship in the textbook.

Country	Key focus of the textbook	EU and EU citizenship in the textbook
The Netherlands	Providing general knowledge of key concepts and political institutions; low focus on citizenship skills and competences	Emphasis on European institutions, structures and decision making in EU; European dimension of citizenship has a marginal role
Croatia	Core terms in politics; knowledge on national political institutions, democratic processes and economic institutions, terms and processes	Providing basic information on the role of EU and its political and economic institutions; no content dedicated to European citizenship
France	Living together; focus on liberty, equality and solidarity; mainly emphasizes on national and local level	Emphasis on knowledge of EU institutions and symbols; EU citizenship as an extension of national citizenship
Germany	There is no specific textbook on citizenship education; varies from school to school	Differs from school to school
Ireland	Focus on active citizenship, including examples of participation and active citizens	EU and EU citizenship is mentioned as well as the idea of students as global citizens. In the new course <i>'Politics and Society'</i> attention is paid to citizenship and the EU, but no explicit references to active citizenship at a European or more supranational level



Spain	Explaining theoretical foundations of ethics, morals democracy, representativeness, and the state.	European identity is linked to national identity and the related sense of belonging; active citizenship is mentioned on local, national and European level
Hungary	There is no specific textbook on citizenship education; practices vary from school to school	Although there is no specific textbook, the NCC mentioned that students must have knowledge of the history of the EU, its constitutions, institutional structure and its political principles. Students should become European citizens while maintaining their Hungarian identity

Table 4: Focus of the curricula – key focus of the textbook, EU and EU citizenship in the textbook

The textbooks provides students with knowledge of values, symbols, political processes and institutions, but little focus is dedicated to the active component of citizenship. Ireland can be mentioned here as the only exception. Although the focus of the curricula differ between the member states, all countries have one aspect in common: EU and rights, obligations and skills related to the active role as EU citizen is a completely neglected aspect of citizenship in all countries. The knowledge of EU is only marginally covered by formal courses providing general information on EU institution at least, and rights associated to EU citizenship at best, with no thorough analysis and exploration of what each of this rights means. If additional learning opportunities exist within the schools or in collaboration with the NGOs, such learning activities are focused either to the EU elections or to the modules such as simulation of EU parliament. Such activities perpetuate the conception among the students that EU is less directly relevant for their everyday life as citizens, or perpetuate the idea of EU as elite project for “representatives” and bureaucracy.



Conclusion

Since the Treaty of Maastricht (1992) all nationals of EU member states hold EU citizenship too. EU citizens hold EU citizenship rights in addition to their national rights. These rights include civil, social, economic and political rights. Holding these rights does not guarantee actual participation. There are increasingly concerns about (too) low voter turnout and a (too) low number of citizens participating in other activities related to political decision making. Therefore, there seems to be a quest for a European civic culture. Citizenship education, and more specifically European citizenship education, is seen as an important instrument to stimulate the development of a European civic culture.

Our research results show that (governmental) policies and practices of citizenship education differ widely between the seven examined countries. However, all countries share a very similar approach regarding to the European dimension of citizenship: it is a highly neglected area within the national curriculum. The focus is dominantly on the factual and theoretical knowledge on the EU and especially its institutions rather than the promotion of values and the training of skills needed to exercise EU citizenship rights and needed for development of active, participating EU citizens. Here, pupils do not learn how the EU dimension enlarges their national identity and do not learn about the importance of their state to be an EU Member State. Hence, European citizenship education within the member states seems to be in its infancy.

To develop a European civic culture, socialization and developing civic competencies are important. For that it is important to strengthen and further develop European citizenship education. European citizenship teaching packages may help policymakers and teachers at the national level with these developments. When developing teaching packages the insights of this research need to be taken into account.

The research results show great differences between the countries. Therefore, the development of a European civic culture through teaching and citizenship education cannot have a 'one size fits all' module for the countries. The teaching packages have to be flexible in such a way that they can be adjusted to particularities of the given citizenship educational system, combined with the dominant values that the system wants to endorse to its students and complemented with European values. Here, attention needs to be paid to the several aspects of citizenship (e.g. citizenship as a legal status, as active participation and as the feeling of belonging to a community) and its European dimensions. In certain cases, where the national education system already fosters citizenship participation skills at the local level the appropriate module of citizenship education for European citizenship may focus on strengthening type of skills necessary for the active political participation of citizens at the European level.

However, our analysis reveals that such endeavor may be even more challenging in the educational systems which at their current stage offer little or no skill training for active citizenship even at the national and local level. Here, the inclusion of the components of the training for European citizenship has to go hand in hand with the promotion of skills necessary for the strengthening participation at the local level. The introduction of the European level of citizenship education hence may be faced with obstacles that stem from the educational practices which neglect 'the knowledge for' component of learning, but in the long term, EU dimension may become a leverage for gradual



development of this component and have additional effect: modules which foster the creation of more active EU citizens may as for its consequence have more empowered and active citizens at the national level.

Considering the existing underdeveloped conceptualization and focus on EU dimension of citizenship in all studied cases, the introduction of EU citizenship education has to be aware of at least two sets of challenges. The first one stems from the generally dominant notion of elitist type of democracy of EU level, which is perceived to be dominated by the bureaucracy and disconnected to daily needs and practices of EU citizens. However, such description of current state of the affairs cannot become an excuse for development of “self-fulfilling prophecy” where the alienation at one stage produces more alienation in the future democratic developments. The role of EU citizenship education has to raise awareness on existence of such interdependence of the decisions made on the EU level to the political consequences for national policies a practices of citizenship. The full emancipation of citizens can hardly be established even at the national level, if they are excluded from active participation at the decision making processes on the supranational level.

However, the first challenge raises the importance of introduction of such skill trainings in the existing educational policies, but reveals an additional challenge which at the EU level seems to be more difficult to overcome than to introduce practical skills for active citizenship. The identity dimension of EU citizenship has been in crisis since the creation of EU. However, the recent experience with Brexit shows that without promotion of this component as a reachable goal, the stability and preservation of the whole idea of EU may be at stake: there can hardly be EU without some sort of shared solidarity among its citizens. Citizenship education may not be a sufficient tool for achieving this goal, but it certainly is one of the most appropriate ones’ on the disposition of the member states.



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Interviews conducted

- Sebastiaan Steenman – 24th of August 2016
- Paul Simons – 30th of August 2016
- Inge Faas – 21st of September 2016
- Member of U ime obitelji - 29th of July 2016
- Vedrana Spajić Vrkaš - 29th of July 2016
- with doc. dr. sc. Berto Šalaj - 10th of July 2016
- Member of GOOD initiative - 8th of July 2016



Annex I: Analytical framework for each country

Country	Core Values	Educational System; Education Policy Enactment	Level of implementation	Types of teaching	Key focus of the official textbook	European citizenship In curricula	Teaching hours per week	Place of civic education in curricula (single subject/cross curricular/ mixed)	Qualifications needed for teachers
Netherlands	Social integration and active citizenship	At national level Ministry with its operational bodies sets obligations for incorporation of citizenship education; Dutch Inspectorate of Education responsible for monitoring the schools	Schools have freedom to organize the teaching in their schools in order to achieve nationally defined goals.	Compulsory subject providing 'knowledge of' political institutions ; service learning highly encouraged (mandatory until 2014), close cooperation with NGOs	Content in all textbook mostly focused on providing general knowledge of key concepts and political institutions; low focus on citizenship skills and competence	European dimension of citizenship has a marginal role; emphasis on European institutions, structures and decision making in EU; Extracurricular activities focused on simulation of EU elections and/or on events such as Brexit	Differs for types of secondary schools; in HAVO and VWO 120 hours over the fourth, fifth and sixth year of school, in VMBO 80 hours over the last two years of school.	Systematic approach towards citizenship education additionally to special subject 'maatschapiileer'	Formal qualification regulation for teaching 'maatschapiileer'





Country	Core Values	Educational System; Education Policy Enactment	Level of implementation	Types of teaching	Key focus of the official textbook	European citizenship In curricula	Teaching hours per week	Place of civic education in curricula (single subject/cross curricular/mixed)	Qualifications needed for teachers
Croatia	Democracy, citizenship and the Croatian institution	Centralised system, Ministry sets national standards	Institutional level	Ex cathedra teaching on core concepts in politics; In experimental and not on compulsory mode additional civic contents and forms of citizenship education provided at some schools	Core terms in politics, knowledge on national political institution, knowledge of key democratic processes; knowledge on key economic institutions, terms and processes	Secondary importance; No content dedicated to European citizenship; Basic information of the role of EU and its political and economic institutions.	One hour per week in Gymnasium and some Vocational Schools; Two hours per week in some Vocational schools	Single subject Politics and Economy; Ongoing debate on introduction of Citizenship education Curriculum (either as cross curricular or single subject topic)	University degree in subjects related to social sciences; No specific qualification dedicated only to citizenship or political education is required.





Country	Core Values	Educational System; Education Policy Enactment	Level of implementation	Types of teaching	Key focus of the official textbook	European citizenship In curricula	Teaching hours per week	Place of civic education in curricula (single subject/cross curricular/mixed)	Qualifications needed for teachers
France	Moral and civic education; secularism and Republican values	Centralized, Ministry sets curricula, educational standards and goals	School level autonomy on modes of teaching and achieving the goals	<i>Enseignement Moral et Civique</i> (EMC) programme implemented in primary and secondary schools in 2013	Living together; focus on liberty, equality and solidarity	Focus on the national and local level; EU citizenship as an extension of national citizenship; focused on knowledge of EU institutions and symbols	Three hours per week in <i>sixième</i> , <i>cinquième</i> and <i>quatrième</i> , and three hours and thirty minutes for <i>troisième</i> . There is no specific time allocated for each of the elements, except for the <i>sixième</i> : it is specified that thirty minutes a week should be assigned to EMC.	EMC is a common level subject in lower secondary education and is upheld as an integral part of the wider Histoire-Géographie-EMC programme	No specific training demanded besides the general degree for teaching; teaching of EMC is mostly done by teachers of Geography and History.





Country	Core Values	Educational System; Education Policy Enactment	Level of implementation	Types of teaching	Key focus of the official textbook	European citizenship In curricula	Teaching hours per week	Place of civic education in curricula (single subject/cross curricular/mixed)	Qualifications needed for teachers
Germany	Emphasis on the fragility of democracy; citizenship as a protector of democracy, German constitution and intercultural skills	Decentralized; responsibilities for education system shared by sixteen states	Decentralized; responsibility for implementation divided between the federal states and schools	Vary from school to school; extracurricular service learning and volunteering activities encouraged	There is no special textbook on citizenship education; practices vary from school to school	Differs from school to school; however emphasis is on local and national level rather than EU	Not unified; differ from school to school with up to two hours per week	No uniformed concept of civic education; objectives of civic education taught under different subject areas	Civic education offered at all German Universities, however no special subject knowledge is required





Country	Core Values	Educational System; Education Policy Enactment	Level of implementation	Types of teaching	Key focus of the official textbook	European citizenship In curricula	Teaching hours per week	Place of civic education in curricula (single subject/cross curricular/ mixed)	Qualifications needed for teachers
Ireland	Developing active citizens through exploration and study of citizenship at all levels (personal, local, national, global) in the context of social and political issues	Department of Education and Skills holds responsibilities for education policies; its body National Council for Curriculum and Assessment deals with curriculum policy, policy-decision and design.	From 2017 onwards, CSPE will be replaced by the wider 'Wellbeing' programme and the new syllabus 'Politics and Society' for the Senior Cycle will be introduced in September 2016. The 'Wellbeing' programme will be available as a short	The students must have the confidence and ability to participate in democratic society, and to practice citizenship through meaningful action. To achieve this, students are obligated to undertake a minimum of two action projects during the three years of CSPE	The most widely used textbook is <i>Make a difference</i> and its first chapter is titled 'Active Citizenship'. The active dimension of citizenship is outlined, with examples of participation and active citizens. Each concept is attributed in its own chapter. In the chapter on interdependence issues of	In the curriculum of the new course 'Politics and Society' attention is paid to citizenship and the European Union; Although this curriculum emphasises on active citizenship and includes European and international elements, the curriculum does not make explicit references to active citizenship at a European or more supranational level.	The 'Wellbeing' programme will be available as a short course, which requires hundred hours of student engagement during the three years of the Junior Cycle. The course 'Politics and Society' is designed to be taught in 180 hours	Civics, Social and Political Education (CSPE) as a standalone subject; however the ongoing reform will lead to its abolishment as a single course and will merge CSPE with Physical Education, personal and health education into single 'wellbeing' course.	Most schools do not have a model for the selection of teachers to teach CSPE. Teachers will often be chosen to take such classes or teachers with interest in political issues will volunteer; Prospective teachers enrol in the Primary Masters in Education (PME) to earn a teaching qualification for all subjects in second-level



			<p>course, which requires hundred hours of student engagement during the three years of the Junior Cycle. The course 'Politics and Society' is designed to be taught in 180 hours and a double class period that is allocated each week is recommended during the Senior Cycle</p>		<p>European citizenship and the EU are visible. In this chapter the idea of students as global citizens is introduced.</p>		<p>and a double class period that is allocated each week is recommended during the Senior Cycle</p>		<p>education. CSPE has been an option, i.e. an additional subject to add to their principal area of expertise. Other organisations, such as the Association of CSPE teachers and the Professional Development Service for Teachers (PDST), have provided workshops and training days as well as providing assistance in the form of school visits.</p>
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Spain	Preparing the students to take part in everyday democratic society, in the political system and in community life as a whole and to understand the values, norms and rules of society.	National education law prescribes the curriculum and main objectives in teaching, some of the practices may differ in certain regions and schools.	School level autonomy on modes of teaching and achieving the goals. Informal education in Spain is provided by organizations such as the Cives Foundation .	Most of the knowledge is 'knowledge of'; participation in the institutional sphere is limited to information about political institutions, ranging from local authorities to the European Parliament.	In the first cycle textbook there is a broad explanation of the theoretical foundations of ethics, morals, and democracy, representativeness, and the state. The second cycle book mainly covers the same topics, but in more detailed manner. Citizen is defined rather unclearly.	European identity is mentioned in the curriculum and active citizenship is mentioned on all three levels, local, national and European. When mentioned, European identity is linked with national identity and the related sense of belonging.	Two or three hours per week.	Citizenship Education in Spain is conducted through subjects Social and Civic Values (on primary school level) and Ethical Values (on secondary school level).	For teaching in primary school no additional courses are needed, on secondary school level the MA level is required; it has several tracks and offers Citizenship as an elective within the track of Philosophy.





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Hungary	Implementation of democratic values in the school system after the 90's reforms	Decentralized; responsibilities and decision-making in determining educational content are divided between the central, local and institutional levels	Most important decisions that influence the content of education are made at the institutional level; curricular decisions are made partly within the professional sphere of autonomy of the teachers or faculty	Vary from school to school, but extracurricular volunteering activities include 50 hours of community service since January 2016	There is no special textbook on citizenship education; practices vary from school to school	One of the key tasks in NCC is called European identity – universal; refers to European citizenship and the European Union stating that students must have knowledge of the history of the formation of the European Union, its constitutions, institutional structure and its political principles. Students must be able to embrace the opportunities and become European citizens while maintaining their Hungarian identity	As citizenship is a cross-curricular theme it is difficult to determine precise number of teaching hours; 'Man and Society' takes eight till fifteen percent of the curriculum time in secondary school	Citizenship is a cross-curricular theme; the subject area 'Man and Society' includes the tasks 'Education for Active Citizenship and Democracy'	Those who teach social and civic subjects are mainly history teachers. Those teachers did not have specific teaching trainings for teaching civics.