Citizenship - made in Europe: living together starts at school

Andries van Helden, inspector of education, and Ellen Allewijn, student of philosophy and history of education at the Catholic University of Nijmegen, wrote Chapters 1, 2, 4 and 5.

Chapter 3 was written by SLO (Netherlands Institute for Curriculum Development).

The text boxes in Chapter 2 were copied from the AEDE manual for the promotion of active European citizenship. Ton Remmers (SLO) prepared the text boxes in Chapter 3. Mineke Laman and Ingrid Wijgh, inspectors of education, wrote the text boxes in Chapter 4.

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Foreword

Of old, education in all member states of the European Union also paid attention to the formation of young people to good citizens. Most societies were then relatively transparent; thus, teachers were not too hard put when determining what the concept of "citizenship" should imply.

In the second half of the 20th century, however, a number of developments brought about rather radical changes in Europe. These changes occurred on the cultural, social, economic and political level. Society nowadays expects something different from the citizen. Education itself is changing; young people learn in a much more active way than in the old days.

The European Council, through its ambitious plan to modernize the economic, the social *and* the educational systems, has formulated an answer to changing circumstances; the Lisbon process. This explicitly states the question of the significance of citizenship in the 21st century and of the role of education in the formation of citizens.

Against this background, I put the theme "education and citizenship" high on my agenda, both in the national sphere and in relation to the Dutch Presidency of the European Union. The upcoming presidency gave me the occasion to carry out a study into the ways in which, within the various member states, the contribution of education to training for active citizenship is given shape.

This study will be of use when I present my fellow-ministers of education within the European Union with proposals for further European co-operation in the field of education and citizenship. I am, therefore, obliged to the authors of the study for the sound basis they provided for our future policies.

Maria J. A. van der Hoeven,
Minister of Education, Culture
and Science

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1 The need to learn to live together

1.1 Society

Human beings depend on one another for their survival. Wherever people live together, in a family or in larger communities, they develop habits, behaviour, ways of life and institutions that enable them to *live together* in a way that contributes not just to their individual welfare but also to the welfare of the group as a whole.

Wherever communities increase in scale and start mixing and overlapping in complex patterns, they develop into *societies*. Societies consist of numerous sub-communities and tend to develop a large degree of internal diversity. Individuals do not always know each other personally and develop different interests, habits and values.

1.1.1 Social cohesion

For people to live together in complex societies, sophisticated ways of life and institutions are required. If complex societies are to be viable, their members must develop knowledge, skills and attitudes that enable them to collaborate with a broad range of fellow-members. They must be prepared and equipped to understand each other, even if they do not necessarily agree. They must be prepared and equipped to *trust* each other, even if they are different and may have opposite interests. They must be prepared and equipped to *engender trust* by taking responsibility for common interests, even if those who benefit from their individual actions are not personal acquaintances. They must also devise ways of *organizing trust* in common institutions, such as laws, currency, communication and democratic governance. Finally, they must be prepared and able to defend and warrant trust by supporting common institutions such as law enforcement agencies. In short, viable societies are characterized by a high degree of *social cohesion*.

Various conceptions of social cohesion exist. In line with the "welfarist" tradition set by T.H. Marshall,[1] European institutions have adopted the habit of thinking of social cohesion in terms of the *instruments* that are considered to be expedient to promote it, such as economic convergence and social protection. The approach to social cohesion of the European Union and the Council of Europe has essentially consisted of addressing social and economic inequalities.[2]

More essentially, however, social cohesion refers to the quality and quantity of the trust and responsibility relationships existing in a society, both among its members and between them and their institutions.[3] This conception of social cohesion approaches those of the OECD and the World Bank. These organisations tend to conflate the concepts of *social cohesion* and *social capital*. In a recent OECD study, *The Well-being of Nations*, social capital is defined as "networks together with shared norms, values and understandings that facilitate co-operation within or among groups".[4] Here, *trust* is considered a crucial component of social capital. In the study, three types of trust relationships are distinguished: inter-personal trust among familiars, inter-personal trust among strangers and trust in public and private institutions.

Relying on the OECD definition, the Irish Forum study on the policy implications of social capital provides a practical and "user-friendly" example of how the term is used at a local level in the Cork County Development Board:

'The concept of social capital sounds abstract, but it couldn't be simpler, do you trust people? How many clubs, societies or social groups are you a member of? If your child gets sick do you have support to call on? Basically, how much social contact do you have in your life? These social ties, according to research, will help you to live longer and are probably worth money to the economy.' [5]

This quote brings out the virtues that are ascribed to social capital and social cohesion. Rather than just a mechanism for *coping* with the complexity and diversity of modern society, social cohesion is viewed as a *resource of welfare*, to the extent that it should be invested in and is expected to yield measurable returns. As the World Bank puts it,

'increasing evidence shows that social cohesion is critical for societies to prosper economically and for development to be sustainable. Social capital is not just the sum of the institutions that underpin a society – it is the glue that holds them together'.[6]

Social cohesion or social capital?

To some analysts social cohesion and social capital are identical or closely related. Like social cohesion, 'social capital refers to the norms and networks that facilitate collective action'.[7] For our present purposes, however, it seems expedient to distinguish the two concepts. Social capital is a property of social networks. Such networks may be local, such as the network of frequenters of a neighbourhood pub , or global, such as the "Republic of Science", spanning the Planet. Social cohesion, on the other hand, is usually determined with reference to a specific unit of societal organization: a community, a city or a nation. The social cohesion that characterizes a given society does not necessarily coincide with the sum of the social capitals present in the networks in that society. It is rather their *result*, which may turn out to be less than their sum, depending on the pattern of the trust and co-operation relationships that define the networks. Even if high trust relationships exist *within* various separate networks in a society, representing huge masses of social capital, the net resulting

1 Marshall 1949/1965.
2 Social cohesion comes under the European Economic and Social Committee of the European Union and under the European Committee for Social Cohesion of the Council of Europe.
3 Gellner 1988: 145.
4 OECD 2001: 41.
5 National Economic and Social Forum 2003: 37.
6 World Bank a.
7 Woolcock 2000: 5.

social cohesion for the society that includes such networks may be low or even negative, as we have seen in the former Yugoslavia.

Local cohesion and European cohesion

Since in the following our vantage point is the wellbeing of societies, the present booklet focuses on social cohesion rather than social capital. Social cohesion may be determined for different levels of social organization: for a local community, for a nation, for a continent, and even for the Planet. The perspective adopted here is the European one.

As will be discussed below, social cohesion on the local level tends to be conducive to social cohesion at higher levels. This will also be our basic assumption. However, it is theoretically possible that there are types of cohesion at a lower level that not just fail to contribute to social cohesion at a higher level but even detract from it. As we have adopted a European perspective, local cohesion that detracts from cohesion at a higher level will not be regarded as social cohesion. Any local trust and responsibility relationships that hinder or prejudice any trust and responsibility relationships extending across local, regional and national divides are not considered to contribute to social cohesion at the European level.

1.1.2 Citizenship

Unlike glue, social cohesion is not a substance. The members of a society jointly determine its social cohesion through their actions. The actions of an individual usually follow certain patterns, constituting behaviour. It is believed that an individual's behaviour is determined by his or her attitudes, beliefs and values. Social cohesion in a society is, then, enhanced by two particular attitudes: the individual members' commitment to the wellbeing of fellow-members of the society and their commitment to the functioning of the institutions of the society. These commitments are revealed by the extent of their loyalty to and participation in the public institutions and by the extent of their taking personal responsibility for their fellow-citizens and the public cause in their private and working lives. The degree to which a member of society takes these commitments seriously determines his or her *citizenship*.

Unlike social cohesion, citizenship is not a novel concept. The relationship between the citizen and the state was a topic in ancient Athens. Aristotle required a citizen to participate actively in public institutions and to be governed by them. He compares citizens to sailors and the state, i.e., the institutions of society, to a ship.

'Although sailors differ from each other in function – one is an oarsman, another a helmsman, another a lookout man, and another has some other similar special designation – (...) there will also be a common definition of excellence that will apply alike to all of them; for security in navigation is the business of them all, since each of the sailors aims at that. Similarly therefore with the citizens, although they are dissimilar from one another, their business is the security of their community, and this community is the constitution, so that the goodness of a citizen must necessarily be relative to the constitution of the state.'[8]

Later on, sociologists developed ideas about mutual relationships among citizens. Durkheim considered that in a "civic culture" a "mechanic solidarity" could induce citizens to take care of each other, even without intervention on the part of the state.[9] Fukuyama follows up on this, observing that '... true communities are bound by the values, norms and experiences shared among their members. The deeper and more strongly held those common values are, the stronger the sense of community is.'[10]

To avoid discussions that are not relevant to our present purposes,[11] we may agree on the following "lean" definition of citizenship, which, however incomplete, covers precisely the aspects that are relevant here: citizenship is what an individual citizen contributes to social cohesion.

Such citizenship is both a prerequisite for and a consequence of democratic institutions. As Edgar Morin puts it, '... democracy is more than a political regime; it is the continuous regeneration of a complex retroacting loop: citizens produce the democracy that produces citizens'. [12]

Citizenship: nature or nurture?

Spinoza considered there to be no natural basis for citizenship.[13] Others assume that citizenship rests upon an essentially inborn quality of human beings. 'The creation and preservation of a feeling of social unity is one of the elementary human needs. Once existent, it can be carried over to larger units.'[14] However, all agree that any inborn "citizenship potential" does not automatically equip individuals for living together in complex societies. Citizenship is a product of culture. Like a language, it cannot be inherited but must be mastered again by each new generation. If a generation skips the transmission of citizenship, it will be lost and may take generations to be reinvented.

The consciousness of being a citizen, the awareness of being part of society, of depending on its institutions for survival and of being responsible for the survival of society is a complex state of a citizen's mindset. Unlike one's mother tongue, such awareness must be purposefully transmitted. The citizen's knowledge, his *savoir faire* and behaviour must be learned.

Even the citizens' *appetite* for learning to live together, their willingness to regard themselves simultaneously as autonomous individuals and as part of society at large, must be acquired. Social cohesion requires a continuous investment in the hearts and minds of each new generation of future members of society.

Learning citizenship

In his *Republic* Plato suggested that the interests of the state are preserved best if the individuals who will be responsible for preserving it (the *guardians*) are raised and educated by society as a whole, rather than by their parents.[15] In a democratic society, however, where *all* citizens bear responsibility for preserving the state, this is hardly feasible. We must assume that here parents bear the primary responsibility for imparting citizenship to young people. Being themselves citizens, they can be expected to transfer the norms and values that go with it to their children. Parents are in fact prepared to fulfil this role. As the European Parents' Association puts it:

'Raising and educating our children is a crucial investment for the continuing future of the European society. Parents, as primary educators, have a vital role in contributing to and ensuring the development of responsible citizens in accordance with moral and democratic values.' [16]

However, in complex societies, not all parents always manage to educate citizens without assistance on the part of society as a whole. This is especially true when societies undergo rapid changes, requiring a recalibration of citizenship. When a new generation grows up in a society that fundamentally differs from the society in which their parents were raised, additional efforts on the part of society are needed to define and further social cohesion. This is where education comes in.

1.2 Historical precedents

In past centuries, societies turned to education to deal with their increasing complexity. In the nineteenth century, nation states replaced more traditional forms of society in many parts of Europe. Important educationalists such as François Guizot clearly recognized that the viability of the new societies depended on their cohesion, in turn depending on the calibre of the citizenship of their populations. They considered that the transmission of norms and values could no longer be left to tradition and chance but required deliberate collective action. They set up systems of popular education, not just to develop the skills of literacy and numeracy, but most of all to instil in young people the common attitudes and values considered necessary to a society in which broader and broader circles of the population were entering public life.[17] The nineteenth-century educationalists thus laid the foundations for our successful, modern, participatory societies.

The World Wars and the Cold War made it painfully clear that the success of the European nation states was only partial. The sophistication of economic and social cohesion they had achieved fell short of warranting cohesion on a continental scale. It turned out that cohesion as engineered by nation states could be usurped and abused for non-cohesive purposes.

Having learned their lesson, European nations have since been at the forefront in raising both social and economic cohesion to a higher level. The European Union emanated from the idea that the cohesive factors that were so far developed in the nation states should be transformed,

8 Aristotle 1944: 187.
9 Cf. Janoski 1998: 7.
10 Fukuyama 1999: 14-15.
11 Fukuyama's insistence on shared experiences, for example, risks being construed as a plea for uniformity, essentially contradicting Aristotle's idea that diversity is needed to keep the ship afloat.
12 Morin 2001: 88.
13 Spinoza 2000: 254.
14 Veldhuis & Ostermann 1997: 7.
15 Plato 1974: 121.
16 European Parents' Association a.
17 Glenn 1988: 44.

so as to warrant peace and economic welfare all over the continent. Starting out by integrating the European national markets for such strategic goods as coal, steel and atoms, economic integration went hand-in-hand with the drive to promote the mental cohesion of the citizens of Europe across their national borders.

This strategy of pursuing synergy of economic integration and social cohesion has been proven to be successful, as is illustrated by the gradual expansion of the European Union, both following and eliciting subsequent democratic developments in Greece, in the Iberian Peninsula and in Central and Eastern Europe. Countries joining the European Union subscribe not only to its economic institutions but also to the social cohesion that goes along with it.

At the same time, however, the role of education in furthering social cohesion tended to be taken for granted, at least in Western Europe. After some generations of national education, the transmission of citizenship had presented itself as a self-perpetuating phenomenon. The population had internalized citizenship to such an extent that families could be trusted to take care of its transmission to the next generation. Schools and educational authorities could concentrate their efforts on raising the levels of achievement in literacy and numeracy. In Western Europe, quality-assurance systems for educational systems in the second half of the twentieth century have mostly focused on the value added by education to individual students, rather than on its overall contribution to enhancing social cohesion. Whereas the private benefits of an education have become more and more a matter of public concern, it seems its public benefits have become a private matter.

Of course, ongoing European expansion called for an adaptation of the individual's sense of citizenship. The attitudes that served to produce social cohesion on the local or national level had to be recast, so as to contribute to European cohesion. However, since the idea of shared values was regarded as the initial assumption for European integration and as a basic condition for joining the European institutions, this did not seem to present a major problem. The major values of citizenship being part of the common European heritage, the introduction of the European dimension of citizenship could merely be a question of labelling and communication. Our existing civic virtues and behaviour would remain basically unaffected by the addition or substitution of *Europe* for the nation in the appropriate slots in our mindsets.

1.3 Present trends

There are reasons to believe that it does not quite work in that way. The extension of the existing repertories of democratic organs with the European parliament, for example, has not been accompanied by a corresponding extension of civic trust and participation. As Veldhuis and Ostermann put it, 'upward expansion [of citizenship] is not unlimited and cannot be implemented at any desired rate of speed'.[18] Even though "Europe" enjoys considerable support on the part of the population of its member states, this support does not always translate into *commitment*. In a survey conducted in the Netherlands, for example, support for European unity is still very high but less than one third of the population feels some kind of *attachment* to the European Union.[19] Pursuing Aristotle's nautical metaphor, we might infer that many passengers are embarking on the *SS Europe* but few sailors are signing on.

Our implicit assumption that the translation of social cohesion to the European level takes care of itself must therefore be reconsidered. It is in this context that the 2002 Barcelona European Council has called on the Member States to 'promote the European dimension in education and its integration into pupil's basic skills by 2004'.[20] The European Network of Education Councils (EUNEC) has recently called for a debate, in an educational context, on 'the development of the concept of citizenship in Europe into the concept of European citizenship'.[21] In the schools of Europe, the European dimension of citizenship should be more prominent, not just in the curriculum but also in students' hearts and minds.

The civic deficit

Any attempts to tackle civic commitment to Europe in isolation may well miss the point. The fact is that over the past decades civic trust and participation have not only failed to keep abreast of the increasing institutional complexity, but have shown a general decline. The 1997 *Young Europeans Eurobarometer*[22], for example, brought to light a fallback of civic commitment among young people. To mention just one indicator, there is concern in nearly all Member States of the European Union at the decline in voter participation in European Parliamentary elections.[23] This suggests that the European citizens' citizenship not only fails to absorb the European dimension but is also losing ground.

There are reasons to believe that the decline in trust and participation in Europe is a symptom of "social disengagement", the general decline in trust and involvement in public institutions and participation in community life, which affects not just Europe but many parts of the western world.[24] According to some analysts, we are facing a growing *civic deficit*.[25] If this analysis is correct, European societies are heading for an uphill battle in furthering European citizenship. At a time when a considerable sophistication of citizenship is in order, the autonomous long-term trends in the field seem to go in exactly the opposite direction.

Global trends

What are these major changes taking place and affecting our societies to the extent of jeopardizing the transmission of citizenship to future generations?

Starting with Naisbitt,[26] several authors have made lists of global trends: large-scale developments producing major changes in all societies, or at least all societies of a given type. Not all trends are equally relevant to social cohesion; but they are if they affect either the structure or nature of the networks of relationships among citizens or the relationship between citizens and their institutions. For both types of relationship we can point to specific developments. The last decades have witnessed what sociologists call a perpetual *functional differentiation* of society. This is described by Habermas as 'the acquisition of ever greater access to, and participation in, an ever greater number of "subsystems" (including markets, work environments, public services, associations and communities).'[27] This phenomenon causes the relationships among individuals that determine social cohesion to multiply and to become increasingly complex.

Multiplication of social networks and encounters

Vertovec points out that 'changing relationships and social patterns are often related to such differentiation, producing for individuals a *multiplication of social networks* [...]. In other words, the social and institutional lives of people are arguably ever more complex, even disjunct.'[28]

Various, partly interwoven, causes can be indicated for this effect. The most important are, besides the increased fluidity of employment relationships, the rise of intercontinental mass migration and the expansion of interactive communication technology. All have brought about a huge increase in encounters and relations between individuals, and in the diversity of individuals involved in the encounters. Both on the screen and in the streets, members of the younger generation are engaged in an enormous diversity of human communication. As Morin observes, communication does not automatically bring understanding, at least not in the empathic sense.[29] In order to be able to transform communication into understanding, it takes skills that must be learned.

Many parents are not fully equipped to accommodate these changes when raising their children. Migrant parents have to prepare their children to handle trust and responsibility in a society that is in many respects different from the one in which they were raised themselves: not just linguistically and culturally, but also ecologically.[30] This in fact applies to non-migrant parents insofar as migration has changed society itself. Few parents are in a position to prepare their children for trust and responsibility in the virtual world, which positions an individual in a virtually infinite number of social networks. Finally, families become smaller and smaller, thus looking less like a micro-society offering children a safe but rich social environment where they can prepare for society at large.

Multiplication of institutions and their interfaces

At the institutional level, a multiplication of interfaces has occurred. Citizens used

18 Veldhuis & Ostermann 1997: 7.
19 Onderwijsraad 2004: 1.
20 European Council 2002: 19.
21 EUNEC 2004.
22 European Commission 1997b.
23 The level of turnout fell from 63% in 1979 to 45,5% in 2004: Cf. European Parliament a.
24 The classic reference is Putnam 1995.
25 The term *civic deficit* was probably coined in Australia by the Civics Expert Group: cf. Civics Expert Group 1994.
26 Naisbitt 1982.
27 Habermas 1994: 22.
28 Vertovec 1997.
29 Morin 2001: 78.
30 A rural environment offers natural possibilities for stimulating the affective and motor development of small children. Cut off from such possibilities in European cities, parents may miss the tools to offer their children valid substitutes.

to be surrounded by a limited number of institutions that were often organized in a rather transparent way. The classic perception of citizenship was largely structured through the nation state.

Presently citizens are involved in a variety of institutions that require civic commitment. Some of these institutions,such as the European Union, are rather complex. As Schmitter points out,

'the political system of the European Union does not, for example, have a single locus of clearly defined supreme authority; does not have an established and relatively centralized hierarchy of public offices; does not have a predefined and distinctive "public" sphere of competency within which it can make decisions binding on all; does not have a fixed and (more or less) contiguous territory over which it exercises authority; [...] does not have an overarching identity and symbolic presence for its subjects/citizens; does not have an established and effective monopoly over the legitimate means of coercion; and does not have a predominant ability to control the movement of goods, services, capital and persons within its borders'.[31]

However, the European institutions are by no means the only sources of increasing complexity. Down to the local-level democratic organs, authorities and public services have lost transparency as a result of advancing globalization, devolution, democratization and the shifting border between the public and the private sector. All these developments force citizens to redefine their trust and responsibility relationships with the institutions surrounding them, inclusive of their affective disposition with respect to them, which is in most cases an important constituent of citizenship.

This increased complexity of the institutional environment of European citizens requires a more sophisticated sense of citizenship. Here too, parents often lack the knowledge and experience to impart the new norms and values to their children.

How to go on?

It is clear that these major changes impose new requirements on the role of education in this process. As the Danish contribution to the International Conference on Education in 2001 has it, 'the division of labour between school and society [i.e., the family and the local community] when it comes to qualifying the citizens, varies according to the type of society, economic structure or culture'.[32] When society changes, the required division of labour in transferring citizenship changes with it. If society changes drastically, the changes in education must also be drastic.

As the aforementioned study from the Danish Ministry of Education puts it:

'Learning to live together is today a necessity at many levels. We must deal with bigger and more complicated cohesions than in earlier times. The ability to live together in the family, the local community, the nation or globally is closely connected to the skills of being a citizen – to be part of a community.' [33]

The problem is that some parents hardly realize to what extent the social environment in which their children grow up is so much more complicated than the social environment in which they grew up themselves. This society requires different skills and knowledge. We shall have to turn to education to assist them in teaching their children, not only to cope with them but also to thrive on them in new forms of social cohesion, so as to invent the new forms of social cohesion that match the new complexities.

Since we are heading for a new society, with new circumstances and relationships, our schools will have to develop a new type of citizenship. Recycling past models will not do. We are at the onset of a new approach. We know that it is necessary but we do not know what it looks like. It is important that we start working and find out.

This booklet aims to support the process by providing a glance at the state of the art. In the following chapters we shall take a look at how Europe is learning to live together. In the next chapter we shall look at it from the multilateral European perspective. In Chapter 3 we shall look at it from the national policy perspective, while in Chapter 4 we shall look at what is going on in the schools.

Note on terminology

This booklet is about *learning to live together*, a term introduced by the Delors commission. Learning to live together is understood here as developing knowledge, skills, behaviour and attitudes – i.e., competencies – that (purport to) contribute to social cohesion.

In educational systems worldwide, various terms are used to indicate institutional teaching and learning processes that (are expected to) develop all or some of these competencies in individuals: *citizenship education, civic education, civics, intercultural education, moral education, social learning,* etc. Each of these terms may refer to different sets of competencies in different educational systems. In some contexts, the terms *citizenship education* and *civic education* are interchangeable, in others they are not.

There is a vast literature on the definitions and dimensions of the concept of citizenship, which cannot be treated here. As O'Shea observes in her *Glossary of Terms*, there is a growing recognition that *citizenship* is neither a stable term nor limited to a single definition.[34] In the context of the present study, the use of the term citizenship will generally refer to the contribution (in terms of roles and actions) of an individual member of society to social cohesion, without prejudice to its other uses in different contexts. This perception of citizenship encompasses that of *democratic citizenship* as used by the Council of Europe, and is possibly slightly narrower than that of *active citizenship* as used in the European Union.

In the present booklet, *learning to live together* is the preferred term to indicate the road toward citizenship. However, depending on the institutional or syntactic context the terms *citizenship education, civic education, education for democratic citizenship* and *learning for active citizenship* will be used for essentially the same thing. This does not necessarily create confusion. For instance, when talking about my trip to Amsterdam I may decide to say that I am going to Amsterdam or that I am taking flight KL-384, without creating confusion or contradicting myself, as long as I am convinced that flight KL-384 will take me to Amsterdam.

31 Schmitter 1996: 131.
32 Danish Ministry of Education 2001: 16.
33 Danish Ministry of Education 2001: 15.
34 O'Shea 2003: 8.

DENMARK

- "YOUTH TOWN" IS A TRAINING CENTRE FOR PUPILS FROM THE 8TH – 12TH GRADE, TO DEVELOP SKILLS IN A PRACTICAL WAY TO PREPARE THEM TO LIVE IN A MODERN EUROPEAN DEMOCRACY. DISCUSSION GROUPS IN THE ECONOMY COURSE.
- PUPILS PARTICIPATE IN THE "NEW PEACE AND CONFLICT GAME", LEARNING HOW CRISES AND CONFLICTS ARE DEALT WITH. THE AIM IS TO CREATE, THROUGH DISCUSSIONS AND READING, A WORLD THAT PARTICIPANTS THEMSELVES WOULD LIKE TO LIVE IN.
- "YOUTH TOWN" CONTAINS A FOLKESKOLE, A COMPREHENSIVE SCHOOL, WHERE INNOVATIVE EDUCATIONAL IDEAS ARE DEVELOPED. HERE IS A CLASS ON A FIELD TRIP IN THE COUNTRYSIDE FOR THE PROJECT "SAVE THE ENVIRONMENT".

2 Learning to live together: the European perspective

In Chapter 1 it was argued that:

- Social cohesion is a source of welfare;
- Citizenship is, by definition, a major condition for social cohesion;
- We have arrived at a juncture when European integration demands a major effort to lift citizenship to a higher level of sophistication;
- While important and lasting global changes have adversely affected the potential of our societies for spontaneous transmission of citizenship to the next generations;
- So that we are facing a growing civic deficit;
- And have to mobilize our education systems;
- In the expectation that they will manage to respond to this shared challenge.

The present chapter deals with the role of our multilateral organizations in addressing the issue. We shall see that the members of the European Union have established a considerable common *acquis* on the urgency of mobilizing education for citizenship, both within the framework of the European Union itself and in the framework of other multilateral organizations of which they are members.

2.1 The long policy cycle

Problems that require awareness and behavioural change on both the macro- and the micro-level usually take a long policy cycle to be addressed. While the mechanism of global climate change as a consequence of human behaviour, for example, was formulated in 1920s,[35] it was only in the 1960s that UNESCO managed to introduce the issue onto the world agenda,[36] while its implications for our micro-behaviour are still far from clear even at present.

Long policy cycles involve various stages. First, scientists discover a problem. Then, an authoritative international forum raises political awareness for it. Next, various multilateral agencies engage in introducing it onto the political agenda, in producing strategic analyses, in advocacy of proposed solutions at the government level, in producing standard-setting instruments, in monitoring government policies, in sensitization of target groups in society, in stimulating pilots and evaluating good practice, in developing technical instruments and, finally, in gathering and validating empirical data and devising instruments for monitoring implementation and outcomes.

In practice, of course, numerous loops occur in this cycle, while the roles and responsibilities of various agencies may overlap or show gaps.

All EU members are also members of other multilateral organizations that fulfil a role in addressing the civic deficit: the Council of Europe, the OECD and UNESCO. The roles of these organizations in the long policy cycle are to a certain extent complementary: a certain division of labour can be discerned. UNESCO has doubtlessly introduced the issue onto the political agenda and raised political awareness for the problem. The OECD has provided important strategic analyses. The Council of Europe has played an important role in standard setting and advocacy and is now engaging in monitoring implementation. The European Union has had the lead in stimulating concrete projects.

However, their roles coincide in some respects. UNESCO and the OECD provide platforms for research. UNESCO and the Council of Europe are both into sensitization. The Council of Europe, the European Union, and the OECD are engaged in setting technical standards. The OECD and the European Union are studying ways of monitoring implementation and outcomes.

In the following, the European *acquis* and present progress of the work on learning to live together will be presented. The order of presentation reflecting the long policy cycle, we start with UNESCO, to be followed by the OECD, the Council of Europe and the European Union. It goes without saying that the European Union will receive more attention than the other bodies. Since, however, several of the new member states have provided important contributions to furthering civic education in framework the Council of Europe, the impressive work that has been done there will also be described in considerable detail.

2.2 UNESCO

UNESCO was founded after World War II as the United Nations Organization for global social cohesion. In the Preamble of its Constitution its member states express the conviction that 'since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defences of peace must be constructed'.[37] 'Peace must therefore be founded, if it is not to fail, upon the intellectual and moral solidarity of mankind.'

In the earlier decades, UNESCO built up a track record in setting standards. It adopted, for example, the *Convention against Discrimination in Education*,[38] but it also engaged with sensitization. As early as 1953, UNESCO set up a network of Associated Schools, promoting education for international understanding.[39] To this day, the Associated Schools Programme links up thousands of schools in Europe and elsewhere.

The impact of global trends on social cohesion has of course been common knowledge among specialists, practitioners and policy makers for a long time and UNESCO provided a platform for them. However, the global forum that introduced the problem onto the education agenda was the *World Commission on Education for the Twenty-first Century*, chaired by

35 Vernadsky 1926/1997.
36 Deléage 1997: 34.
37 UNESCO 2002: 7.
38 UNESCO 1960.
39 Conil Lacoste 1994: 67.

Jacques Delors. In 1996 it presented its report *Learning: The Treasure Within* to UNESCO and its member states.[40]

2.2.1 The Delors Commission

The Commission is extremely anxious about the developments that were sketched in Chapter 1 of the present booklet. It speaks literally of a crisis of social cohesion.[41] 'At issue here is the capacity of the individual to behave as a true citizen, aware of the collective interest and anxious to play a part in democratic life.'[42] The analysis of the situation by the Commission can be summarized as follows.

If education is to succeed in its tasks, the commission points out, it must pursue four fundamental goals of learning, viz.:

- *learning to know*, that is, acquiring the instruments of understanding (including learning to learn);
- *learning to do*, so as to be able to act creatively on one's environment;
- *learning to be*, the fulfilment of the student as an autonomous and responsible individual;
- *learning to live together*, the fulfilment of the individual as a social being, 'by developing an understanding of other people and an appreciation of interdependence […] in a spirit of respect for the values of pluralism, mutual understanding and peace'.[43]

According to the Commission, *learning to live together* has for far too long been neglected in formal education, which focused mainly on *learning to know* and *learning to do*. *Learning to live together* was to a large extent left to chance, or assumed to be the natural product of the former. The commission therefore urges for a renewed focus on *learning to live together* in our education systems.

According to the Delors Commission, "learning to live together" implies two processes. On the *interpersonal* level it implies discovering (i.e., learning to know and understand) each other. On the *collective level* it implies learning to work towards common objectives, (i.e., collaborating in projects that shape a common future).[44] It is precisely these competencies that are presently put to the test by the profound and lasting changes affecting social cohesion that have been described in the previous chapter.

Reintroducing the teaching of the norms and values of citizenship to schools is not a nostalgic answer to the assumed decline of morals and standards of behaviour. It is an urgent answer to the challenges facing a society that develops progressively towards peace and welfare. As the Delors Commission puts it, 'education cannot be satisfied with bringing individuals together by getting them to accept common values shaped in the past. It must also (…) give everyone (…) the ability to play an active part in *envisioning the future* of society.' [45]

2.2.2 Learning to live together

UNESCO's member states gave considerable support to the findings and recommendations of the Delors Commission. The transparent and felicitous term *Learning to live together* was firmly imprinted on the retinas and eardrums of policy makers all over the world, and has since been used in numerous international conferences and international organizations, in various international instruments and in national and local conferences.[46] It is now making its way into national curricula: learning to live together ("apprendre à vivre ensemble") is presently integrated into the French primary school curriculum. In the present booklet, it will also be used to indicate any learning processes that enhance a learner's citizenship, i.e., contribute to the development of competencies that enable the learner to contribute to social cohesion.

Education for All for Learning to Live Together

UNESCO and its member states have meanwhile followed up on the findings of the commission by organizing and patronizing international conferences, strategic analyses, support to governments and pilot projects. A major event was the 2001 *International Conference on Education* (ICE), uniting ministers of Education worldwide in Geneva, to discuss the theme *Education for All for Learning to Live Together*.

The Conference examined 'how to enable each learner to master the knowledge, skills and attitudes necessary for the intellectual and moral development of individuals and society'.[47] The theme thus sought to encapsulate two major preoccupations of the international community: education for peaceful living together and educational quality.

Although each of the sub-themes that were discussed at the conference dealt with aspects of learning to live together, three of them specifically addressed specific major issues:

- citizenship education: learning at school and in society;
- social exclusion and violence: education for social cohesion;
- common values, cultural diversity and education: what and how to teach.

The working document of the conference sought to define the concept of learning to live together, which it described as entailing the *desire to live together* as well as the *knowledge of how to live together*.[48] It identified a series of *learning needs* for living together that should inform future curriculum development and reform:

- developing the ability to cope with rapid change;
- developing the ability to participate in social and political life as an active citizen;
- having the capacity to defend and promote human rights;
- possession of a strong sense of local, national and global identity;
- possession of good language and communication skills;
- the ability to access and evaluate scientific knowledge;
- the ability to access new information and communication technologies and develop the skills to use them constructively for the common good.

The Conference asked UNESCO's International Bureau of Education (IBE) to set up a database on Good Practices in Learning to Live Together (*RelatED*).[49] This database presently contains about a hundred project descriptions, principally of initiatives worldwide at the school level, promoting education in the areas of education for peace, conflict resolution, human rights, citizenship, intercultural understanding, etc. Initiatives are selected on the basis of their relevance in terms of their aims and goals as well as of the availability of evidence of their effectiveness. The focus is on documenting and reporting on evidence of positive attitudinal or behavioural change and of reinforcement of positive behaviours in targeted learners and the wider community.

The databank will be presented at the upcoming 47th Session of the intergovernmental *International Conference on Education* (Geneva, September 8 to 11, 2004), which is devoted to *Quality education for all young people: challenges, trends and priorities*.[50]

It may be surmised that UNESCO has been fulfilling an effective role in raising awareness of the social cohesion deficit and has successfully contributed to setting the political agenda and gathering examples of good practice.

2.3 Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD)

The OECD was set up to contribute to promote sustainable economic growth and rising standards of living in both member and non-member countries. In the 1960s, it made a large contribution to the establishment and recognition of the concept of human capital in economics. Its *Centre for Educational Research and Innovation* (CERI), created in 1968, has since become a hub of research on innovation, producing strategic analyses and key indicators in the domain of education.

Education and education systems are, of course, scrutinized from an economic angle. However, this is not a narrow angle: CERI has embraced innovative and emerging views on the way in which education contributes, or can contribute, to the economic development of society. Consequently, the OECD was and is at the forefront in generating and disseminating analyses and knowledge about, for example, the (possible and actual) outcomes of lifelong learning and early child development.

2.3.1 Social capital: the state of the art

It is no surprise that, in recent years, the OECD has closely followed the increasing attention, on the part of economists and social scientists, to the role of what it calls social capital in economic activity and human wellbeing. The OECD has meanwhile produced a few strategic reports on the subject. In *The Well-being of Nations*,[51] it tends towards the conclusion that social cohesion is important for the sustained development of society. On the one hand, social cohesion can mobilize the energy of the population to get things done. On the other hand its erosion, 'such as

40 International Commission on Education for the Twenty-first Century 1996.
41 International Commission on Education for the Twenty-first Century 1996: 54.
42 International Commission on Education for the Twenty-first Century 1996: 56.
43 International Commission on Education for the Twenty-first Century 1996: 85-97.
44 International Commission on Education for the Twenty-first Century 1996: 91-94.
45 International Commission on Education for the Twenty-first Century 1996: 61; present author's italics.
46 It is found in various recommendations adopted by UNESCO and the Council of Europe. The Dutch Advisory Council on Education recently published a study entitled Learning to Live together. Cf. Onderwijsraad 2002 a.
47 International Bureau of Education 2001 a.
48 International Bureau of Education 2001 a.
49 This databank is available online: cf. International Bureau of Education a.
50 A CD-ROM containing selected evaluated projects is forthcoming.
51 OECD 2001.

declining levels of civic engagement', may not be initially apparent but eventually impair an economy's ability to react to negative shocks.[52]

The OECD's analyses tend to the conclusion that 'education can play an important role in providing the basis for social cohesion, although there is no clear indication of the right direction for formal education'.[53] The mechanism through which education contributes to social cohesion is unclear. There remains a great deal of fluidity about the concepts and 'the effectiveness of different policies in promoting social capital is as yet an almost wholly unresearched field'.[54] The OECD points to the present lack of knowledge on how to measure competencies beyond the areas of numeracy and literacy, on how education can promote social capital and on how to assess its outcomes in society.[55] We need to identify, through policy evaluation, what *works* in promoting social capital.[56]

2.3.2 Indicators for civic knowledge

As a start, the OECD included "civic knowledge and engagement" in its set of indicators.[57] The indicator and the data were derived from the *Civic Education Study* of the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA),[58] the results of which will be summarized in Chapter 3 of this booklet.

2.3.3 Definition and Selection of Competencies (DeSeCo)

Aware of the lack of an explicit, overarching conceptual framework based on broad theories of what skills, knowledge, and competencies are and how they relate to each other, the OECD has initiated the programme *Definition and Selection of Competencies: Theoretical and Conceptual Foundations (DeSeCo)*, which is one of several enterprises presently being undertaken in various international bodies to define a theoretically sound set of key competencies that should provide a reference point for the development of indicators and interpretation of empirical results.

The project has meanwhile defined three *generic* key competencies. One of them, "functioning in socially heterogeneous groups", pertains to social cohesion, entailing the ability to relate well to others, to co-operate, and to manage and resolve conflicts, which is considered to be 'particularly relevant in pluralistic, multicultural societies. Individuals need to learn how to join and function in groups and social orders whose members are from diverse backgrounds and how to deal with differences and contradictions.'[59] We may expect that these competencies will furnish the conceptual framework for future OECD work on indicators for educational outcomes.

2.3.4 Dublin 2004

It may be noted that, as far as education, social cohesion and citizenship are concerned, the OECD and its member states have now understood Delors's message. Social cohesion was a central issue at the recent meeting of OECD Education ministers, held in Dublin on March 18 and 19, 2004. At the meeting, which included a keynote speech by Robert Putnam on this theme,[60] education ministers discussed the contribution of education to social cohesion, as well as the theme of education for democratic citizenship.[61]

Ministers agreed, among other things, that:

- pedagogical approaches play an important role; respect for the opinions of others can be built into methods of classroom teaching;
- more co-operative modes of learning, as well as extra-curricular activities including sports, arts and civic education, can also develop social bonds within schools, alongside interpersonal skills;
- student involvement in school management is important; school councils, youth parliaments and newer web-based forums can all provide frameworks for encouraging and developing civic and democratic engagement;
- more collegial approaches to the governance of educational institutions, and increased involvement of parents in schooling may help to develop social cohesion within and around educational institutions;
- practical on-the-ground understanding of the local community and the environment can be effective in engaging young people in local concerns and issues;
- the evaluation of competencies, skills and experiences acquired within an informal context is also relevant.[62]

As we shall see in Chapter 4, similar issues have been raised by the education world itself.

It may be concluded that the OECD fulfils a role in various stages of the long policy cycle. It produces strategic analyses, devises instruments for monitoring outcomes and gathers and validates empirical data. Moreover, seeing a press release on the Dublin meeting entitled "OECD Urges Educators to Address Social Cohesion Risks",[63] the OECD does its share of awareness raising as well.

2.4 Council of Europe

The Council of Europe was set up to defend human rights, parliamentary democracy and the rule of law, to develop continent-wide agreements to standardize member countries' social and legal practices, and to promote awareness of a European identity based on shared values cutting across different cultures.

The Council is a standard-setting organization, producing legally binding European treaties and conventions as well as resolutions and recommendations to governments setting out policy guidelines on such issues as legal matters, health, education, culture and sport. The Council of Europe also tackles problems shared by its member states in its fields of competence by carrying out projects and pooling ideas, experience and research.It monitors the compliance, in member states, to its treaties, conventions and recommendations.

The core components of the Council are the *Committee of* (foreign) *Ministers*, the *Parliamentary Assembly* and the Strasbourg-based *Secretariat*. Heads of state and government sometimes meet at irregular times in so-called *summits*. Moreover, there are specialized organs dealing with specific competencies of the Council, such as the *Council for Cultural Co-operation* (which is also responsible for education), the *Steering Committee for Education* and the *Standing Conference of European Ministers of Education* or *the Committee of Ministers in the field of education.*

2.4.1 The Council of Europe's competencies

The Committee of Ministers can make recommendations to member states on matters for which the Committee has agreed to conduct a "common policy".[64] Recommendations are not binding on member states but the Statute does permit the Committee of Ministers to ask member governments 'to inform it of the action taken by them' in regard to recommendations. Recommendations of the Committee of Ministers in the field of education are drawn up by expert groups, under the responsibility of the Steering Committee, following projects carried out within the framework of the Council of Europe's intergovernmental co-operation in the field of education. The Parliamentary Assembly may also adopt recommendations.

2.4.2 Learning to live together at the Council of Europe

The desire to promote learning to live together has been the foundation of many European standard-setting instruments and decisions adopted by the Council of Europe's Parliamentary Assembly and the Committee of Ministers.[65] At first, the Council's various initiatives were geared to enhancing public awareness of European citizenship and the development of a sense of identity or a consciousness of being European that goes beyond the awareness of national citizenship. Following the establishment of democracy in Greece, Spain and Portugal the focus shifted from the identity aspect of European citizenship to the shared values underlying it and to education as a means to instil them.[66]

The work on learning to live together through programmes on civic education and civic instruction received a spectacular impetus in the course of the 1990s, when democracies were established in Central and Eastern Europe and *Education for Democratic Citizenship (EDC)* became the common denominator in a number of formal, non-formal and informal European educational and training initiatives aiming to promote equitable and just societies, open to and jointly shaped by all its members.

2.4.3 Education for Democratic Citizenship 1997-2000

After a preparatory phase that was triggered by the Standing Conference of Ministers of Education and various consultation meetings, it was at the 1997 Strasbourg summit that the heads of state and government of the Member States expressed their desire 'to develop education for democratic citizenship based on the rights and responsibilities

52 OECD 2001: 14.
53 OECD 2001: 35.
54 OECD 2001: 71.
55 OECD 2001: 69-70.
56 OECD 2001: 70.
57 OECD 2002: 91-95.
58 Torney-Purta et al. 2001.
59 Rychen & Salganik 2003.
60 Putnam 2004.
61 OECD 2004a.
62 OECD 2004a.
63 OECD 2004b.
64 Council of Europe1949: Chapter IV, article 15.b.
65 Duerr et al. 2000.
66 Fuente & Muñoz-Repiso 1982.

of citizens and the participation of young people in civil society'.[67] Hence EDC was viewed as instrumental in implementing the Council of Europe's core mission. The heads of state and government recommended that Member States incorporate citizenship education in programmes, curricula and timetables at all educational levels, as well as develop initiatives in favour of initial and continuing teacher training in this area.[68]

The 1997 action plan on Education for Democratic Citizenship

The heads of state and government also endorsed an *action plan* on EDC. Three important objectives were identified:

a) to provide citizens with the knowledge, skills and competencies needed for active participation within a democratic civil society;
b) to create opportunities for dialogue and discourse, conflict resolution and consensus and communication and interaction;
c) to stimulate an awareness of rights and responsibilities, of norms and values, of ethical and moral issues within the community.

This first stage of the EDC project had an exploratory character. Its initial objective was to find out which values and skills individuals require in order to become participating citizens, how they can acquire these skills and how they can learn to pass them on to others.

2.4.4 Education in the responsibilities of the individual

In 1999, the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe adopted a Recommendation on "Education in the responsibilities of the individual".[69] This introduced an issue that had so far received little attention in the European discussions on citizenship: the duties and responsibilities of citizens and their relationship to rights, freedoms and entitlements.

The Assembly observed 'that the exercise of fundamental freedoms entails responsibilities', but it also expressed its conviction 'that it is not the role of a democratic state to dictate rules for every aspect of human behaviour, since moral and ethical attitudes must remain an area in which the individual has freedom of choice.'

In other words, there is an asymmetric relationship between citizens' rights and entitlements on the one hand and their responsibilities and duties on the other. This had been pointed out by Péter Kovács in one of the studies underlying the EDC project.[70] Kovács had concluded that, whereas rights can be carefully listed and specified, drawing up a list of specific responsibilities to go with citizenship would be not only impossible and superfluous, but above all be hazardous, if its aim is to give these a degree of priority over (human) rights.

This does not imply that citizens have no responsibilities *vis-à-vis* the state and *vis-à-vis* one's fellow-citizens. On the contrary: in its recommendation, the Assembly stressed the particular importance of strengthening citizens' awareness with regard to their responsibilities towards themselves and others, as well as towards society as a whole.

However, civic responsibilities cannot be uniformly specified. Whereas all citizens are equal in principle in having the same civic rights and entitlements, civic responsibilities may vary between citizens, depending on their talents, education, profession and role in society. In this respect little has changed since Aristotle's oarsmen, helmsmen and lookout men. As Audigier remarks in one of his many contributions to the EDC programme, 'the greatest civic responsibility […] is that of persons who have more power and responsibility in society'.[71]

Moreover, civic responsibilities cannot be enforced. As Kovács points out, enforcing responsibilities turns them into obligations. As Jan Peter Balkenende would remind us in a later address to the Parliamentary Assembly, responsibilities can only be internalized: they must pass into our hearts and minds.

'This is why education, both at home and at school and civic education in a broader sense, are so important. That is where concepts like tolerance, respect for others and a sense of responsibility are passed on, concepts without which it is almost impossible to honour our shared values.'[72]

On the basis of such considerations, the Parliamentary Assembly expressed its conviction, in its Recommendation on education in the responsibilities of the individual, 'that awareness of citizens' responsibilities should be raised through education'.[73]

The Assembly furthermore spotted the civic deficit in European societies. It observed 'that the awareness of European citizens with regard to their rights and responsibilities is far from satisfactory'. It recognized 'the need to take steps to promote both education in the responsibilities of the individual and awareness on the part of citizens of their responsibilities, within the context of human rights education, so as not to neglect the social aspect of these rights', and expressed its belief that 'education in the rights and, at the same time, the responsibilities of the individual should be taken much more seriously in all Council of Europe member states.'

In view of the need to integrate education in the responsibilities of the individual into the existing programmes (human rights education, EDC), the Assembly recommended that the Committee of Ministers call on member states to include in school curricula information designed to alert pupils to the importance and the substantive contents of human rights, including their social dimension and each person's obligation to respect the rights of others and the corresponding responsibilities. The Committee of Ministers was asked to include raising citizens' awareness of their rights and the responsibilities as an objective of Education for Democratic Citizenship.

2.4.5 Civic education and terrorism

In another Recommendation, adopted in September 1999, the Assembly went out of its way to invoke learning to live together to fight terrorism. Following a report of the committee on Legal Affairs and Human Rights that signalled a 'radicalization of the youth fringes of the Muslim immigrant population, who are simultaneously integrated and marginalized, since they have received a European education but are also the victims of social exclusion',[74] the Assembly observed that 'the prevention of terrorism also depends on education in democratic values and tolerance, with the eradication of the teaching of negative or hateful attitudes towards others and the development of a culture of peace in all individuals and social groups'. The Assembly recommended that the Committee of Ministers 'envisage the preparation of a civic education textbook for all schools in Europe so as to combat the spread of extremist ideas and advocate tolerance and respect for others as an essential basis of community life'.[75]

2.4.6 Budapest 1999

At its 1999 Budapest meeting, which marked the 50th anniversary of the Council of Europe, the Committee of Ministers adopted a Declaration on "Education for Democratic citizenship, based on the rights and responsibilities of the citizens".[76]

The Ministers recalled the Council's mission to build a freer, more tolerant and just society based on solidarity, common values and a cultural heritage enriched by its diversity. They emphasized the need to develop education for democratic citizenship based on the rights and responsibilities of citizens, and they insisted on the urgency of strengthening individuals' awareness and understanding of their rights and responsibilities, so that they develop a capacity to exercise these rights and respect the rights of others, and finally, stressed the fundamental role of education in promoting the active participation of all individuals in democratic life at all levels.

On the basis of these considerations, the Committee of Ministers declared that education for democratic citizenship strengthens social cohesion, mutual understanding and solidarity, and called upon member states 'to make education for democratic citizenship based on the rights and responsibilities of citizens an essential component of all educational practices'. In the end, of course, the responsibility for applying these practices and activities lies with the member states.

The Programme on Education for Democratic Citizenship

The Committee also officially endorsed the "*Programme on Education for Democratic citizenship, based on the rights and responsibilities of the citizens*", which was appended to the declaration.[77]
The programme has by now become one of the flagships of the Council of Europe.

The *objectives* of the Programme included the following:

- identification and development of novel and effective strategies, means and methods for the strengthening of the

67 Council of Europe 1997.
68 Council of Europe 1997.
69 Parliamentary Assembly 1999a.
70 Kovács 1999.
71 Audigier 2000: 5.1.
72 Balkenende 2004.
73 Parliamentary Assembly 1999 a.
74 Parliamentary Assembly 1999 c.
75 Parliamentary Assembly 1999 b.
76 Council of Europe 1999.
77 Council of Europe 1999.

democratic fabric of society;
- exploration of major issues regarding education for democratic citizenship based on citizens' rights and responsibilities;
- exchange and dissemination of knowledge, experience and good practices across Europe;
- provision of assistance for reforms of education and other relevant policies;
- development of a platform for networking and partnerships;
- fostering public awareness of individuals' rights and understanding of their responsibilities.

The *key issues* that the programme was intended to deal with included:
- the evolving concept of democratic citizenship, in its political, legal, cultural and social dimensions;
- human rights, including their social dimension and each person's obligation to respect the rights of others;
- the relationships between rights and responsibilities as well as common responsibilities in combating social exclusion, marginalization, civic apathy, intolerance and violence;
- the core competencies for democratic citizenship based on citizens' rights and responsibilities;
- the development of active citizenship through different innovative methods of active and participative learning in a lifelong learning perspective;
- learning democracy in school and university life, including participation in decision making and the associated structures of pupils, students and teachers;
- the nature of and links between the various approaches to education for democratic citizenship based on citizens' rights and responsibilities such as human rights education, civic education, intercultural education, history teaching, democratic leadership training, conflict resolution and confidence building;
- the role of the media and new information technologies in education for democratic citizenship based on citizen's rights and responsibilities;
- forms of voluntary work and participation in civil society, particularly at the local level;
- young peoples' lifestyles and the different forms of their involvement in society.

The *activities* of the programme included:
- drawing up guidelines and recommendations on education for democratic citizenship based on citizens' rights and responsibilities;
- encouraging the establishment of national plans for education for democratic citizenship based on citizens' rights and responsibilities in member States;
- providing assistance to member States with the reforms of the educational and training systems (curriculum and textbook development, teacher training), so as to include education for democratic citizenship based on citizens' rights and responsibilities;
- examining the setting up of instruments for the recognition of voluntary involvement in society and of informal learning periods as a means of promoting education for democratic citizenship based on citizens' rights and responsibilities.

The *modes of action* in executing the programme included setting up networks of experts and conducting research and surveys, providing expertise and information, collecting exchanging and evaluating examples of good practice, producing innovative training tools and awareness-raising materials, etc.

Finally, the Committee of Ministers asked the Council to prepare draft guidelines and recommendations to Member States on EDC, to be discussed at the Standing conference of Ministers. It also asked the Council to make plans for the setting up of a *European campaign* for education for democratic citizenship based on citizens' rights and responsibilities.

2.4.7 Cracow 2000

The ensuing series of conferences, publications and experiments on EDC under the aegis of the Council of Europe[78] culminated in the 2000 Cracow meeting of the Standing Conference of European Ministers of Education, which was devoted to "educational policies for democratic citizenship and social cohesion: challenges and strategies for Europe".

Several reports were presented to the Conference, including studies on basic concepts and core competencies of democratic citizenship,[79] on strategies for learning democratic citizenship,[80] and also on actual practical work that had been conducted under the auspices of the Council of Europe in so-called sites of citizenship, local grass-roots projects.[81] The Sites of Citizenship network was considered a novelty in the work of the Council of Europe, by establishing a link between policy development, practice and training. Between 1997 and 2000, a dozen sites had been set up in various countries and the first practical experiences could be evaluated.

Evaluation of EDC 1997-2000

The European Ministers of Education noted in Cracow that the EDC programme was well on its way and had shown 'how education for democratic citizenship can contribute to social cohesion through learning to participate in the life of society, to assume responsibility and to live together'.[82] They endorsed the results and adopted the *Resolution on Finished Projects*.

The work on EDC of course had to be continued. The Resolution of the Committee of Ministers adopted in Cracow included the recommendation that networks of citizenship experiments and sites be developed, while future work should accentuate aspects more directly linked to educational policy and practice.

The Cracow guidelines

The resolution includes, as an appendix, a set of draft common guidelines to ministers on Education for Democratic Citizenship, which were stated to 'lay down a comprehensive, integrated approach to policies and practices on EDC'.[83] These guidelines stipulated, among many other things, that in Member states:
- in conducting policies to strengthen EDC, legislation for EDC should be drawn up;
- policies to strengthen EDC should consider the values and principles of education for democratic citizenship as an essential goal of the entire curriculum and as criteria for the quality assurance of education systems, while the recognition of skills, qualifications and training in EDC should be encouraged;
- EDC should be further promoted by measures including the carrying out of participatory basic and applied research and development in EDC, thus contributing to the monitoring of EDC initiatives and innovations and to EDC training and curriculum development.

2.4.8 The 2002 Recommendation on Education for Democratic Citizenship

In 2002, the Committee of Ministers adopted its most explicit and most action-oriented Recommendation to date on EDC to member states.[84] It constitutes the reference for the work on EDC that the Council of Europe is presently undertaking.

In the recommendation, the Committee expresses its concern about the growing levels of political and civic apathy and lack of confidence in democratic institutions, as well as the increased cases of corruption, racism, xenophobia, aggressive nationalism, intolerance of minorities, discrimination and social exclusion, all of which are considered to be major threats to the security, stability and growth of democratic societies.

Concerned to protect the rights of citizens, to make them aware of their responsibilities and to strengthen democratic society, conscious of the responsibilities of present and future generations to maintain and safeguard democratic societies and of the role of education in promoting the active participation of all individuals in political, civic, social and cultural life, the Committee invokes once more education for democratic citizenship as a factor for social cohesion, mutual understanding, intercultural and inter-religious dialogue and solidarity and states that education for democratic citizenship should be at the heart of the reform and implementation of educational policies.

The Committee recommends, among other things, that the governments of member states, with respect for their constitutional structures, national or local situations and education systems:
- make education for democratic citizenship a priority objective of educational policy making and reforms;
- encourage and support initiatives which promote education for democratic citizenship within and among member states;
- be actively involved in the preparation and staging of a *European Year of Citizenship through Education*, as an important vehicle for developing, preserving and promoting democratic culture on a pan-European scale;
- be guided by the principles set out in the appendix to the Recommendation in their present or future educational reforms.

77 Council of Europe 1999.
78 See the lists of activities in Birzea 2000: 73-80.
79 Audigier 2000.
80 Duer et al. 2000.
81 Carey & Forrester 1999.
82 Council of Europe 2000, paragraph 9.
83 Council of Europe 2000, paragraph 9.
84 Council of Europe 2002.

The 2002 guidelines on EDC

The *principles* referred to in the Recommendation include the involvement of social institutions, particularly the family, and civil society in contributing to education for democratic citizenship in informal settings. Also, it must be ensured that, 'as early as the policy-making stage, research and evaluation facilities are available for assessing the results, successes and difficulties of educational policies'.[85]

It is therefore recommended that 'each state's contribution to the European and international debate on education for democratic citizenship be reinforced by establishing or consolidating European networks of practitioners and researchers, for experimenting on and developing education for democratic citizenship ("sites of citizenship"), educational resources and documentation centres and research and assessment institutes.'

The principles include a long list of actions needed in order to fulfil the general aims of education for democratic citizenship, both from an educational and from a policy-development perspective. 'It would be appropriate to implement educational approaches and teaching methods which aim at learning to live together in a democratic society, and at combating aggressive nationalism, racism and intolerance, while eliminating violence and extremist thinking and behaviour.'

The principles also include a list of *key competencies* that would contribute to reaching such aims.[86]

- settle conflicts in a non-violent manner;
- argue in defence of one's viewpoint;
- listen to, understand and interpret other people's arguments;
- recognize and accept differences;
- make choices, consider alternatives and subject them to ethical analysis;
- shoulder shared responsibilities;
- establish constructive, non-aggressive relations with others;
- develop a critical approach to information, thought patterns and philosophical, religious, social, political and cultural concepts, at the same time remaining committed to the fundamental values and principles of the Council of Europe.

Finally, the list of principles and guidelines pays special attention to the training of the teachers and trainers who are expected to instil these competencies.

2.4.9 Intercultural education

The Standing Conference of European Ministers of Education, at its venue in Athens in 2003, adopted a *Declaration on intercultural education on the new European context*, in which the ministers once more endorsed the principles of learning to live together.[87] In it, the ministers call on the Council of Europe to focus its work programme on enhancing the quality of education as a response to the challenges posed by the diversity of our societies by making democracy learning and intercultural education key components of educational reform. They request the Council, among other things, to 'encourage research focusing on social learning and co-operative learning in order to take into account the "learning to live together" and intercultural aspects in all teaching activities', as well as to 'develop quality assurance instruments inspired by education for democratic citizenship, taking account of the intercultural dimension and develop quality indicators and tools for self-evaluation and self-focused development for educational establishments'.

2.4.10 Education for Democratic Citizenship 2001-2004

Meanwhile, the second phase of the EDC programme is well on its way. In line with the Cracow resolution, the focus is on *educational policy* and *practice*. The programme has adopted a "multi-dimensional, holistic and lifelong learning approach" but pays particular attention to EDC practices in schools.[88] The programme has achieved important results in several areas.

Policy development in member states

The work on EDC policy development in member states has consisted of a large-scale All-European study of EDC policies and legislation, in which current policies in all European countries are identified, the concrete measures taken by governments to ensure the effective implementation of these policies are mapped and the views of a sample of practitioners of and stakeholders in the implementation of EDC policies in the countries concerned are collected. On the basis of information provided by national co-ordinators, existing databases and comparative research projects, as well as focus groups of practitioners, five regional reports were drawn up. The final report of this impressive enterprise, including a synthesis by Cesar Birzea, appeared in April 2004.[89] It will be returned to in Chapter 3.

Communication and awareness raising

The EDC programme has set up a European awareness-raising campaign, which will culminate in 2005, in the *European Year of Citizenship through Education*, to be proclaimed by the Committee of Ministers in conformity with its 2002 recommendation.

The overall aim of the Year is to promote the implementation of EDC, and to transfer the ownership of EDC to member states. The interest and publicity surrounding the events should help to disseminate achievements in EDC-related areas, notably by making full use of the quality indicators developed within the current projects.

Networking

National EDC co-ordinators in each country are making progress in setting up a network, in which a large number of partners participate and co-operate: member states, NGOs, sites of citizenship participants, universities, businesses, etc.

Dissemination of good practice

A collection of examples of good practice is being compiled. The Council of Europe's website presents examples, mostly schools, from 19 member states, fourteen of which are EU members.[90] According to the website, it seems possible to identify three tendencies among the projects:

- to use schools as models to establish the democratic foundations of society, e.g., through civic education;
- to use schools as institutions to allow young people to be familiarized with national and international democratic institutions, e.g., through preparing them to participate in youth parliaments;
- to use schools as an instrument to foster mutual understanding and respect for cultural diversity, e.g., through exercises in conflict solving.

Generating and exchange of good practice

As to the particular attention paid to EDC practices, the Council of Europe points out that, 'as one cannot learn democratic citizenship without practicing it, EDC also includes various activities in which participation in society can be learned, exercised and encouraged'.[91] On these activities no progress has been reported so far. As for the Sites of Citizenship network, no new developments have come up since those analysed in the report presented at the Cracow conference in 2000.

The future of EDC

All in all, it is clear that the Council of Europe has played an essential role in several phases of the long policy cycle. Through EDC, the Council has successfully set the European agenda for learning to live together through a series of pertinent declarations and standard-setting instruments, as well as by providing guidelines for educational policies. EDC has provided some useful strategic analyses and, by conducting the All-European study on EDC policies and legislation, has done important pioneering work. The European Year of Citizenship through Education may, depending on the degree of support on the part of governments, become a milestone in sensitizing the practitioners, and possibly the population at large.

In the future, it seems, the standard-setting work may require less attention. The essential policy objectives have now been firmly codified. The monitoring role, wich also belongs to the council of Europe's core competences, may now gain importance. The All-European study may be viewed as a first step.

The question is whether EDC should expand its activities in the field of setting up large-scale experiments, monitoring good practice and conducting research on the level of educational practice.

A great deal of work remains to be done here, as we shall see in the following chapters. EDC was asked to do it. The current phase of the programme, as endorsed in the 2000 Cracow Resolution, included, for example, the development of networks of citizenship experiments and sites. The work that EDC has done here thus far is not as visible as the challenges it is supposed to respond to. The problem is that going down the long policy cycle entails an increase in the scale of the activities. We may wonder if the Council, in view of the size of its budget and organization, is capable of

85 Council of Europe 2002: 4.
86 Council of Europe 2002: 6.
87 Council of Europe 2003.
88 Council of Europe a.
89 Birzea et al. 2004.
90 Council of Europe b.
91 Council of Europe c.

GERMANY

- IN MAY 2004, AS A PART OF A UNESCO PROJECT, PUPILS OF THE GESCHWISTER-SCHOLL-SCHULE, A PRIMARY SCHOOL IN CRAILSHEIM-INGERSHEIM, WENT TO THE HAGUE TO DEMONSTRATE THEIR SUPPORT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS AND DEMOCRACY WORLDWIDE.
- AT THE GESCHWISTER-SCHOLL-SCHULE, BOTH "EXCLUSION" AND "DISCRIMINATION" WERE THE FOCUS OF A TWO-DAY PROJECT. THIS BOY EXPLAINS THE CONCEPT OF CIVIL COURAGE.
- IN THE PROJECT, PUPILS FROM ALL GRADES JOINED IN INVENTING GAMES, SONGS AND TEXTS ON THE THEME "COURAGE AND CIVIL COURAGE".

setting up large networks of monitored pilot schools by itself.

The prospects of such an enterprise depend on member states. We may remember the 2002 Recommendation on EDC, where the Committee of Ministers expressed its concern about 'the growing levels of political and civic apathy and lack of confidence in democratic institutions, as well as by the increased cases of corruption, racism, xenophobia, aggressive nationalism, intolerance of minorities, discrimination and social exclusion, all of which are considered to be major threats to the security, stability and growth of democratic societies'.[92] The Recommendation also included obligations for governments. The latter are asked to ensure that 'as early as the policy-making stage, research and evaluation facilities are available for assessing the results, successes and difficulties of educational policies'. It was also recommended that 'each state's contribution to the European and international debate on education for democratic citizenship be reinforced by establishing or consolidating European networks of practitioners and researchers, for experimenting on and developing education for democratic citizenship ("sites of citizenship"), educational resources and documentation centres and research and assessment institutes.'

In other words, if EDC is to fulfil the member states' ambition to step up its activities in the field of setting up large-scale experiments, monitoring good practice and conducting research on the level of educational practice, it cannot go on without a deeper commitment to EDC on the part of member states.

2.5 European Union

Education is a primary government concern in all European countries but the structures of the education systems differ considerably, both within and among member states. The EU does not have a common education policy; on the contrary, its role is to create a system of genuine co-operation between the member states by preserving the rights of each in terms of the content and organization of its education and training systems.

The European dimension supplements the action taken by the member states in all areas of education. The challenge facing the European Union is to help to preserve the best of the diversity of educational experience in Europe, while harnessing it to raise standards, remove obstacles to learning opportunities and meet the educational requirements of the twenty-first century, including globalization and the information society.

2.5.1 Modes of action

Although the European Union does not intend to devise or implement a "common European policy" on education, it nevertheless has specific ways of promoting co-operation in this field through actions at the European level, which are motivated by Articles 149 and 150 of the Treaty on the European Union.[93] In fact, there are two such ways.

Community action programmes
Firstly, there are the community action programmes in the field of education, like SOCRATES, which stem from a co-decision procedure at the European level between the Council and the European Parliament.

Open co-ordination
Secondly, member states and the Commission promote and facilitate "open co-ordination" among member states. In the field of education, this form of co-operation on policy issues has been built up principally over the past few years and in particular since the Lisbon European Council in March 2000.

The following paragraphs outline what the European Union has been up to in the past decade for each of these modes of action, as far as learning to live together is concerned, and what activities are on the agenda for the next few years.

2.5.2 Learning to live together in the European Union

The European Union does not use the term "learning to live together" in setting its goals for European co-operation in education. Yet, as we shall see below, the European Union, its member states and citizens have grown increasingly aware of the need of learning to live together. In the course of the 1990s, the European treaties, the white papers and studies conducted by the Commission and in the community action programmes, testify to a gradual enrichment of the concepts of citizenship and social cohesion and an increasing awareness of the crucial role of education in promoting them.

The concept of social cohesion

Social cohesion has been a common European policy objective for a decade or two. For a long time it was regarded exclusively as a necessary component of Europe's social and economic policies and was exclusively promoted through socio-economic instruments: social cohesion implied addressing social inequalities and regional economic disparities. The Treaty of Amsterdam went on to extend the mandate of the EU to combat social exclusion.

The use of socio-economic policy instruments to further social cohesion remains as vital these days as it was a decade ago. Nowadays, however, possibly influenced by the work on social capital done by the OECD, both the concept of social cohesion and the range of policy instruments to be implemented in promoting it have been considerably expanded. As we shall see, the Lisbon process plays an important role here.

The concept of citizenship

The concept of citizenship has a longer history in the European *acquis*. Under the Treaty of Rome, an individual citizen's recognition at the European level was confined to the economic sphere and his role as a worker. When Union citizenship rights were conferred on Member State nationals in the 1992 Maastricht Treaty, the discussion on citizenship was still largely limited to judicial aspects. Citizenship was defined as giving citizens of the member states of the European Union certain rights and responsibilities such as freedom to move about in the Union unhindered, to settle anywhere in the Union, to vote and be a candidate in local and European Parliament elections, etc.[94]

Thus, even though there was an Erasmus programme for curriculum development entitled "Education for citizenship in a new Europe: learning democracy, social justice, global responsibility and respect for human rights" as early as 1992, in the early 1990s the concept of citizenship was commonly understood in rather static and institutionally dominated terms. Being a citizen was primarily a question of legalities and entitlements. The dimensions of identity and inclusion were considered to present few problems for the fulfilment of citizenship, in that European societies were understood to be essentially homogeneous in cultural and linguistic terms.[95]

Active citizenship

All this changed in the course of the 1990s. It was increasingly realized that at the local or national level homogeneity is not a reality, whether it be for the existence of indigenous minorities or as a result of mass migration. It also turned out that many citizens were neither sufficiently aware of their entitlements nor did they exercise them effectively.[96] Finally the decline of civic commitment referred to in Chapter 1 became more and more transparent.

As a result of such findings, the European concept of citizenship shifted towards a broader based notion, in which legal and social rights and entitlements continue to furnish essential strands but are complemented by expectations as to the commitment of individual citizens to their societies and institutions, as well as to their competence to fulfil such commitment. *Active citizenship* became the buzzword.

Various definitions and characteristics of active citizenship have been given, both within and outside the framework of the European Union. Some varieties tend to highlight the citizen-to-citizen relationship, focusing on responsibility and philanthropy; others tend to highlight the relationship between the citizen and public institutions, focusing on involvement in constructing and regenerating civil society and exercising civic rights.[97] The most influential one in the European context has probably been that of the Study Group on Education and Training set up by the commission, which insists that,

'to become a rallying idea, European citizenship must be real, not merely formal. This implies going beyond principles and rules. Citizenship is a plural concept:
- *it is a normative idea and in this sense is related to the concept of civil society and its moral and ideological defence;*
- *it is a social practice and develops through a dynamic process, during which the sense of belonging constructs itself on the basis of differences, of communication with*

92 Council of Europe 2002.
93 See Appendix 1.
94 European Community 1992: article 8.
95 European Commission 1998: 2.1.
96 European Commission 1998: 1.2.
97 Deem et al. 1995: 49.

others, conflicts and negotiated compromises and shared images;
- *it is a relational practice between individuals in their social context at the level of state, local government, and associations.'*[98]

The new ideas on the concept of citizenship have found their way into political decision making. The Treaty of Amsterdam of 1997 foresaw the encouragement of a more active and participatory citizenship in the life of the European Community.

2.5.3. Learning for active citizenship

At the same time, it was realized that active citizenship, more than citizenship *tout court*, is a cultural concept, which is closely linked to education. In 1996, the Commission set up a Study Group comprising 25 experts whose overall mission was to open up the debate on future developments in this area. In the introduction to their 1997 report the Commission observed that

'It should go without saying that learning for active citizenship lies at the heart of our civilization's aspirations in this regard. This means seeking to encourage people's practical involvement in the democratic process at all levels, and most particularly at the European level. […] Turning a Europe of Knowledge into reality importantly includes promoting a broader idea of citizenship, which can strengthen the meaning and the experience of belonging to a shared social and cultural community. The active engagement of citizens is part of that broader concept of citizenship, and the aim is that people take the project of shaping the future into their own hands.'[99]

In the report itself, which was entitled *Accomplishing Europe through education and training*, the Study Group views the construction of European citizenship and maintaining social cohesion as two of the four aims of training and education in the years ahead.[100] The report stresses that education has an important role to play in the promotion of active citizenship. 'Under varying names, education for citizenship exists in many member states. It pursues different aims, taking up various amounts of the curriculum time and addresses itself to different age groups and target groups. If we wish to develop a sense of being citizens of Europe amongst young people, some improvement in this field is therefore necessary.'[101]

The report enumerates five dimensions of citizenship[102] and states that, in close liaison with member states, Europe should take action through education and training to consolidate European citizenship in the three following domains:
- to affirm and transmit the common values upon which its civilization is founded;
- to assist in devising and disseminating ways of enabling young people to play a fuller part as European citizens, with a particular focus on teaching and learning;
- to identify and disseminate the best practices in education and training for citizenship in order to filter out the best means of acquiring the elements of European citizenship, and by initiating experimental projects which facilitate concrete forms of implementation.

In the follow-up to the Treaty of Amsterdam, the European Commission worked out the concept of active citizenship in a series of papers and materials, including the in-depth study "Learning for Active citizenship".[103] Here it is argued that the principles of European citizenship are based on the shared values of interdependence, democracy, equality of opportunity and mutual respect. The publication underlines the urgency of rekindling the citizens' sense of belonging and engagement in the societies in which they live and of a modernized approach to the concept and practice of citizenship in a European environment. It is pointed out that traditions and approaches to citizenship may vary across Europe but that they share the basic idea of democratic citizenship in a modern society, i.e., that active participation and commitment to one's community support the creation of knowledge, responsibility, common identity and shared culture.

In other words: active European citizenship focuses neither on erasing possible differences between the citizenships of various member states nor on the judicial superposition of a new type of European citizenship on top of the existing national ones, but on rallying European citizens to the civic values that are already shared by European member states by definition, and are presently being put to the test in the new context of globalization, migration, and the information society.

In "Learning for Active citizenship", active citizenship is said to involve three dimensions in addition to the legal and institutional ones. These three dimensions turn up time and again in numerous European studies on citizenship education:

The cognitive dimension
People need a basis of information and knowledge upon which they can take action, and do so with confidence.

The pragmatic dimension
Practising citizenship is about taking action of some kind, and this is above all a matter of gaining experience in doing so.

The affective dimension
The concept of active citizenship ultimately speaks to the extent to which individuals and groups feel a sense of attachment to the societies and communities to which they belong.[104]

Thus, in order to fulfil their citizenship, European citizens must be equipped with information and knowledge, with practical experience and a sense of attachment to the communities to which they simultaneously belong. Such stock-in-trade, it was argued in "Learning for Active citizenship", must be acquired by learning. Given the nature of contemporary economic and social change, it was pointed out, there is little question that learning for citizenship is not an optional extra but an integral part of the concept and practice of modern citizenship.[105]

Learning for active citizenship, it was maintained, continues to include access to the skills and competencies that young people will need for effective economic participation under conditions of technological modernization, economic globalization and European labour markets. At the same time, however, the social and communicative competencies that are demanded in the new cultural context are of critical importance for living in plural worlds.[106]

From local active citizenship to European citizenship

In promoting learning for active European citizenship, the Commission continues, the local situation should be the starting point. Its strategy is to create local learning communities which enable the promotion of active citizenship at the local level but which are linked together at the national and European and global levels so as to promote local, regional, national and European citizenship.

'*Community education, training and youth programmes can support individuals and groups to exercise active citizenship by providing opportunities to gain and practise technical and social skills for professional, personal and civic life. […] This process can take root most effectively at the local level in the first instance, where the European dimension acts as a catalyst for reflection upon the meanings of community participation and identity "close to home". Confidence in oneself and one's own local community culture is a prerequisite for a confident and positive response to others, which is an important factor in building the foundation for developing a sense of involvement and inclusion in wider regional, national and European communities. Not only in form, but most importantly in substance, constructing European citizenship is interdependent with and complementary to local/regional communities of identity and national citizenship affiliations.*'[107]

Active citizenship in the European education programmes

This is where the Commission defines its role. The above 'underlines the importance of effective action in favour of learning for active citizenship in the next generation of Community education, training and youth programmes.' Having examined the current education, training and youth programmes of the European Union, such as SOCRATES (and, as far as the earlier phases of education are concerned, in particular its Comenius strand), the Commission concludes that 'they offer considerable scope for the promotion of learning for active citizenship, and the European dimension is an important asset to that end'.[108]

Consequently, *learning for active citizenship* has become an important focus in the second generation of these programmes, which commenced in 2000. Several initiatives sponsored by the European Programmes are based on the visions and

98 Cf. European Commission 1997a.
99 Cf. European Commission 1997a.
100 Cf. European Commission 1997a.
101 Cf. European Commission 1997a.
102 Viz.: "the recognition of the dignity and centrality of the human person"; "social citizenship, social rights and responsibilities"; "egalitarian citizenship"; "intercultural citizenship"; "ecological citizenship".
103 European Commission 1998.
104 European Commission 1998: 2.1.
105 European Commission 1998: 2.1.
106 European Commission 1998: 2.2.
107 European Commission 1998: 2.3.
108 European Commission 1998: 2.3.

analysis presented in the paper, more particularly the preparation of the *Manual for the Promotion of Active European Citizenship* by the European Association of Teachers (AEDE).[109] The boxes in this chapter contain examples of good practice in the promotion of active citizenship sponsored by the Comenius programme and drawn from the excellent Part II of the manual.[110]

Active citizenship in future education programmes

The present generation of European Community education programmes terminates in 2006. The European Commission has recently (2004) published guidelines for future programmes intended to replace them.[111] The programmes will be split into an *education* cluster and a *citizenship* cluster.

Making citizenship work

In its communication *Making citizenship work*, the Commission makes it clear that it regards the promotion of citizenship as a top priority in the *Youth*, *Culture* and *Audiovisual* programmes, as well as in the new programme *Civic Participation*.[112] In it, the Commission proposes developing European citizenship as one of the main priorities for EU action. It aims to pursue this goal through promoting European culture and diversity and encouraging the direct involvement of European citizens in the integration process.

New education and training programmes

In its communication *The New Generation of Community Education and Training Programmes after 2006*, the Commission announces an important restructuring of the education programmes. Learning for active citizenship continues to be a focus.

'Societies within the EU continue to become more culturally diverse and more interlinked with others, as a result of globalization and new communication technologies on the one hand, and the impact of the European single market and migration on the other. This puts a premium on the development of intercultural understanding and respect and on the inculcation and reinforcement of habits of active citizenship.'[113]

Although the concept of learning for active citizenship appears to be less prominent in the future generation of European education programmes than in the current generation (its explicit mention is restricted to the context of lifelong learning and with reference to the Vocational Education and Training strand), the general objectives of the programmes leave ample opportunity for its pursuit.

The Lisbon strategy

The 2000 Lisbon European Council has given a fresh impetus to the promotion of learning for active citizenship at the European level. The Council affirmed the importance of new paradigms, both for the *substance* and the *process* of European co-operation.

The Lisbon ambition

As to the substance: in response to the challenges of globalization and the information society the EU set out its new strategic objectives for the coming decade, stating its ambition to make Europe, by 2010, the most competitive and dynamic knowledge-based economy in the world, while simultaneously strengthening social cohesion. In setting down this ambition, the Council accorded education and training a central role in reaching these aims. As we shall see hereafter in the Lisbon follow-up, this raised the interest among member states for education as an essential instrument for enhancing social cohesion.

The open method of co-ordination

As to the process: to achieve their ambitious goals, governments asked for not only a radical transformation of the European economy, but also a challenging programme for the modernization of social welfare and education systems.[114] Member states agreed to pursue the Lisbon ambition, not by delegating new competencies to the European level, but by developing open co-ordination as a new mode of action. The process of change is carried out in each country according to national contexts and traditions and driven forward by co-operation between Member States at European level, through the sharing of experiences, working towards common goals and learning from what works best elsewhere. Open co-ordination includes the setting up of mechanisms for defining and refining objectives to be reached so as to fulfil the agreed ambition and on standards, indicators and benchmarks that enable member states to assess their own and each other's progress.

The European Commission supports this work by proposing work plans for implementation and by setting up working groups, including a standing group on indicators. The groups are mainly composed of experts designated by the governments of the member states of the EU. They should advise the Commission on the implementation of the Open Method of Co-ordination, more specifically on how "key issues" should be formulated and how the instruments of the open Co-ordination method could be applied to their area.

More particularly, the working groups are expected to:

- reach further agreement on EU-wide common objectives, definitions, frameworks and recommendations;
- establish, where appropriate, quantitative and qualitative indicators[115] and benchmarks;[116]
- facilitate the translation of the European common objectives into national policies by exchanging good practices[117] and peer monitoring;[118]
- provide an institutionalized follow-up mechanism.[119]

Education in the Lisbon follow-up

The Lisbon European Council had invited the ministers of education 'to undertake a general reflection on the concrete future objectives of education systems, focusing on common concerns and priorities while respecting national diversity with a view to […] presenting a broader report to the European council in the spring of 2001'.[120]

Stockholm 2001

At the March 2001 Stockholm European Council, the Education Council of the European Union presented a report on the concrete future objectives of education and training systems, on the basis of a proposal from the Commission and contributions from the member states.[121] The report stressed, among other things, the role of education and training systems in disseminating the fundamental values shared by European societies. It argued that the general goals attributed by society to education and training go beyond equipping Europeans for their professional life, in particular concerning their personal development for a better life and active citizenship in democratic societies respecting cultural and linguistic diversity. The Stockholm Council adopted the report and requested a detailed work programme, to be presented at the next spring meeting.[122]

Barcelona 2002

In March 2002, at its Barcelona meeting, the European Council further set the objective of making their educative and training systems 'a world quality reference by 2010'[123] and called, in addition, for further action to promote the European dimension in education and its integration into pupils' basic skills by 2004.[124]

A detailed work programme was presented to the Barcelona Council.[125] Its objectives included 'supporting active citizenship, equal opportunities and social cohesion'. The programme reiterated 'the essential role of education and training in enhancing the level of qualification of people in Europe and hence in meeting not only the Lisbon challenge, but also the broader needs of citizens and society'.[126] While education and training systems need to change in view of the challenges of the knowledge society and globalization, they pursue broader goals and have broader responsibilities to society. The education systems, it is concluded, 'play an important role in building up social cohesion, in preventing discrimination, exclusion, racism and xenophobia and hence in promoting tolerance and respect for human rights'.[127]

The cultural role of education

The Council welcomed the work programme,[128] which has consequently become the guiding document on European education policies in the framework of Open Co-ordination. It may be concluded that the broader role of education, including its contribution to culture and social cohesion, is deeply embedded in the European *acquis*.

This was once more emphasized by the Brussels European Council of March 20th and 21st, 2003, which 'considering the broader role of education and its cultural aspects', called on the Education Council 'to investigate ways of promoting this role in a European perspective, fully respecting subsidiarity', and to report on the result to the 2005 Spring European Council.[129]

109 SOCRATES Programme No. 2001-0928/001 SO2 81COMP.
110 Manual 2003.
111 European Commission 2004a.
112 European Commission 2004b.
113 European Commission 2004c: 10.
114 European Council 2000: 1.
115 I.e. data which can be monitored over time as an indication of progress in the policy area involved.
116 I.e. concrete quantitative or qualitative targets, for a certain year or period in either absolute or relative figures.
117 I.e. from which lessons can be drawn for future policy development.
118 I.e. which involves member states submitting measures to review by other member states.
119 Such as reporting systems and data collections.
120 European Council 2000: 17 (paragraph 27).
121 Education Council 2001.
122 European Council 2001: 3 (paragraph 11).
123 European Council 2002:18 (paragraph 43).
124 European Council 2002:19 (paragraph 44).
125 Education Council 2002.
126 Education Council 2002: 4 (paragraph 1.4).
127 Education Council 2002: 5 (paragraph 2.3).
128 European Council 2002: 18 (paragraph 43).
129 European Council 2003: 19 (paragraph 40).

The European working groups on education

Having analysed the Detailed Work Programme on Education, the European Commission entrusted its implementation to eight working groups, one for each cluster, each group in majority consisting of experts designated by the governments of member states. Some member states set up national expert groups accompanying the work of each of the working groups.

According to a Belgian evaluation of the work that has been done on the Detailed Work Programme so far, it was stated from the beginning that the working groups were to be engaged in a political exercise for the ministers and the heads of state.

'The basic question would be asked in different states and for different issues: within the frameworks of the Detailed Work Programme and of the open co-ordination method, what do we want our ministers to do? This set the mandate of the working groups: established and co-ordinated by the European Commission they are expected to give expert and scientifically argued advice to the policy makers. They clearly work within the context of political decision making that has already been made.'[130]

Aspects of active European citizenship, social cohesion and learning to live together in general were part of the mandate of several working groups. Besides the group on teachers' professionalism (Group A), two working groups paid special attention to these aspects: Group B ("Basic Skills, Entrepreneurship and Foreign Languages") and group G ("Open Learning Environment, Active Citizenship and Social Inclusion"). Both working groups published their latest official progress reports to date in November 2003. The relevant work that they have done on the subject is summarized below.

Group B: developing key competencies

Group B was established in September 2001. Its mandate includes the identification of basic skills and their integration into the curricula.

In its interim report of March 2002 Group B identified eight domains of "key competencies".[131] For each set of key competencies, the group provided a definition and outlines the corresponding knowledge, skills and attitudes. The working group recommends, among other things, that the eight domains of key competencies be taken into consideration in formulating a European framework to be embedded, as appropriate, within all national education and training frameworks.

In other words, it is proposed to adopt the key competencies as common objectives for education systems in member states and to facilitate their translation into national policies by exchange of good (policy) practices, peer monitoring and study visits, etc., in conformity with the principles of open co-ordination.

Moreover, Group B recommends that the development of key competencies be one of the overarching principles in Community-supported programmes in the fields of education, employment and social affairs. Where necessary, indicators should be developed for assessing progress in pursuing these competencies in the population. The key competencies were revised when the candidate countries joined the group in January 2003.[132]

The list of key competencies published by group B in the annex to its November 2003 progress report[133] is probably a milestone in that it for the first time aspires to provide a complete and transparent analytical framework for the goals of European education policies. The complete list is reproduced in Appendix 2 of this booklet.

Learning to live together in the key competencies

The list explicitly features a considerable number of competencies that are part and parcel of learning to live together; attitudes as well as knowledge and skills.

The "classic" attitudes relevant for learning to live together, such as *understanding and appreciating differences between value systems*, or *willingness to participate in community decision making* and *disposition to volunteer and to participate in civic activities* have been allotted to Interpersonal, intercultural and social competencies and to Civic competencies. However, several skills and attitudes that are equally relevant for learning to live together are subsumed under other competencies, such as Cultural awareness and Communication. Even an apparently "non-civic" competency such as Mathematical literacy turns out to include important skills and attitudes that are required for living together, such as *critical thinking*, *respect for truth* and *willingness to look for reasons to support one's assertions*.

The key competencies as rendered in Appendix 2 are presently being revised so as to accommodate the European dimension in education and its integration into pupils' basic skills, as requested by the 2002 Barcelona Council.[134]

Good practice

In its 2003 progress report, Group B also provides a survey of instances of good practice in various European countries, including some for civic education. The report concludes, however, that a number of gaps were identified in respect of the focus of the examples. For example, no good practice in early years education was presented. A key weakness is, as the progress report points out, also the lack of evidence that systems are in place for monitoring and evaluation.[135] This point will turn up time and again in the findings presented in this booklet.

Group G: social cohesion and active citizenship

A second EU open co-ordination working group to address issues related to learning to live together in the wake of the Lisbon strategy is Group G ("Open learning environment, active citizenship and social inclusion"). This group has so far focused strongly on lifelong learning and out-of-school education. However, by the look of its November 2003 progress report,[136] some of its achievements are also relevant to formal education of children at primary and secondary level.

One of the issues Group G was asked to address was "ensuring that the learning of democratic values and democratic participation by all school partners is effectively promoted in order to prepare people for active citizenship".

The group set out to identify key issues within the six areas of greatest interest within its mandate, to propose examples of good practice and to develop benchmarks and indicators for progress made by member states in these areas. It identified *active citizenship education* as one of the areas of greatest interest. One of the identified key issues is "ensuring that the learning of democratic values and democratic participation by all school partners is effectively promoted in order to prepare people for active citizenship".

In its progress report, Group G makes some important observations that are relevant to European policies on learning to live together.

The definition of social cohesion

The interpretation of the concept of social cohesion relies on the European social model and the corresponding Council decisions and Commission initiatives. In this model, education and training have been treated until now only as a supporting aspect of social cohesion. Working group G 'would like to review the definitions in the light of the high priorities discussed and to make proposals for changes or updates wherever this may be deemed necessary'.[137] In other words, it may be desirable to develop a European perception of social cohesion that puts education in a more central role.

School democracy

Children at school are young citizens. They should already be treated as such at school age and should be taught how to become actively engaged in democracy inside and outside schools.[138]

Sustainability of citizenship education

More than any other field of education and training, active citizenship education needs regular updates by training the trainers and editing, updating and providing a broad diversity of learning material. It also needs sustainable financial support for long term planning. Group G showed high interest in building up appropriate support structures for providers of active citizenship education at all levels in order to guarantee a sustainable high level of quality and independence.[139]

The relevance of key competencies

Group G has taken note of the work of Group B on key competencies and will consider the relevant proposals more closely in the near future.[140]

Developing indicators for learning to live together

Group G discussed the question of constructing input and output indicators for

130 Maes et al. 2003: 71.
131 European Commission 2002.
132 European Commission 2003a: 34.
133 European Commission 2003a: 48-58.
134 European Council 2002: 19 (paragraph 44).
135 European Commission 2003a: 35.
136 European Commission 2003b.
137 European Commission 2003b: 9.
138 European Commission 2003b: 8.
139 European Commission 2003b: 15.
140 European Commission 2003b: 15.

measuring the progress of member states' policies in pursuing the identified objectives. Such indicators are to be worked out and developed by the Standing Group on Indicators (SGIB) of the Commission.

Group G made two proposals pertaining to learning to live together:[141]

- to develop an *input indicator* for education for democratic citizenship, based on data on investment for the lessons taught in national curricula at school, in adult and youth education and vocational training or special funds and institutions;
- to create a *task force* to check whether the following studies and surveys could provide enough reliable material for an output indicator for civic education: the *CIVICs study*; the *CIVED Study* of the International Association for Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA); *DESECO* (the OECD study on Competencies for Civic and Political Life in Democracy); and finally the *European values surveys* upon which the World Values Survey has been building since 1981.

According to the progress report, however, the SGIB accepted neither proposal, apparently for technical reasons. Group G set out to consider in detail the arguments given by the SGIB.[142]

The present state of active citizenship in the Lisbon process

In January 2004, the European Commission published its working paper *Progress towards Common Objectives in Education and Training: Indicators and Benchmarks*.[143] It contains 29 indicators to be applied for monitoring progress in the follow-up to the Lisbon conclusions. The Commission remarks, however, that not all of the Lisbon objectives have been covered so far. 'Very important areas such as [...] active citizenship or European co-operation are not covered by indicators. In these areas further work on the choice of – and where relevant the development of – indicators will have to be made.'[144]

2.6 Concluding remarks on the EU

Let us return to the long policy cycle described at the outset of this chapter and use it to characterize the role of the EU with respect to the civic deficit identified in Chapter 1.

It then appears that the EU in some respects complements the roles of the other organizations discussed. The EU is not active in the early part of the cycle. Although Jacques Delors is a prominent European personality, the Delors commission, which set the agenda for the issue, was set up by UNESCO. The EU does not produce strategic analyses specifically addressing the problem, leaving the development of new ideas about social capital and cohesion up to the OECD. It does not set standards for education for democratic citizenship or monitor compliance to them, that being the task of the Council of Europe.

We have seen, on the other hand, that European member states are increasingly aware of the necessity and urgency of pursuing social cohesion and active citizenship through education, i.e., of learning to live together. Many member states of the EU have played an important role in the work of the other organizations.

Moreover, as we have seen, this awareness has produced a considerable consensus in the EU itself, which is documented in the conclusions of various European councils and has become quite specific in the working groups in the framework of the process of open co-ordination, which are made up of government-appointed experts, as well as in numerous proposals presented by practitioners of projects in the Education and Youth programmes.

The question now is what the EU can do to enhance learning to live together in those stages of the long policy cycle that typically belong to its competency and cannot be covered by the other organizations.

These stages are found in the lower stages of the cycle, when an increase in scale must be accomplished. The strength of the EU is its mass. As we shall see in the following chapters, an increase in scale shall presently be in order. As we saw above, the European work on good practice brought to light a lack of evidence that systems are in place for monitoring and evaluation, as well as a leeway in the development of indicators for learning to live together.

This may indicate a need for large-scale pilots and experiments that are subject to scientific monitoring, and a need for long-term and mass evaluation of education systems as a whole. There may be a considerable advantage in setting up broad internationally crossing programmes, enabling us to compare methods and experiences systematically, while mass evaluation of systems is by definition an international enterprise. Before exploring this point, we shall first look at learning to live together from a few more angles.

Theme: Good practice of Citizenship Education in the SOCRATES programme

L'Ecole de Minos [145]

A Comenius project co-ordinated by the Collège les Sources, Le Mans (France). Pupils aged 13 to 15 were given a grid to analyse the news on television. For several days they had to watch the news and write down the key topics covered. This information was communicated by the pupils of the 5 schools of the partnership to one another. The pupils compared the items on the news; they tried to understand why the topics differed; they communicated with their counterparts via the Internet to obtain more information and clarification. This was seen as a good exercise of media education with a European dimension, enhancing all kinds of skills such as reading, comprehension, communication and language. Pupils also acquired basic information about mass media, such as television and newspapers, in the other countries of the partnership.

ISEM – Integration and socialization of ethnic minorities [146]

A Comenius project which involves Sweden, the United Kingdom, the Netherlands and Denmark with a variety of institutions representing school education and local community partners. ISEM is a three-year project in intercultural education which aims at developing strategies to improve the quality of education available to socio-cultural minority groups and at developing measures in the field of socio-educational and socio-occupational integration. The socio-educational approach in the project aims at investigating and enhancing motivation measures towards active citizenship through the concept of intercultural counselling, which aims at providing new citizens with the tools required for social competence and multi-ethnic knowledge. External participation on a networking basis with social partners, parent organizations and mediators will be used as a means of intensifying adult participation and finding social cohesion and cost efficiency with social policies. The socio-educational approach in the project aims at establishing networks of companies and educational institutions for the creation of apprenticeship training places as means of recognition of "Learning by doing" for those who are not able to cope with the requirements of formal education.

141 European Commission 2003b: 16.
142 European Commission 2003b: 18.
143 European Commission 2004d.
144 European Commission 2004d: 13.
145 Manual 2003: 50.
146 Manual 2003: 77-78.

INTHASOC - Interculturalidad y Habilidades Sociales [147]

A Comenius project. The three-year project "INTHASOC. Interculturalidad y Habilidades Sociales" (Interculturality and Social Skills) has as its main objective to offer teachers procedures and methodological resources that enable them to successfully confront conflict in the school environment. The intention is to prevent social problems in school caused by lack of social competence and the lack of acceptance of different points of view. Teaching staff should be prepared to develop new behaviour in the children, a behaviour that makes them reflect upon the development of a form of conduct that makes living together and accepting different cultures easier. This objective should in turn lead to intercultural communication among all those who want a school environment that favours quality teaching for all students, irrespective of their cultural background. The main activities of the project are research, teacher training through courses, seminars and teamwork and activities that the teachers carry out directly with their pupils. The outcome of the project is a report with the results of the research, a website, a classroom methodology, a training programme, a report including materials and educational resources developed throughout the project and the dissemination of the obtained results.

A Celebration of Difference [148]

The aim of this Comenius project with partners from the United Kingdom, France, Denmark, Spain and Sweden is to provide teachers in primary schools with quality training courses and teaching materials, which will enable them to integrate knowledge and respect for cultural diversity in Europe into their teaching programmes.
The project focus is on the development of cross-curricular strategies and materials to be developed and trained by practising teachers within a focus area specifically defined for each year. Part one of the in-service training course focuses on "The origins of difference" and explores the theme of journeys in order to highlight the origins of cultural diversity within Europe, focusing among other things on migration. Part two is entitled "The experience of difference" and explores the theme of conflict and settlement in order to highlight the initial experiences of different cultures coming into contact in a European context. The third part is entitled "The accommodation of difference" and explores the theme of "Living together" in order to highlight the resolution of conflict arising from cultural differences in a European context.

Learning about democracy in Europe and about global citizenship[149]

A Comenius partnership of schools in France, Slovakia, Italy (Sicily) and Austria which focuses on pupils who are delegates of their peers within their schools and the way in which this contributes to enhance political citizenship. The four schools have described their systems of pupils who are representatives of their peers and have exchanged information about this with one another. Pupils are trained to act as peer delegates in the four following areas: capacity to manage autonomy, capacity to enhance openness towards others, capacity to take initiatives and the capacity to take responsibilities. Co-operation has been set up between the schools to train teachers, pupils and parents in relation with the role of pupils as delegates or representatives of their peers.

DIPSIE: Democracy in Primary Schools in Europe[150]

The aim of this Comenius project is to develop an in-service training programme with a European dimension for primary and pre-school teachers that would assist them in teaching the concept of democracy. This proposal is a three-year endeavour submitted by institutions from four countries (the United Kingdom, Sweden, Portugal and Norway). A Comenius partnership of schools is also being set up to run parallel with this project. This partnership of schools is used as an interface for the materials and contents that will be developed within the framework of the DIPSIE project. The main activities are extensive ICT linking between the partners and schools involved to exchange ideas on teaching and learning about democracy in the primary school; educational visits and

147 Manual 2003: 73-74.
148 Manual 2003: 65.
149 Manual 2003: 52.
150 Manual 2003: 48.

ESTONIA

- DRAMA PERFORMANCE AT ARAVETE GYMNASIUM, WHICH INCLUDES BOTH PRIMARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION.
- IN ESTONIA, CIVICS EDUCATION IS PART OF THE REGULAR CURRICULUM. DISCUSSION, GROUP WORK, OBSERVATION, ANALYSIS, FIELD TRIPS AND PROJECT WORK ARE THE PREFERRED METHODS.
- PRESENTATION OF THE RESULTS OF THE PROJECT WEEK.

conferences or seminars focusing on sub-topics of democracy in the primary school. Finally, a trial course will be organized for the EEP project teachers in advance of the transnational course, which hopefully will be given several times. The main project outcome is a range of new resources and teaching methods for children, teachers and teacher trainers working with European citizenship and democracy in the primary schools across Europe and beyond.

ECE: Education for Citizenship in Europe[151]

The purpose of this Comenius project is to develop a model for teacher training in the area of citizenship, so that pupils will be able to participate actively in the roles and responsibilities they will encounter in their adult lives as citizens of Europe. This is a three-year project partnership of institutions from five countries (Spain, France, the Netherlands, the United Kingdom and the Czech Republic). The project targets the lower secondary school. The working model to be employed by the project in pursuit of its aim is to consult with teachers in order to identify good practice both in terms of content and teaching strategies. The modules will be developed based on this research. Guidelines for teachers will be developed once the modules have been evaluated. An international in-service training seminar is planned for the third year of the project. This project takes as its rationale the renewed interest within many countries in the teaching of citizenship in schools and how this might contribute effectively to the development of active, democratic citizenship. To achieve this, it is necessary to develop an approach to teaching and learning that is based on enquiries and actions. In order to effectively manage such teaching and learning, it is necessary to provide specific training for teachers and to develop a broad range of resources.

3 The national perspective

In the preceding chapter, we examined the work on social cohesion and citizenship being done in UNESCO, the OECD, the Council of Europe and the European Union.

It was shown that in each of these multilateral organizations, European countries have achieved a considerable *acquis* on the necessity of action to heed the civic deficit through education. However, it was also found that policy makers face a considerable lack of knowledge on what policies *work* in promoting social cohesion and citizenship.

The European Union has promoted "active citizenship" within its mandate through its Education and Youth programmes. Besides, the working groups that have been set up to substantiate the Lisbon process have proposed sets of "key competencies" for European education systems that include civic competencies. No progress has been made thus far on the development of indicators and benchmarks for civic competencies.

In the present chapter, we shall be looking at educational systems and educational policies for learning to live together in the member states of the European Union. It draws mainly on recent surveys on European policies for citizenship education, in particular on the *All-European Survey*, conducted by the Education for Democratic Citizenship programme of the Council of Europe and published in 2004,[152] as well as on an earlier survey by David Kerr[153] and on some national and international surveys on the effects of citizenship education. As Eurydice is presently preparing a survey on these matters, which is due to appear in the second half of 2004, the present chapter can be brief.

In all EU countries, education traditionally has a generic socializing function preparing for citizenship, be it consciously and directed or unconsciously and undirected. Countries differ as to what extent their governments interfere with the content of education.

The main conclusion of the All-European study is that learning to live together – or, in the terminology of the council, education for democratic citizenship – is now undoubtedly on the public policy agenda in all European countries, regardless of the education system and cultural and political specificity.[154]

The differences are to be found mainly in the definition of citizenship education, the place it holds in public policies and its relationship with overall education policies. Issues related to education for democratic citizenship hold an essential place in

151 Manual 2003: 47-48.
152 Birzea et al. 2004.
153 Kerr 1999.
154 Birzea et al. 2004: 12.

public policies. They are to be encountered in many sectoral policies, especially in those linked to human resources development. Citizenship is considered to be at the core of human capacity. Consequently, all policies on human resources development include topics connected with education for democratic citizenship, such as participation, empowerment, diversity, equity, multiculturalism and social cohesion.[155]

3.1 Diversity of approaches

The citizenship education policies of several member states of the European Union are described in boxes in this booklet. It appears that countries vary considerably, both in terms of the urgency they attach to citizenship education and in their specific adopted approaches. Kerr explains this diversity by reference to a number of broad contextual factors.[156]

1 Historical tradition

An understanding of the tradition of how citizenship rights have developed over decades and centuries and the balance achieved between rights and obligations in each country is vital. It helps to explain how underlying values, which define how citizenship education has been and continues to be approached in that country, have evolved.

2 Geographical location

Where a country is located also influences how citizenship education has been and continues to be approached. For example, Hungary and Germany are adapting to the collapse of the Soviet empire.

3 Socio-political structure

The socio-political structure in a country reinforces the values and traditions underpinning society and is the major influence on the direction and handling of legal, political, social and economic matters. The degree of influence of this factor is dependent on a number of variables, most notably, the size of the country and the type of government. Worldwide, size and type range from the small, highly centralized, city-state of Singapore to the much larger, federal states of America. However, even countries small in size can have complex socio-political structures, such as Switzerland with its mix of Italian, French and German speaking cantons. Changes in the socio-political structure have had, and continue to have, a profound effect on citizenship education. This is very evident in modern times. The growth of more centralized bureaucracies, even in federal systems, with their increasing influence and control over education systems, means that changes in government assume greater importance.

4 Economic system

This factor is important at both the micro level of national economies and the macro level of moves to create larger supranational trading blocs, such as the European Union, and international trade agreements, such as GATT. It means that the micro is increasingly being influenced by the macro, thereby creating a number of challenges for citizenship education. Many countries, particularly those in Europe, have to deal with the impact of the migration of workers, both invited and uninvited, across national borders. These challenges present a mixture of opportunity and threat, as shown in the countries' attitudes towards the European Union. The EU offers greater economic and political cohesion on the one hand, but threatens national identity and self-determination on the other.

5 Global trends

Finally, Kerr points to the various degrees of awareness in European countries as to the challenges, which were touched upon in Chapter 1, presented by the global trends that have bearing on social cohesion and citizenship.

The broad contextual factors outlined above influence the nature of a number of detailed structural factors concerning the organization of the system of government and education in each country. These structural factors are important because they impact not only on the definition and approach to citizenship education but also on the size of the gap between the rhetoric of policy (what is intended) and the practice (what actually happens) in citizenship education.

As Kerr concluded in his 1999 study, the education system is a vital part of the response to the aforementioned challenges. Although countries have similar sets of national aims in dealing with these challenges and issues, including the aim of promoting citizenship and democratic values, they approach those aims in many different ways.[157] How education is organized and how responsibilities are held by governments within education systems is an important structural factor.[158]

3.2 European policies aimed at promoting citizenship education

The following paragraphs outline the policies employed by European governments to promote citizenship education .
We distinguish four variables:

- expected results: what outcomes do governments expect for society?
- regulatory instruments: what educational goals have governments laid down in legislation?
- instruments for implementation: how do governments interact with other stakeholders to reach these goals?
- definition of contents: how specific are the learning goals they impose on the curriculum?

3.2.1. Expected results

In general, by including education for democratic citizenship on their agenda, policy-makers expect the following types of added value[159]:

- help young people and adults to be better prepared to exercise the rights and responsibilities stipulated in national constitutions;
- help them to acquire the skills required for active participation in the public arena as responsible and critical citizens, as well as organized citizens (in civil society);
- increase interest in educational change, stimulate bottom-up innovation and the grassroots initiatives of practitioners;
- encourage a holistic approach to education by including non-formal and informal learning in education policies.

Concerning the role of the state, the All-European study shows that in all cases EDC policies were the outcome of state structures, usually the ministry of education or its equivalent. Regardless of its denomination or the concrete organizational settings, ministries of education are responsible for defining, adopting and monitoring EDC policies. EDC policy is considered to be an issue of interest to the education system as a whole and is consequently the responsibility of government structures working in education.[160]

However, the state is more a multiple actor than a single and homogenous player. This conclusion is important for the implementation of EDC policies. Initiated by state and government structures, EDC policies become effective only to the extent to which they are assumed and implemented by a great number of stakeholders and practitioners. This means that ownership of EDC policies is a key factor for effective implementation.

3.2.2 Regulatory instruments

EDC policy statements incorporate three standard issues:

- a desired goal (e.g., a certain type of citizenship);
- a set of values that define this ideal type of society;
- a prescribed course of action.

There is a great diversity of regulatory documents on EDC. For the most part they are legislative texts on education or the constitution laws. Birzea concludes that in general, EDC policy statements go no further than the first two elements. In the majority of the countries included in the analysis the third element is lacking.[161]

Despite the extreme diversity of European countries (historical, cultural, social and religious), all national constitutions incorporate the basic principles of democratic citizenship. They contain explicit references to the three fundamental values of the Council of Europe, namely respect for human rights, pluralist democracy and the rule of law. The outcome is a definite constitutional base for EDC policies across Europe.

National laws on education contain two types of references to EDC[162]:

- In the general sense of overall education aim (education for democracy, citizenship education, political education or democracy learning), EDC is perceived as a specific goal of education policies. In this case, EDC appears either in the preamble of education laws or as a separate chapter (e.g., Denmark, Finland, Germany, Hungary, Italy, the Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Portugal).
- In the restricted sense of school subject (civics or civic education), EDC is seen as a priority at the level of contents, curricula and teaching activities (e.g., Austria, Cyprus, Latvia and Luxembourg).

155 Birzea et al. 2004: 19.
156 Kerr 1999: 4-5.
157 Kerr 1999: 9.
158 Kerr 1999: 6.
159 Birzea et al. 2004: 13.
160 Birzea et al. 2004: 13.
161 Birzea et al. 2004: 16.
162 Birzea et al. 2004: 19.

3.2.3 Instruments for implementation

According to the data in national and regional studies, governments, stakeholders and practitioners interact in various forms. There seem to be four prevailing models of interaction: information, consultation, partnership and alternative action.[163]

Information

Information implies a one-way relationship in which public administration produces and makes EDC policies accessible. Examples are:

- "Program of Civic Education Implementation in the Education Institutions" (Lithuania);
- "Learning Democracy" (Austria);
- "Strategic Plan" (Malta);
- "Values in Practice" (Denmark);
- "White Paper" (Slovenia).

Consultation

Consultation implies a two-way relationship through which practitioners and stakeholders provide feedback to the government. Examples are:

- Association of Civics Teachers (Slovakia);
- Politische Bildung Online (Germany);
- Consultation of the Union of School Leaders (Sweden);
- Civic Education Study (Nordic Countries).

Partnership

Partnership presupposes active participation and the exercise of shared responsibility in joint structures. Examples are:

- "States General of the School" (Italy);
- "Association for Citizenship Teaching" (England);
- Local Area Partnerships (Ireland);
- Student circles and student self-governments (Hungary);
- Parents Council (Poland).

Alternative action

Alternative action consists of a bottom-up approach, based on grassroots initiatives by practitioners and local stakeholders. Examples are:

- "Experimental and Pilot Program on EDC" (Greece);
- "The Voice of Youth" in Helsinki 2000–2005 (Finland, see Chapter 4);
- "Democracy Centre" (Austria);
- Jaan Tõnnison Institute (Estonia);
- Civic Education Project (Czech Republic);
- Civic education in self-government schools (Poland, see Chapter 4).

3.2.4 Definition of contents

Countries differ as to the degree of detail by which governments specify the learning goals of civic education.

In regard to the control that governments exercise on the non-cognitive values and aims pursued in education, Le Métais distinguishes three categories of countries.[164]

1 Minimal reference to values in education legislation

The countries in this group share a commitment to pluralism and devolved authority. Values are expressed in the constitution and/or statutes, which provide a framework for the expression of values through devolved educational structures.

2 National values expressed in general terms

In this group of countries, general statements on values are made at a national level but the details are determined by authorities with devolved responsibilities.

3 National values expressed in detail

Countries with highly centralized systems tend to express very detailed aims and clear educational and social values.

Sweden

Sweden is rather specific in expressing values in the curriculum. As its education act puts it,

'Education should equip pupils with knowledge and skills and, by working together with their home situation, further a harmonious development of responsible people and members of society. […] All activities in schools will be carried out in accordance with fundamental democratic values.'

This is worked out in the *National Curriculum* as: 'the inviolability of human life, individual freedom and integrity, equal rights for all people, equality between women and men and solidarity with weak and vulnerable people are values to be demonstrated and safeguarded by the school.'[165]

To achieve the latter through a national campaign suggestions were recently produced for child care centres as well as schools to convey democratic principles. The premise being that democratic education is not so much an educational content but is rather reflected in social behaviour and the school climate.[166]

In the Netherlands the government does not, or to a very limited extent, prescribe explicitly which values and attitudes should be developed in citizens. Schools do have the responsibility to teach future citizens' skills such as reading, writing, gathering and assessing information and to enable them to make well-considered choices, discover and formulate their own values and keep the law. This implies focusing attention on emancipation and intercultural education in order to contribute to the (statutory) principle of equality. Although it is generally recognized that schools have a so-called "moral task", it is up to the schools to decide how they work this out.

This provides schools with the option to assign a low profile to the moral task and doing only the minimum legally prescribed, concentrating on individual educational achievement, the goals of which have been specified by the government in more detail.

De Winter has recently pointed to the risks of this choice. According to him, pedagogues and educationalists who concentrate exclusively on individual learning goals have lost sight of the public goals that education is also expected to serve.

'Whether you look at the attainment targets that prescribe what children are to learn in primary education, at courses for education support or at council plans for youth policy, they always concern individual goals, expecting children to develop and acquire a diversity of knowledge and skills.'[167]

Translated into the terms of the Delors Commission (cf. Chapter 2), De Winter's observation implies that core learning objectives tend to focus on *learning to know*, *learning to do* and *learning to be*, while neglecting *learning to live together*, to the detriment of the public interest. The slogan "not to bother with the social interest" seems to apply both to specific groups of non-native young people who were not raised with an affinity for the democratic lifestyle and to native youngsters who were raised with a culture of individualism.

If schools are given the freedom to work out the moral task themselves, De Winter continues, this usually comes down to a couple of hours of social education in a subject such as social studies. However important this may be as such, he claims that a theme like citizenship education should be formulated much more persuasively so that all schools will put greater efforts into it on a *structural* basis.

'A democratic offensive at school, which starts at a very early age, not with heavy social studies, but by explaining to an infant why he/she cannot have all the toys to him- or herself because there are rules for living together. Older children can be made aware of this by discussing and determining social rules so that classmates are not put at a disadvantage.'

However, this is not the whole story. There are also schools in the Netherlands that have formulated a clear mission with respect to the approach and direction of the school in educating its pupil population, in response to the wishes of the parents or because schools themselves have taken up their responsibility for the role of education in shaping future society.

The latter category of schools is on the increase as a result of the influence of the attention for the moral task of education in the media, such as the cited article on De Winter, as well as the practical fact that inculcating civic behaviour in youngsters is conducive to reaching individual learning goals as well. Behaviour-related problems at school require solutions if a climate for learning is to be created.

Thus, the question whether a detailed expression of values to be transmitted in education in the government curriculum is necessary and productive has not reached a definitive solution.

3.3 Trends in government influence on the curriculum

In terms of formal curriculum provisions for education for democratic citizenship, Birzea has noted several interesting regional trends[168]:

- EDC appears as a separate subject, especially in Southeast, Central and East European regions, where the political changes of the 1990s led to a

163 Birzea et al. 2004: 15-16.
164 Le Métais 1997: 5.
165 Agency for Education 2000.
166 Agency for Education 2000.
167 Kreulen 2004 (interview with professor Micha de Winter).
168 Birzea et al. 2004: 21.

need for greater curricular support for EDC in the form of a specific and mandatory subject.
- The integrated approach prevails in west and north European reports. In most cases, EDC is a non-statutory part of the curriculum.
- In southern Europe the mixed model prevails: the cross-curricular and integrated approach coexist with EDC as a specific subject.
- In all regions the integrated approach is prevalent in primary education. EDC as a separate subject is more frequent in secondary education (ISCED levels 2 and 3).

However, Birzea also notes discrepancies[169]:
- Although all countries claim EDC is a priority goal, actual curriculum provisions prove to be insufficient;
- Not all curriculum documents contain references to the skills and competencies, values and personal dispositions required by EDC as a key area of learning;
- In some cases EDC curricula are based on analysis of concrete learning conditions. There are, however, many situations where we have merely an imitation or reflection of external experiences motivated by political correctness concerns rather than an analysis of concrete learning needs.

Conclusion

On the level of national policy-making, the formulation of goals and perspectives is intentional, not operational. In his synthesis of the All-European study, Birzea concludes that:
- Gaps persist between the central position of EDC in education policies and effective formal curriculum provisions. In other words, formal provisions for EDC indicate what could be called a compliance gap between policy intentions, policy delivery and effective practice.
- It is obvious that due to increased pressure on the formal curriculum as the main provider of learning situations, the manoeuvring space for EDC is quite limited. The solution already envisaged in most European countries is to increasingly involve non-formal and informal learning as alternative providers of EDC.[170]

3.4 The effects of learning to live together

As was noted by almost everyone involved, there is a considerable amount of uncertainty about the effects and outcomes of citizenship education. Few in-depth socio-scientific studies have so far been conducted in Europe. They are discussed below.

3.4.1 Effect studies in France

In France a new compulsory subject was introduced in 2001: "éducation civique, juridique et sociale" for the "lycées" (age-group 15 to 18), which continues from the "éducation civique" for younger pupils in the "collège" (age-group 11 to 14) and the "école élémentaire" (age-group 5 to 10). Effect measurements are not yet available for this new compulsory subject. For the French situation the following effects of other citizenship programmes can be noted.[171]

1 The pupils' skills with regard to citizenship increase between the ages of 11–12 and 17-18.
2 Citizenship education also proved to be effective to a certain extent.
3 Citizenship behaviour has proved to be difficult to assess. During the performance of some simulations it was shown that tolerance increases during the school period: 17–18 year-olds prove to be more tolerant than 11–12 year-olds. Their respect for rules and legislation, however, decreases during the school years, especially towards rules at school. This decrease could also be attributed to the school. The complaining pupils blame it on the role and the behaviour of the teacher.

3.4.2 Longitudinal study in England

The Department for Education and Skills (DfES) has commissioned the National Foundation for Educational Research (NFER) to undertake a longitudinal study in citizenship education over eight years. The first cohort of the study started in September 2002, with pupils who entered the first year of secondary school.

The overarching aim of this study is to assess short-term and also long-term effects of citizenship education on the components of knowledge, skills, attitudes and the behaviour of students. The study promises to be of significant value for citizenship education, not only in England but also in other countries across the world. The first annual report from the study, reporting on the first cross-sectional survey, was published in 2003.[172] Some key findings are described below.

1 Existing approaches to citizenship education:

Schools provide various opportunities for students to be involved in active citizenship activities through school councils and clubs both in and outside school. However, the study showed that only ten per cent of the students had participated in a school council. Involvement also showed signs of decreasing with age, as students moved through the school. Less than one third of students (27 per cent) felt that they were consulted when school policies were being developed.

2 Students' knowledge, attitudes and trust:
- Not all the students understood what was meant by citizenship. However, those that did, defined it in terms similar to the three citizenship strands set out in official documents, with an emphasis on community, national and European involvement, global identity, political literacy and awareness and social and moral responsibility.
- Students' depth of understanding of fundamental democratic values and institutions was shown to be limited. There is evidence that understanding improves with age, but that there are still significant gaps in students' understanding of such key citizenship topics as democracy and the functioning of democratic institutions.
- With the exception of voting (66% of all students report they intend to vote in national elections), there is scepticism among students in England about traditional forms of civic and political engagement. The students also showed a low level of interest in participating in other forms of civic life which is related to voluntary organizations, both in and outside the school. Moreover, young people mentioned that they have low trust in politicians and government-related and international institutions. In contrast, they have more trust in their immediate social groups like family, neighbours, teachers and friends.

The findings from this first survey need to be treated with some caution at this stage. The results nevertheless show important information for the development of effective policy and practice in citizenship education.

3.4.3 International comparative studies

In 1999 the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA) published a qualitative survey on civic education in 24 countries.[173] The data collected summarize what panels of diverse experts in each participating country believe that 14-year-olds should know about eighteen topics, including elections, individual rights, national identity, political participation, organizations which characterize civil society, relations of economics to politics and respect for ethnic and political diversity.

Torney-Purta et al. conclude that, in spite of all differences, there is a common core of content topics across countries in civic education. Moreover, countries share a common problem, that of the existence of gaps (very large in some countries) between the ideals stated for this subject area and the realities of what happens in schools, classrooms and neighbourhoods and finally, the outcomes for students.[174]

In 2001, the IEA published a study into the effects of citizenship education in 28 countries, most of which were European.[175] Nationally representative samples of nearly 90,000 students in the appropriate school year for 14-year-olds in 28 countries were surveyed on topics ranging from their knowledge of fundamental democratic principles and skills in interpreting political information to their attitudes toward government and willingness to participate in civic activity. In 2002, another follow-up study was made by Torney-Purta and her team. This study on citizenship education involved 50,000 upper secondary students from 16 countries.[176] The upper secondary students were given a cognitive test and were also tested on their behaviour and attitudes.

The results prompt the conclusion that certain conditions are required to make citizenship education work. The studies show that:

1 Schools with a democratic working method – like discussion techniques involving students in decision-making processes – achieve the best results

169 Birzea et al. 2004: 21.
170 Birzea et al. 2004: 21.
171 Thélot 2000: 143-165.
172 Kerr et al. 2003.
173 Torney-Purta et al. 1999a.
174 Torney-Purta et al. 1999b: 34.
175 Torney-Purta et al. 2001.
176 Amadeo et al. 2002.

with regard to social knowledge and engagements. With this method of participation students are able to acquire a more profound knowledge of civic topics.

2 The family, the community and the media play important roles with regard to the amount and the quality of knowledge of citizenship topics. The Torney–Purta study showed that in countries with a tradition of democracy and countries which had recently achieved democracy, results on the role of family were about the same.

3 The didactic classroom discussions, participation of students in student councils or other organizations, education on the media and projects in which the community plays a role, may all strengthen citizenship.

In addition to the effects that were found, the following studies can be mentioned.

- A Scandinavian study shows a positive relationship between the level of openness in the class climate and knowledge of the processes in society, confidence in social institutions, as well as a positive attitude towards immigrants and rights for women[177]. An open class climate suggests that there are discussions about political and social topics, which will stimulate the students to adopt and express their own opinions.[178]
- Young people who experience that environments like their homes and schools value them well, have a considerably lower chance of getting psychological problems, dropping out of school or getting involved in criminal activities.[179]
- The chairman of the Belgian support office for student participation, Prof. Dr Paul Mahieu, claims that participation in activities around the school will lead to more participation in citizenship activities. Schools which organize events and activities in which students are required to participate, result in students and teachers who are more satisfied. Factors like satisfaction, well-being and the feeling of control contribute to a positive school climate.[180]
- Service learning also has a positive effect on socio-emotional development. Students who took part in the successful service-learning programs are considered more "responsible" than the comparable group. They were also considered socially more competent and more prepared to help others. At the same time, the study showed that these students were less ready to adopt risky behaviour.[181]

Although the available results provide some indications on the effects of citizenship education, neither national nor international analyses provide a great deal of evidence on what exactly works in citizenship education, especially as far as acquiring attitudes is concerned, let alone the question of whether these attitudes take root.

In his opening speech to a conference of education inspectors and researchers on raising the effectiveness of citizenship education,[182] Seamus Hegarty stated that educational policy, including citizenship education, is subject to numerous influences, of which empirical evidence is only one. As he said, it is important to understand these influences and to be aware of the different kinds of evidence and, specifically, the sorts of evidence generated by research and inspection, respectively. They have distinct epistemological postulates and make complementary contributions to the knowledge base for policy making.

In other words, when pursuing policies to promote citizenship education, it is expedient that governments take empirical evidence on the implementation of their policies in educational practice into account. They should therefore ensure that such evidence is generated, both through research and inspection. Finally, they should seek to warrant the translation of the results into evidence-based policies.

Civic education in Spain

Civic education was part of the educational reform programme contained in the General Law for the Regulation of the Spanish Educational System (LOGSE 1990). Schools were obliged from that moment to develop moral values in all areas of personal, family, social and professional life.[183] This idea was recognized and accepted, at least in theory, as part of the school curriculum. Policies or laws in relation to civic education issued by the national government are usually expressed in broad terms that provide sufficient parameters to define the scope, the sequence and the implementation of civic education. It is the responsibility of each "autonomous region" (*Comunidades Autónomas*) to specify in greater detail the provisions of a national policy.[184]

Civic education has been incorporated, in part, within the Spanish school curriculum in three principal ways:

1 Civic education is explicitly included as cross-curricular theme and is presented under the title "Moral and Civic Education" at pre-school education (0 to 6 year-olds); primary education (6 to 12 year-olds); secondary compulsory education (12 to 16 year-olds).

2 In primary schools, civic education is related to the knowledge area of natural, social and cultural environment. Consequently, it is not compulsory and integrated in the 170 hours per year dedicated to this domain. According to Glenn and De Groof, the primary schools have to ensure that each child appreciates the basic values which govern human life and co-existence and prove that he/she is in agreement with them.

3 Similarly, in secondary schools, civic education is linked to history, geography, and the social sciences, where it is considered separately but integrated and not compulsory, although students should, according to the 1990 LODE law, be familiar with the basic beliefs, attitudes and values of the Spanish tradition and cultural heritage.[185]

177 Agency for Education 2000.
178 Muck 2001.
179 De Winter 2000.
180 Mahieu 2001.
181 Billig 2000.
182 CIDREE 2002: 9-12.
183 Glenn & De Groof 2002: 511.
184 Naval et al. 2003; Glenn & De Groof 2002: 495.
185 Glenn & De Groof 2002: 511.

In short, the following are the goals of moral and civic education within the framework of the LOGSE:

1 To develop the ability to critically analyse the prevailing injustices and social norms;
2 To develop the ability to construct general principles that concern values, in a way that is autonomous, rational and open to dialogue;
3 To foment behaviour according to the principles and norms that the individual has personally determined;
4 To succeed in passing on the norms that are democratically agreed upon in society in the pursuit of justice and the welfare of all.[186]

Civic education in Italy

In the Italian school system, civic education is seen as one of the fundamental aims of school education as a whole.[187] All the general introductions to curricula in force in the various school levels refer to the Italian constitution and to the fundamental rights and duties of citizens that it specifies and guarantees. From what has been said so far, it is quite clear that the term "civic education" is used in a very broad manner in the Italian school system, and refers to 'that sphere of values and issues essentially concerning the domain of the citizen, without, however, neglecting its connections with ethical, civil, social and economic issues relating to the person and worker', as established in a Ministry of Education directive (*Educazione civica e cultura costituzionale*, no. 58, 8 February 1996).

Civic education is essentially characterized as education for democracy, for the exercising of citizen's rights and duties, and for democratic living together, with full respect for social and cultural differences. Not only the cognitive dimension is involved here, but also the affective-experiential dimension, 'which includes the forming of values'.[188]

The programmes of the lower and upper secondary school feature the subject of "civic education", which is taught in conjunction with history. The topic of "democracy" plays a particularly important role in civic education, because it refers to the Italian constitution and thus to democracy.

The actual implementation of the directive largely depends on the interest and willingness of teachers within each school to set up projects and initiatives in this field. The same thing can be said for human rights education and the ministry circulars issued in this field.[189] The circulars tend to bridge a very noticeable gap in school curricula. The civic education curricula of compulsory education do not explicitly refer to the teaching of human rights, except by referring to the Italian constitution.

Citizenship education in Slovenia

The political changes in the beginning of the 1990s had consequences for the content of the Slovenian curriculum. The emphasis in education is on democratic values, new rules for social behaviour and the sovereign society.[190]

National identity, tolerance and critical judgement are important elements of civic education. The concept of citizenship is not explicitly included in the aims of compulsory education. It is present in a more implicit form, in the expression 'to develop the ability to live in a democratic society'. The minimum consensus about citizenship education is to teach individuals to comprehend social complexities and to make them able to participate in the democratic system.[191]

When the Primary Education Act was adopted by parliament, a subject entitled civic education was not included in the list of compulsory subjects. The list did include the subject of "ethics and society". Its name was changed, following negotiations between

186 MEC 1992.
187 Losito 2003 b: 3.
188 Losito 1999: 399.
189 Losito 2003b: 3.
190 Strajn 1999: 546.
191 Strajn 1999: 552.

FINLAND

- ROIHUVUORI SCHOOL IN HELSINKI HAS MIXED AGE GROUPS. IT ALLOWS STUDENTS TO HAVE BIGGER AND SMALLER "SISTERS" AND "BROTHERS" IN SCHOOL, WHILE IN FINLAND FEW FAMILIES HAVE MORE THAN ONE OR TWO CHILDREN.
- IN THE "VOICE OF THE YOUNG" CAMPAIGN, STUDENTS ELECTED A 7-YEAR-OLD ITALIAN FIRST GRADER AS THE PRESIDENT OF THE STUDENT BODY. HE INITIALLY NEEDED SOMEONE TO READ THE MEETING AGENDAS.
- HELSINKI CITY SCHOOL DEPARTMENT ALSO HAD SOME DIFFICULTIES ACCEPTING THE DEMOCRATIC DECISION OF THE STUDENTS, SO THE STUDENT BODY HAD TO SEND A 12-YEAR-OLD SECRETARY INSTEAD TO REPRESENT THE SCHOOL AT THE CITY MEETINGS.
- CENTRAL THEMES OF STUDENTS' PROJECTS ON EUROPE WERE "BORDERS", "NATIONS" AND "FREEDOM".

the parties of the coalition government, to "citizenship education and ethics". This shows that citizenship education is one of the privileged places where newly-created democracy defines itself.[192]

"Civic education" in Scotland

Education for Citizenship is a national priority, many features of which are underpinned by legislation such as the Human Rights Act 1998 and the Standards in Scotland's schools etc. Act. 2000.

In Scotland the 5–14 curriculum is not prescribed by statute.[193] Responsibility for the management and delivery of the curriculum lies with education authorities and head teachers, or in the case of independent schools, the boards of governors and head teachers. However, broad guidance is produced by the Scottish Executive Education Department and Learning and Teaching Scotland. Their advice and guidance seek to ensure that the curriculum secures breadth, balance, continuity and progression for all pupils.

In primary and secondary education, the aim of citizenship education for the pupils is participation in the activities of the school. The framework "education for citizenship" guides the pupils in gaining knowledge and understanding of:

- contemporary social, political, economic, cultural and ethical issues;
- individual and social needs and the consequences of actions taken by them;
- rights and responsibilities in a democratic society;
- conflict and decision-making processes, including the influence of the media.

In short, young people should discover that there are different ways to live in a society. Youths should learn to think for themselves as active citizens, willing, able and equipped to have an influence in public life. The main goal is to develop capacities for responsible participation in political, economic, social and cultural life in a society.[194] Of course, in secondary education the factor of understanding the world around the pupils plays a more important role.

Education for citizenship takes place in several contexts. Firstly, there is the curriculum. Secondly, cross-curricular connections can be established between subjects and between in-school and out-of-school learning. Thirdly, education for citizenship takes place in issues linked to the school and fourthly, students should participate in decision making.

Citizenship education in Ireland

Citizenship education is included in the subject "Social, Personal and Health Education" (SPHE). SPHE plays an important role in developing an understanding of the democratic way of life and individual and group rights and responsibilities.[195] It provides opportunities for children to learn about, and actively participate in, the various communities to which they belong and to develop a sense of shared commitment. It can also help them to value and take pride in their national, European and global identities and come to an understanding of what it means to be a citizen in the widest sense.

The general aims and principles of Civic, Social and Political Education concord wholly with those of the Junior Certificate programme. One of the overarching aims of the Ireland National Development Plan for 2000 to 2006 is to promote social inclusion.[196] This is followed up in the Department for Education and Science mission statement in a specific objective to enable students to develop their full potential as persons and to participate fully as citizens in society.

Key concerns of civic, social and political education are, in particular, the aims that the Junior Certificate programme should develop the pupils' personal and social confidence,

192 Simenc 2003.
193 Scottish Executive 2000.
194 Learning and Teaching Scotland *a*; Learning and Teaching Scotland *b*.
195 National Council for Curriculum and Assessment 2003.
196 National Council for Curriculum and Assessment 1998.

contribute to their moral development and prepare them for the responsibilities of citizenship.

The main purpose of this Junior Certificate course in civic, social and political education is to provide the pupil with a concentrated and dedicated focus on all aspects of this area of education, with particular emphasis on the importance of active, participatory citizenship to the life of the young person in society. It is envisaged that this course will also provide pupils with a central reference point for those aspects of civic, social and political education which they learn about through other subject disciplines and through their daily school life.

Civic education in Portugal

Portugal's entry into the European Economic Community in 1985, with the corresponding implications on educational policies, together with the emergence of a period of political stability, allowed for a consensus regarding educational issues resulting in the approval of the 1986 *Education Act*.[197] Basic (compulsory) education was extended to 9 years, and the Education Act clearly stated the promotion of active and critical citizens as a goal of education. In Article 48, the Act specifically previewed the creation of an area of personal and social education (PSE) in basic education including such themes as sex and family education, health education, environmental education and civic education.

The typical curricular strategies for operationalizing PSE included cross-curricular infusion or dissemination of themes or skills, and/or the creation or reorganization of specific subjects or project areas for addressing these issues, including ethics or civics.

In 1989, PSE was finally instituted as a cross-disciplinary theme to be addressed by all subjects, as the object of a multidisciplinary project area (including a compulsory civic education programme for grades 7 to 9), and as a specific subject (Personal and Social Development) alternative to Moral and Religious Education.[198] The impact of the intense discussions on PSE during the 1989 Reform is still noticeable.

In 1995 education was stated as a major priority. An intense effort was made with regard to pre-school education, and the need to balance the democratization of access to education with quality of learning in a country with persistent high levels of educational failure and drop-out led to a process of "curricular reorganization" that emphasized integration, diversity and citizenship.

Civic education in France

French society and its education system are founded on a platform of principles and republican values, which have their roots in Concorcet and in the *Declaration of Human and Civic Rights* of 1789. These establish the principles of:

- Secularity – the public nature of education and the prohibition of any kind of religious propaganda at school;
- Liberty;
- Equality – the school is open to all without any discrimination.

The current education system is based on the *Orientation Act* of July 1989 (the Jospin Act), which is the first act in the history of the French republic to cover the whole education system. This Act sets education as the first national priority and establishes four main missions of the schools, including:

- development of the personality of young people and their sense of citizenship;
- contribution to the equality of opportunities and to the reduction of inequalities resulting from individual or social handicaps.[199]

197 Glenn & De Groof 2002: 417.
198 Menezes 2003:3.
199 Kerr 2003:18.

In France, EDC is a statutory curriculum subject. By the end of the first cycle of *elementary school* education (children aged 6–8), children are expected to have begun to develop appropriate social behaviour, respect for self and for others and to be learning the rules for living in harmony with others.[200]

By the end of *elementary school* education, children aged 11 are expected to respect the rules and values in school and to be aware of the individual's responsibility in society. All subjects, not only civics education, are expected to contribute to this awareness. In addition, the pupils should have some understanding of the political system and institutions in France.

Revised guidelines and a revised syllabus for *lower secondary* civics education were introduced in 1996. The syllabus is progressive in that the basic concepts of citizenship are explored in different contexts, moving from the near and concrete to the general and the abstract.

Schools have been given the option of flexible time-tabling for citizenship education. In secondary schools, between thirty minutes and one hour per week is allocated to civics education. In the *collège*, civics education is normally taught by history and geography teachers.

Citizenship education in England

A new statutory subject entitled Citizenship has been introduced for pupils aged 11 to 16 as part of the National Curriculum. Citizenship is important because:

'Citizenship gives pupils the knowledge, skills and understanding to play an effective role in society at local, national and international levels. It helps them to become informed, thoughtful and responsible citizens who are aware of their duties and rights. It promotes their spiritual, moral, social and cultural development, making them more self-confident and responsible both in and beyond the classroom. It encourages pupils to play a helpful part in the life of their schools, neighbourhoods, communities and the wider world. It also teaches them about our economy and democratic institutions and values; encourages respect for different national, religious and ethnic identities and develops pupils' ability to reflect on issues and take part in discussions'.[201]

The central aim of strengthening citizenship education in England is to effect:
'no less than a change in the political culture of this country both nationally and locally: for people to think of themselves as active citizens, willing, able and equipped to have an influence in public life and with the critical capacities to weigh evidence before speaking and acting; to build on and to extend radically to young people the best in existing traditions of community involvement and public service, and to make them individually confident in finding new forms of involvement and action among themselves'.[202]

Civic education in the Netherlands

In 2003, the Dutch Education Council recommended reinforcing the position of civic education in the schools.[203] Activities promoting citizenship that many schools are already carrying out should be turned into an obligation and provided with a legal basis by the inclusion, in the Education Act, of a clause stipulating that 'education is also aimed at the advancement of citizenship'.

The government has endorsed this recommendation for primary and secondary education.[204] Moreover, it intends to broaden it by adding "social integration" as a goal of citizenship education.
All schools will be expected to contribute to the socialization of children of different

200 Kerr 2003: 26.
201 Kerr 2003: 22.
202 Crick 1998: 7.
203 Onderwijsraad 2003.
204 Letter by the Dutch Minister of Education, Culture and Science to the government, dated 23 April 2004, ref.no. PO/OO/2004/19279 concerning Education, Integration and Citizenship.

backgrounds through sports and cultural events, by visiting companies and social institutions, by school linkage and exchange programs, in short by learning in different social environments. City councils and schools can also take specific measures to enhance social integration in local situations where high-risk pupils are unevenly distributed over the schools.

In primary education and basic secondary education, "citizenship education" will be part of the new attainment targets. "Social studies" will be a compulsory subject for all students in the last years of secondary education. Here, structural elements of civic education can be addressed in a coherent historic perspective. In addition, citizenship education will be examined through examination programmes in history, economy, geography, philosophy and art.

For secondary vocational education, new competencies have been proposed in which citizenship plays an important role. They include normative competencies, such as independent behaviour as a citizen, socially involved and responsible, based on socially accepted basic values, as well as cultural competencies, such as the ability to participate in the multiform and multicultural society at the national and at the European level, while respecting the characteristics of each other's cultural communities.

Civic education in Hungary

The "Man and Society" cultural domain of the National Core Curriculum (NAT) serves the goals of social inclusion and co-existence in society.[205] This cultural domain includes social sciences, ethics, narrow-based social studies (sociology) and citizenship studies. The modified NAT prescribes only competencies concerning these issues for years 1 to 12, and does not prescribe any content. In addition, among the common values of education and priorities, there are several serving this goal: self-knowledge, self-image, knowledge of the nation and the country, communication, European identity, environment protection and the competencies necessary for adult life.

Social cohesion has a statuary relationship to education by *Governmental Decree No.243/2003. (XII.17.) on issuing, introducing and applying the National Core Curriculum*. It is included in national policy documents and part of the responsibility of individual schools. The main function of NAT is to provide essential principle- and approach-based support for public education while the content autonomy of schools is guaranteed. It prescribes the nationally valid general objectives of public education, the main cultural domains, the content phasing of public education and the development tasks in each phase. The schools prepare their own educational programmes and curricula by identifying the content, for which the framework curricula – issued as recommendation only – can be of help.

The national programme conveys in a conscious way the complexity of skills, attitudes, personality features and knowledge necessary for socialization. The main objective is to enhance the social inclusion of students and the shaping of their personalities. A further main objective is to develop students' skills by showing various patterns and situations of their social environment so that they can find their way in unfamiliar situations and behave according to general human and civic norms by knowing various alternatives and being in possession of appropriate forms of action. An additional important objective is to develop students' knowledge of society, their skills in becoming informed and to substantiate their conscious participation in democratic public life; to prepare students for understanding economic phenomena and for consciously taking up economic roles.

205 Information received from Országos Közoktatási Intézet, Budapest.

4 The school perspective

In the preceding chapter it was observed that learning to live together is, in some form or another, on the agenda of all European educational authorities. Most countries have legislation on citizenship education and its goals but few have laid down a prescribed course of action. In many countries there is a gap between policy intentions and effective practice.

It was also found that citizenship education policies are not always evidence-based, whereas evidence on the outcomes of citizenship education is scarce.

Introduction

Learning to live together is not solely a matter of government concern. On the contrary, in many parts of Europe its urgency is sensed most of all at the grass-roots level; within schools and the local communities. Whether or not supported or facilitated by the educational authorities, numerous initiatives and activities aiming to promote citizenship and social cohesion have arisen in response to local needs. Several of these initiatives have been described in case studies, both from a national and a cross-national perspective.[206]

In June 2003, the Netherlands National Commission for UNESCO and the "Dutch Education Council" organized an expert meeting on good practice in "learning to live together". At this meeting, representatives of schools that distinguish themselves for their activities in this field exchanged experiences and jointly defined a list of focal points to be taken into account when assuring the viability, sustainability and effectiveness of initiatives and activities promoting learning to live together.[207]

In May 2004, the Netherlands National Commission for UNESCO and the European Platform for Dutch Education jointly organized a similar meeting uniting experts from fourteen countries of the European Union,[208] in preparation for both the Dutch presidency of the European Union and the European Year of Education for Democratic Citizenship. Most of the experts taking part had been designated by their National Commissions for UNESCO.[209] At the meeting, which lasted two days, each expert presented portraits of one or two schools that were considered to perform particularly well in their country as far as learning to live together is concerned. The portraits covered both primary and secondary schools. As in the earlier national meeting, participants identified and discussed the crucial factors determining the success and failure of initiatives, practices and activities from the **school perspective**.

As the participants at the meeting themselves played a key role in the activities they described in the portraits – as a headmaster, a teacher or as an evaluator monitoring the activities – their discussions provided a considerable first-hand insight into the mechanisms determining the viability of activities promoting learning to live together at the school level. The school portraits and a complete report of the meeting are available[210], but some of the more salient issues, discussions and conclusions are reported on in this chapter, presenting a *tour d'horizon* of the issues related to learning to live together dominating the work floor.

The participants at the meeting discussed a variety of problems and solutions. The major issues have been clustered in six strands, each of which is reported on below.

4.1 Objectives

4.1.1 Intended outcomes

At the outset it was understood that the term "learning to live together" covered a broad range of goals subsumed in various schools under such terms as citizenship education, civic education, intercultural education, moral education, social learning and personal and social-emotional effectiveness. Most of the schools developed projects on and around the teaching of civics and citizenship. In Estonia, for example, a project called "Citizen" was implemented in civics teaching.

In many schools, the terms *civics education* or *citizenship education* were used to indicate the goals of learning to live together. Some participants made a distinction between these terms; *civics* was said to refer to a relatively narrow set of goals, which is largely content led and knowledge based; individuals are taught to know and use their civil rights. Citizenship education, on the other hand, was said to pursue broader goals. It was said to include the contents and knowledge components of civics but also to encompass practical participatory approaches aiming to include and involve groups in society. In this chapter the terms *civics*, *civic education* and *citizenship education* will be used indiscriminately as varieties of *learning to live together*.

There was little disagreement on the general intended outcomes of learning to live together. All participants included the classic sets of shared European goals and values, such as democracy and democratic participation, pluralism, tolerance with respect to diversity, peaceful co-existence and especially human rights, as laid down in both UN and European instruments. Some participants remarked that it is simpler to specify the rights of citizens than their obligations and responsibilities.

Some schools used both *civics* and *citizenship education* to cover a broad range of objectives that included employability, health skills ("eating habits" or drug prevention) and practical life skills ("how to pay a bill"). During the meeting these objectives were acknowledged to contribute to social cohesion but in an indirect

206 E.g. Manual 2003; Carey & Forester 1999; Council of Europe b.
207 Nationale Unesco-Commissie 2003.
208 The fourteen countries are: Austria, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, Germany, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, the Netherlands, the United Kingdom, Poland, Portugal and Sweden.
209 The United Kingdom does not have a National Commission.
210 Netherlands National Commission 2004.

way; discussions focused on the core aspects of citizenship education, assumed to contribute directly to learning to live together.

4.1.2 Learning goals

Although participants diverged to a certain extent on formulating the expected outcomes of learning to live together, they readily and fully agreed, with one possible exception, on the specific learning goals that children should attain when learning to live together.

This is an important finding. It implies that regardless of any divergence as to defining values and objectives on the policy level, educational practitioners from all over Europe, confronted with the concrete needs confronting schools and communities, concur in identifying the knowledge, behaviour and attitudes they think pupils and students should develop in response to those needs.

These abilities or competencies include the following.

Handling diversity

Understanding and appreciating "otherness" was generally considered to be one of the primary goals of learning to live together. Pupils and students should learn to understand and appreciate physical (disabilities) and racial differences as well as differences between value systems of different religious and ethnic origins.

Tolerance

It follows that pupils should also learn to be tolerant, i.e., respect differences without being indifferent to them. They should learn to integrate respect for the views, behaviour, values and privacy of others on the one hand, and a propensity to react against antisocial behaviour on the other.

Having and handling opinions

Pupils should learn to substantiate their opinions as well as to shape and express them, to exchange opinions with others, to be prepared to question both their own opinions and those of others, to be aware of the boundaries for democratic positions and to be able to act on the basis of their opinions in their interaction with political institutions and other activities in which they carry a responsibility for their fellow-citizens.

Critical attitude and tools

It follows that pupils must be trained to maintain and apply a critical attitude when providing or being provided with information in their interaction with their peers, the media and especially the Internet.
They should also be equipped with the necessary intellectual tools to do so.

Conflict resolution

Pupils should learn to resolve conflict in peaceful ways, in micro-contexts such as the family as well as in public life. They should be equipped to do so by developing confidence and empathy in relation to other individuals.

Commitment to the human environment

It follows that children should not just be satisfied with the skills to handle incidental conflicts but also develop a proactive attitude needed to prevent conflicts.
They should develop solidarity with and responsibility for the people in their environment, starting with the concrete members of their family and gradually broadening the circle to include solidarity and responsibility for the more abstract bonds that enable us to live together, such as the nation, Europe and humanity as a whole. Commitment implies the development of the emotional disposition to co-operate and to volunteer and participate in civic activities.

Community participation

Pupils should also be equipped with the skills that enable them to act in accordance with their affection for their human environment. They should be equipped with the skills and knowledge that enable them to co-operate and to play an active role in helping to solve the problems affecting the local or the wider community.

Democratic participation

Finally, pupils should be equipped with the knowledge that enables them to fulfil the responsible citizen's role in democratic decision making and in supporting the democratic institutions that enable us to live together – including the European institutions – and in ensuring their proper use as defined in global and European human rights instruments.

Note on identity

Several school portraits included affection for the national culture and for such national symbols as the flag and the national anthem in the learning goals of citizenship education. National identity and patriotism were viewed as important elements of citizenship contributing to social cohesion.

Unlike the other learning goals, practitioners paid little attention to this subject at the meeting. This is remarkable as the point crops up regularly in discussions on educational policies.

There are several aspects to this issue, starting with the discussion on *national* citizenship as opposed to *common* citizenship. In the philosophical and sociological literature, views on the relationship between these concepts of citizenship vary considerably. Some regard national adherence as an essential component of citizenship, indispensable for furthering social cohesion.[211] Others maintain that national citizenship by definition excludes possible non-national members of a society from citizenship, providing a basis for possible exclusion, a justification for denying rights to certain members of a society.[212] Others again point out that this is not a necessary consequence.[213] The national citizenships of the member states of the European Union encompass all rights and values that pertain to common citizenship. If this were not the case, they could not be members of the European Union.
National citizenship should therefore *complement* common citizenship by adding rights and values rather than impose limitations on the rights and values governing common citizenship.[214]

Having said this, we can turn to the questions of whether and how furthering national cultural identities in educational practice contributes to social cohesion.
It appears that in most school portraits, patriotism serves not so much as an autonomous learning goal but rather as a pedagogical tool, which is used to buttress, on the affective level, the acquisition of the democratic values shared by all European nations.

Participants gave no reasons to doubt the efficacy of promoting national and cultural symbols as pedagogical tools in furthering citizenship and social cohesion. However, the question whether it works equally well in all situations was left open. In educational situations where different identities co-exist locally, patriotism may become an ambiguous concept and may perhaps be less effective from a pedagogical viewpoint. At any rate, the Convention on the Rights of the Child gives guidance as to how to deal with local cultural diversity by putting a child's own cultural identity and values on a par with the national values.[215]

A final point raised in this context was that schools should "cast" patriotism in a European or even global role; they should develop the necessary didactics to equip the students, at an appropriate stage in the learning process, with the insight that various European patriotisms may serve to defend the same democratic substance.

4.2 The learning process

The abilities identified above include competencies pertaining to knowledge, to behaviour or skills, and to emotional disposition or socio-emotional skills. These three types of competencies correspond to the three learning ambitions that can be set for learning to live together.

Learning **about** living together

Students are provided with sufficient knowledge and understanding of, for example, national and international history and the structures and processes of government and political life.

Learning **through** living together

Students learn by doing, through active, participative experiences in the school or local community and beyond.

Learning **for** living together

Students are equipped with tools – not just knowledge and aptitudes, but also values and dispositions – that enable them to participate actively and sensibly in the roles and responsibilities they encounter throughout their lives as citizens and to derive pleasure and satisfaction from doing so.

Participants agreed that all three educational ambitions are important. Whether one or the other receives more attention was said to depend on the circumstances, especially the age of the learner. Most participants insisted that while the importance of a considerable knowledge component remains uncontested,

211 Habermas 1994: 22.
212 Rawls 1993: 167.
213 Kymlicka 1988: 167-168.
214 See Gaber *forthcoming* for an illuminating discussion on this point.
215 Convention on the Rights of the Child, article 29(c): "States Parties agree that the education of the child shall be directed to […] the development of respect for the child's parents, his or her own cultural identity, language and values, for the national values of the country in which the child is living, the country from which he or she may originate, and for civilizations different from his or her own."

HUNGARY

- THE ALTERNATÍV KÖZGAZDASÁGI GIMNÁZIUM, A SECONDARY SCHOOL IN BUDAPEST, WAS FOUNDED IN 1988 BY TEACHERS AND EDUCATORS TO PROVIDE AN ALTERNATIVE TO THE TRADITIONAL TEACHING METHODS PRACTISED UNDER THE SOCIALIST REGIME.
- THE BASIC EDUCATIONAL PRINCIPLES OF THE SCHOOL EMPHASISED THAT THE SCHOOL TAKES RESPONSIBILITY FOR SOCIALISING ITS STUDENTS AND PREPARING THEM FOR THE COMMUNITY.
- THE PROPORTION OF FREE DECISIONS MADE BY STUDENTS DEPENDS ON THEIR AGE. AT THE UPPER-INTERMEDIATE LEVEL STUDENTS BEGIN TO TAKE ON ADDITIONAL RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES AS FREE CITIZENS OF THE SCHOOL: SOVEREIGNTY, THE RIGHT TO ENTER INTO AGREEMENTS, A ROLE IN THE COMMUNITY AND PARTICIPATION IN ITS AFFAIRS.
- THE SCHOOL IS COMPOSED OF SMALL-SCALE COMMUNAL ENTITIES, CALLED “MICRO-SCHOOLS”, THAT ALLOW TEACHERS TO MAINTAIN AN ONGOING PERSONAL RELATIONSHIP WITH THEIR STUDENTS. THIS FACILITATES THE DEVELOPMENT OF VALUES AND NORMS CONDUCIVE TO COOPERATIVE RELATIONSHIPS.

learning to live together should not be restricted to learning about living together. As one participant remarked, 'knowing how to behave is not the same as behaving'. All insisted on more investment in active, participatory settings in which pupils could learn by doing. Social-emotional development would be enhanced by engaging pupils in authentic problems in the social environment.

4.2.1 Methods

The way in which learning to live together is embedded in the school curriculum varies considerably among the schools represented at the meeting.

4.2.1.1 Learning to live together as a subject **in** the curriculum

In some schools, citizenship education has been introduced as a discrete area of enquiry into the curricula of compulsory education. The Estonian schools provided the clearest examples. Citizenship Education is part of the curriculum throughout a pupil's school career, focusing initially on developing an individual's self-knowledge and awareness, with particular emphasis on communication and goal setting. It then progresses to a wider exploration of the individual's relation to society and to the local, national and global environment, focusing on the development of civic competencies and cultural and environmental awareness. This is an iterative process that involves working on the same phenomena or contexts at different levels and in new contexts according to the age and stage of the target group. Since 2002, students take examinations in citizenship. Exams include testing skills and attitudes as well as knowledge.

In the Polish schools, the first and second year of the Gymnasium have one hour of "civic education" a week. In the third year the students have two hours. In the Swedish secondary school presented, the social and emotional training programme is tabled as a subject; it is taught twice a week until the age of 13. It deals with discussing and handling such themes as peer pressure, problem solving, co-operation or listening and communication.

Where citizenship education is well anchored in the curriculum, this is usually the result of a national consensus, implying that the awareness of the urgency of learning to live together is already well established at the policy level.

4.2.1.2 Learning to live together in a cross-curricular approach

The submitted school portraits suggest that in many schools a cross-curricular approach is considered most appropriate for promoting learning to live together. By their nature, the range of competencies associated with learning to live together span several subject areas. Participants also considered it important that teachers of other subjects have a strong commitment to a cross-curricular approach to the development of Citizenship Education and do not feel sidelined by the introduction of Citizenship Education as a discrete subject. Moreover, the cross-curricular approach reflects a shift in emphasis from teaching to learning. The competencies that are associated with learning to live together are suitable to be taught in a holistic, learner-centred learning culture. Finally, the cross-curricular approach is required to substantiate the learning community paradigm, which will be discussed below.

Since experience with a cross-curricular approach is limited and since cross-curricular teaching is not so easy to codify in rules, guidelines and textbooks and since, as we shall see, the contents of learning to live together should be geared to local needs, there are not always definite guidelines on how to fit learning to live together into the curriculum or in the teaching process. Schools develop their own ideas and methods. This works well if schools and local authorities have sufficient autonomy in this respect.

Finland, for example, has a broad national framework curriculum while the municipalities have responsibility for the actual curriculum. In Helsinki there is a school-based curriculum system, which is adapted to the needs of the students in each school. This has enabled schools like Roihuvuori Primary to introduce citizenship education throughout the curriculum in an interactive approach involving the teachers and the local stakeholders.

4.2.1.3 Learning to live together in an extra-curricular approach

It turns out that learning to live together is very amenable to an extra-curricular approach. Most participants stressed that learning to live together is very much learning by doing. 'Action is the key to citizenship.' Many of the represented schools are very active in organizing activities. They may be organized inside or by the school, such as simulating a law court (example from the Polish participant), setting up an animal awareness project (example from Malta) or the organization of a programme for the Italian and Bulgarian partner schools in the framework of a Comenius project (Aurélia de Sousa school in Porto, Portugal). Most of the represented schools regularly organize project weeks. In Denmark, classes from primary schools in the city go out to the countryside and vice versa to find out how people live and work there. These are not just outings but involve a great deal of preparation and follow-up so as to warrant learning outcomes. In Denmark, even a special training environment, called Youth Town (*Ungdomsbyet*), has been constructed, where pupils are enabled to gain experience in safe but realistic simulations of various situations in society.

Several participants considered that an exclusively cross-curricular and extra-curricular approach to Citizenship Education, although deemed valuable, is not always sufficient to raise fully-fledged citizens. In the complex society of the future, which is reflected in the increasing complexity of its institutions, citizenship cannot be fulfilled without a considerable knowledge component.

4.2.1.4 Hidden curriculum

Participants emphasized that the effectiveness of learning to live together hinges not just on the subjects taught and the events organized. The socializing impact of the schooling experience (i.e., the formation of values, attitudes, perceptions of self and the other) includes much more than what is visible through official explicit curricula. It is also effectuated through the implicit or "hidden" curriculum, viz. in the way in which teachers and students interact in the classroom. Some schools have drawn up codes of conduct governing such behaviour, both for students and teachers. However, participants indicated two basic rules for the hidden curriculum.

- Learning by doing: living together is pre-eminently learnt together;
- Live what you teach: teachers should practise the behaviour they want their pupils to develop.

School ethos

Several participants employed the term "school ethos" to indicate a set of values to be incorporated into school life that should permeate all activities undertaken in the school. These values should not be limited to rhetoric. As one participant pointed out, 'it is not so important what they teach. It is more important that the school culture fits to what they teach. Then they see it in action. They copy it.' As this requires consistent behaviour on the part of all teachers, a whole-school approach to combating bullying and other forms of non-civic behaviour should be developed.

This is particularly important where uncivic behaviour does not just affect the civic development of the pupils but even jeopardizes the efficacy of the school as a whole, as in the case of student violence. Participants emphasized that both demonstrating and imposing consistent civic behaviour in the classroom and ensuring a safe learning environment imposes firm requirements on teachers' skills.

Handling differences

There was some discussion on how to deal with racial, social, cultural, religious or linguistic differences in the classroom. Some feared that, if such differences are explicitly acknowledged, they may be emphasized and even exacerbated. Denying or ignoring them, however, makes it hard to deal with them, let alone control them. After a discussion, it was generally felt that children should be taught to handle the differences they perceived. School should therefore actively tackle any perceived differences in the classroom with concrete, purposeful actions. This requires, it was again stressed, highly qualified teachers.

More generally, it was concluded, imposing and sustaining a hidden curriculum that is conducive to the development of citizenship competencies imposes considerable demands on teacher qualifications.

4.2.1.5 The school as a learning community

Most participants considered that learning to live together should not only determine the micro-behaviour in the classroom but also characterize the school as an

organization. They view the school as a micro-society, a social environment whose internal norms and values set the parameters for future behaviour in society at large. Learning to live together must therefore aim to activate the whole school community to guarantee a school environment where students feel comfortable and enjoy security. The process of learning in formal education is then a combination of the way in which the official prescribed curriculum is imparted in the classroom and the overall socializing experience of the school as a social institution. This imposes several requirements on the school as an organization.

School democracy

Participants agreed that if the school is to represent a democratic environment, its organization should also be democratic. Both teachers and students should therefore be involved in making decisions. Most of the schools represented at the meeting have democratic organs in which students and teachers are represented. In the UNESCO General Secondary School of Bürs, Austria, students learn democracy by electing class representatives. This gives pupils an opportunity to express their wishes not only at the classroom level but also at the school level. Elected participants are trained by their teachers and a website is provided for further exchange of views. In some schools, such democratic organs (student councils, student parliaments) have a substantial influence on school life and school policies and even decision-making power. Participants warned that any democratic organs thus established should be taken very seriously. 'Participation is not possible without power that can be exercised.' Deceiving students with democratic organs whose influence or power looks considerable on paper but is negligible in practice was said to be harmful for the development of pupils' democratic attitudes.

This approach was applied most consistently in the portrayed schools from Finland. They participate in the *Voice of the Young* campaign, which aims to help children and young people to grow into active members of society. 'This means establishing operating models and practices in the communities where children and young people live, allowing them a voice in adult social decision making.' Roihuvuori Primary is enthusiastic about its participation.

'The campaign gives our school and pupils the benefit of making real difference. They have the possibility to develop their ideas to suggestions, campaign for them in school and finally, with good arguments, win the money to make the ideas come true. All the work is done by pupils, teachers only helping the youngest with reading and writing and giving good advice if asked. To our adults' surprise, in this year's election the pupil council president turned out to be a seven-year-old Finnish Italian first grader and he needed someone to read the meeting agendas for the first half year. The Helsinki city school department also had some difficulties accepting the democratic decision of our pupils, so our pupil council had to send our 12-year-old secretary to represent us in the city meetings instead of the president.'

This approach is continued in secondary education.

'Each school class sets up their own Future Workshop, where students discuss problems and ideas related to the school environment and vote on them. Finally, each class selects its own proposal and presents it to the new "student board". The new student board has 1–2 representatives from each class. These representatives are "negotiators", representing the views of their class at board meetings. The board discusses any proposals made by the classes, sets up working groups to further develop the projects and finally, selects the school project to be presented at a general Voice of the Young meeting chaired by the Lord Mayor at City Hall. The Helsinki Education Department's unit for real estate earmarked EUR 420,000 in its 2004 budget for carrying out suggestions made by children.'

As some participants pointed out, teachers also need to be enabled to co-operate and participate in decision making at the school level. They may be expected to evaluate their working methods with others and to agree on common areas to be developed further. Teachers may be expected to reflect on the effects of their behaviour on students. In one instance, students were systematically involved in assessing teaching performance.

Handling conflicts

As the ability to manage friction and conflicts is a crucial expected outcome of learning to live together, participants agreed that the school, as a learning community, should provide exemplary constructive approaches to conflict resolution. It should promote peaceful means of solving problems through a structured dialogue among pupils themselves but also between pupils and teachers. The presented schools abounded with ideas for peer group mediation and arbitration. The Dutch secondary school G.K. van Hogendorp Scholengemeenschap introduced the following method to solve conflicts. All classmates choose from their class a mediator for solving conflicts among other students. This particular student, who follows a conflict mediation course, will solve conflicts under the supervision of a co-ordinator. The school chose this way of handling conflicts to increase the students' sense of responsibility. The experience has shown that student mediation works well.

The Swedish "Storvretskolan" also provides an interesting addition to these instruments by approaching the problem not only from the procedural but also from the social-emotional perspective. Students are trained not just to apply peaceful procedures to handle conflicts, but also to identify and master their psychological implications.

Scale

There was some debate on the organizational implications of fitting up the school as a co-operative learning community. If the school organization is not just an organization that takes care of the *delivery* of education but is also a *learning organization*, where participation in the organization itself is expected to yield essential learning effects, it follows that the school should be organized in such a way as to facilitate and maximize these effects.

One of the issues arising here is the relationship between the size of the organization and social cohesion. Some participants highlighted the advantages of large schools, which offer a broad variety of possibilities and a diversity of the school population. 'Society itself is also large scale.' Others insisted that learning to live together is a subtle process, which requires a small-scale environment where pupils and students can build up experience by trial and error in a safe environment that is not yet quite like society. In this light the way in which the Alternatív Közgazdasági Gimnázium in Budapest handled the scale problem attracted a great deal of interest.

The school portrait of the Alternatív Közgazdasági Gimnázium shows an operating structure of so-called micro-schools. Each separate grade within the school consists of approximately 50–60 students and a faculty of six educators (usually responsible for teaching their own specialized area of study), who remain as one unit for the entire duration of the 6-year training course. The structure of micro-schools operating within this school appears to help to prepare the individuals for community life and contribute considerably to the development of social cohesion and active citizenship. Each micro-school forms a community with its own rules, work schedule and daily activities in accordance with the order of operation of the school. It is also the responsibility of the micro-school to furnish, clean and maintain its workspace, in which students have responsible roles. In the micro-schools students experience throughout their school careers that they are important and make up an integral part of a close community. Micro-schools have the right to initiate independent projects and special programs, in addition to establishing their own traditions.

This does not imply that micro-schools are in fact independent schools. Discovering the need for co-operation with other micro-schools to reach certain objectives may in fact be an interesting learning effect of the micro-school structure and could be facilitated by the school at large.

4.3 The environment of the school

Policy makers sometimes tend to forget that the influence of the school on the knowledge, skills, behaviour and attitudes of a child is limited. Three other environments may be at least as important as the school in shaping an individual's character; *the family*, the *community* outside the school, and the *media*. The influence exerted by these environments does not necessarily reinforce the goals pursued by the

schools. On the contrary, shortfalls of social cohesion are often attributed to the existence of rifts between the school environment and the other shaping environments in a society.

There are different ways for schools to cope with concurrent environments. On the one hand, they may adopt the *tabula rasa* stance, ignore the other environments and undo their effects by creating strong and self-sufficient learning environments. On the other hand, they may try to establish synergies. All participants at the meeting had a preference for the latter strategy. The family, society and the media were viewed, not as problems or risks but as potentially rich additional learning environments that should be bent so as to enhance their impacts.

4.3.1 Involving the parents

Family education

Learning starts at birth, when children are totally dependent on their parents. Brain research suggests that learning experiences in the very early years affect a child's future capacity to participate in life and learning. It is in the very first years of emotional and neural development that children's norm parameters are set.[216] Some early childhood programmes are claimed to have a measurable long-term impact on the future civic behaviour of children.[217] On the other hand, as one participant pointed out, even very young children are susceptible to developing intolerance. In Northern Ireland it was found, for example, that the appreciation of identity symbols (flags) and certain public institutions (the police) had started to diverge between Protestant and Catholic children at the age of three, while differences were already firmly established at the age of six.[218]

For this reason, some participants considered it of utmost importance to start learning to live together as early as possible. In Storvretskolan in Stockholm civic education starts at the age of two, using an affective approach called *social and emotional training*.

The existence of a trust relationship between the parents and the school is a condition for effective early learning. According to some, this implies that schools should assist the parents in fulfilling their education tasks when the need arises. The teachers of Storvretskolan visit parents at home and provide guidance, thus ensuring their full support for their children's learning. Schools are expected to co-operate closely with other social services in order to build up and maintain such trust relationships.

The same is true, however, when children are older. Participants agreed that if parents are more involved in the schools, children do better. At the meeting, it was generally acknowledged that close involvement in the activities of the school on the part of the parents considerably contributes to rallying support for the school ethos. Parents were therefore considered to be important. They should enjoy the full respect of the school and be treated as equal partners in the education enterprise.

Parents' involvement in school life should start at the very beginning. In Roihuvuori Primary, values are discussed every year with new parents. The Šiauliai Didždvaris gymnasium in Lithuania organizes "parents' classes" twice a year. In most schools there are parents' councils. Several participants reported that transparency to the parents is essential. Parents should be entitled to information on the school's functioning and have the right of access to the school.

In Storvretskolan, parents are involved in school governance. They sit on the school board and assist in drawing up the school plan. It turns out that parents, thus empowered, develop ownership for the environment in which their children are educated. They organize activities for the class. In short, there is a considerable synergy between the school and the family.

Reaching the parents

Although all participants agreed on the importance of close partnerships with parents, several participants pointed out that it is not always easy to commit parents to an active role. Two types of non-commitment can be distinguished. The first tendency is low interest in schools and the second is low trust in schools.

Low parents' interest

Some parents expect too much from the school. In the transition countries the government used to take care of the complete education of the children, including values. Many parents think that this is still the case. Many parents in Western Europe as well tend to view education as a service that can be ordered from the school but does not require any particular involvement in the school as a community. They tend to be interested in their children's cognitive results rather than citizenship competencies. These attitudes result in indifference as to the contribution of the school to social cohesion.

Low parents' trust

On the other side there are parents from minorities and migrant communities who sometimes experience school as a mainstream institution in which they have no stake, whose advantages they are not aware of and whose values they do not know or endorse. This results in a reluctance to become involved in the school or even in the educational careers of their children.

Both low interest and low trust hinder parents' involvement in school life. Some schools pursue an active approach in combating these attitudes. The Storvretskolan employs three strategies to reach the parents.

- Early intervention, through concerted action on the part of all local social services including the health services and the police. These services draw up a special needs plan for the pupil, jointly with the parents.
- Use of the existing social networks to reach the parents, such as their religious communities.
- Recruiting mediators from the communities themselves.

Needless to say, teachers need to develop the complex competencies that are needed to involve parents in their children's learning processes.

4.3.2 Interaction with the community

There was a great deal of discussion on the question of how schools should interact with their external environments – the neighbourhood, the community, society at large – to maximize their contribution to social cohesion.

One participant pointed out that the influence of the school on social cohesion is marginal but changes in social cohesion surface most visibly in schools. 'When it rains in society, it pours in the schools.'[219] If this is granted, we have the option to view the school's environment as an impediment for the salutary civic work being done inside it. The world outside should be kept at a distance until the school's work is finished. School, as a cohesive learning micro-community, functions as a safe haven, where children, like delicate plants, can develop citizenship competencies in controlled conditions until they are strong enough to survive in the real world.

In this context citizenship education was said to be an effective instrument for schools to address the challenges presented by their particular contexts. Citizenship education can be expected to offer a framework for dealing with disciplinary problems and for fostering civic conduct and social cohesion amongst the students, as well as for combating dropout.

However, the participants agreed that the efficacy of this approach stops at the age when children become conscious of a cultural gap between the school environment and the world outside. From that point on, they said, the world outside should be included in the learning process of learning to live together rather than be kept at a distance. Most participants at the meeting viewed the local community as an appropriate learning environment rather than an obstacle to learning. School should be a home base for students to explore society and its institutions, rather than shielding them against them. Education should equip children with moral backbones rather than armatures.

Exploring the community

The represented schools therefore presented impressive lists of projects and practices that were set in the immediate environment of the school, using such terms as *service learning*, *social action projects*, *community work* and *achievement work*, where students are confronted with authentic needs and problems in society and learn by doing through co-operation in alleviating these needs. Such activities are generally considered to be at the heart of the school's civic mission. In order to facilitate the identification of emerging social problems affecting particular target groups, the schools have set up networks and partnerships with other actors involved

216 OECD 1999: 36; Lindsey 1998: 97-101.

217 A Chicago longitudinal study found a 33 percent difference in the rate of juvenile arrest that could be related to the application of a specific early child development programme. Cf. Reynolds et al. 2001.

218 For example, at the age of three Catholic children in Northern Ireland are twice as likely to state that they did not like the police compared to Protestant children. The different attitudes increased especially between ages 3 and 6. Cf. Connolly et al. 2004.

219 Schuyt 2001: 22.

in education and training, as well as local authorities and social services, cultural associations, NGOs and companies. The Sir Arturo Mercieca Primary School in Malta, for example, participates in the cultural life of the local community. The school is also involved in organizations that aim to safeguard the natural environment. The school is especially involved in bird life and nature.

Exploring the institutions

Considering that the overarching aim of Citizenship Education is to develop participants' understanding of living and working in a democracy, several schools also actively encourage their students to participate in the work of the institutions of the surrounding community. In order to facilitate such activities, the schools engage in partnerships with those institutions. The *Voice of the Young in Helsinki* offers an illustration of this approach. Besides introducing far-reaching student participation in school governance, the campaign also enables their participation in decision making for regional youth work and the city as a whole, e.g., by creating a formal setting (the *Open Forum*) where older pupils at upper comprehensive schools discuss social issues with peer groups and decision makers. Here they get acquainted with Helsinki City officials and council members doing their work, thus increasing their affinity with democratic ways of solving collective issues.

Participants discussed the conditions that would enable schools to be more responsive to the communities they serve, facilitate schools and engage their pupils in learning processes set in the community. They agreed that schools should be empowered to plan and adapt curricular frameworks and be provided with resources in the form of staff development and incentives for local co-operation.

4.3.3 Handling the virtual neighbourhood

In addition to the family and the local community, there is a third environment that shapes a student's future social behaviour and cannot be controlled by the school. As a result of the development of communication technology, individuals have become part of an infinite number of virtual communities besides the physical ones. This adds a new dimension to citizenship.

When discussing how to deal with the virtual environment, one participant pointed out that essentially, this is nothing new. Ever since schools have taught reading and writing, it was clear that they were not just transmitting technical abilities but also had to equip individuals for responsible navigation in the galaxy of human thought. As some participants remarked, reading and writing (as well as other symbolic competencies such as understanding and producing art and music) have always been instrumental in transmitting and engendering values. It was added that this of course requires efforts on the part of the school in critical reading.

However, this does not alter the fact that the importance of the virtual world in human social interaction has increased enormously both in quantity and intensity as a result of the advent of mass media and ICT, which have lowered – through the substitution of image for text – the existing physical, technical and intellectual thresholds, creating a global space for emotional as well as conceptual cohabitation.

Participants agreed, of course, that ICT is indispensable in schools. Virtual learning environments (computers, Internet simulations, television, etc.) have increased the opportunities of young people to learn in informal and non-formal ways.

In fact, some pointed out that the school seems to be losing its monopoly on learning. Students learn independently and from each other by exchanging software and content. We can by now turn the question around and ask not what the school can teach in terms of ICT skills, but how schools can facilitate student learning. Accessibility to ICT can be fostered by means of non-formal learning in open learning environments made available at or in association with the school, where students can use computers and the Internet.

In general, it was concluded that ICT has a powerful impact on children's behaviour. It also plays a role in self-identification. The new media offer so many possibilities that they increase both uniformity – engendering a kind of global common culture – and diversity, as everyone can select and choose out of an infinite amount of options.

Some participants viewed this development as a unique opportunity for enhancing democracy and promoting learning to live together. St Joseph's College in Belfast uses the Internet to link up schools and

establish trust relationships among communities. The Internet also fulfils a crucial role in linking school networks across international borders, as in the Associated Schools Programme, in which several of the schools represented at the meeting participate.

Other participants focused on non-intended side effects of the use of ICT affecting social cohesion. Some ascribed the penetration of non-democratic values and discourse into the classroom – such as discriminatory language and claiming the right to express one's opinions without feeling the need to question and substantiate them – to the impact of virtual communication culture. Since parents are often hardly in a position to contribute to virtual citizenship as a result of the digital divide separating the generations, participants considered it a substantial challenge to teach not just the technical abilities of modern communication but also how to deal with issues of trust and responsibility in virtual social intercourse.

Here too, several schools insisted on the role of the hidden curriculum in establishing virtual citizenship. Values and codes should not be specified on a list but be emphasized in action. The school, as a co-operative learning community, should take a leading role and provide guidance to students' activities on the Internet. One participant pointed out that,

'*If you wish to develop media awareness, if you want your students to learn to question and filter information, to separate information from opinions, to refrain from undemocratic discourse, to assess the impact of the language and images they use in communicating on the Internet, you should encourage and guide them to produce school newspapers, run websites, and organize and moderate virtual discussions.*'

Finally, participants discussed the use of ICT to link up schools and parents. Parents are informed about school life and enabled to take part in it. The Internet was also used to bridge the control gap between the school and the family, e.g., in discouraging truancy. There was some hesitation on the question of how far one should go in applying this instrument. Some participants felt that such an approach, if applied systematically, might crush children's intrinsic motivation for participating in school life. Here is an area, they said, where children should be left some discretion so as to develop a sense of autonomy and responsibility.

4.4 Resources

It is obvious that in order to prepare their pupils and students for learning together, schools should be properly equipped and facilitated to do so. They must rely on resources of various kinds. At the meeting three resources were discussed; instructional devices, the teaching staff and the school as an organization.

4.4.1 Instructional devices

Participants paid relatively little attention to the instructional devices they needed for learning to live together. Some schools develop their own materials and syllabi. Teachers are often free to choose the material they think fit to use. This reflects the fact that civic education is in many places still in an exploratory phase; there is not yet a common body of uncontested knowledge on the methodology of citizenship teaching.
A few schools in Central Europe, however, referred with enthusiasm to government- or privately-sponsored NGOs providing both material and training and assistance in using it.

4.4.2 Teaching staff

On various occasions, participants underlined the crucial role of the teachers in developing learning to live together.

Teachers' competencies

As some participants pointed out, the generally felt need to use unorthodox learning strategies entails a revision of the *competencies that are required of teachers*. Thus, in order to promote the instilment of civic competencies through cross- and extra-curricular activities, teachers should be able to manage group dynamics among pupils who come from a variety of backgrounds with different learning needs. Teachers should also be capable of involving parents in their

children's learning process and to deal with the variety of expectations that the parents have.

Teachers should wield such competencies irrespective of their subject specialization; in a cross-curricular approach, where the development of civic competencies is a product of classroom management rather than subject matter, teachers of biology and teachers of history bear equal responsibility for transmitting civic values and should be equally qualified for doing so.

Teacher commitment

Since learning to live together is a new objective, for the pursuit of which most of the staff have little experience while methods are still in an experimental stage of development, teachers should most of all be willing to improvise, eager to take new initiatives and prepared to learn from the acquired experience. *The ultimate success of Citizenship Education hinges on full commitment on the part of the teachers*.

Several participants reported, however, that the proven method of "chalk 'n talk" continues to entice the teachers. As one participant pointed out, 'one of the main problems is that teachers don't easily reflect and like to talk and the class listening, thus foregoing the opportunity to instil democratic behaviour and attitudes in the class situation'.

This problem especially imposes itself in secondary education, where 'teachers should no longer teach just chemistry, they must also teach future citizens'. Teachers were said to be reluctant to redefine their roles, viewing this as devaluating their academic qualifications and reducing their professional autonomy. When qualifying the attitude of some teachers, some participants even talked about 'resistance to teaching civic education'. This is particularly telling if it is realized that all participants reported on schools that distinguish themselves for good practice in civic education; the problem may impose itself even more in an average school.

Participants mentioned two strategies to overcome this difficulty.

- **Rallying the teachers' commitment**

  Firstly, the introduction and implementation of learning to live together should neither be a matter of imposing a top-down decision on the teachers, nor the idiosyncratic hobbyhorse of one or two teachers. All teachers should be involved in all stages of the process. More specifically, at the outset of any initiative teachers should be sensitized to the concrete problems for which learning to live together purports to provide an answer. All teachers should realize that learning to live together is not a fashionable new trend but an attempt to respond to urgent needs in the immediate environment of the school.

  Teachers should also be involved in devising and developing the specific responses to these needs. They must be enabled to co-operate and participate in decision making at the school level, to evaluate their working methods with others and to agree on common areas to be developed further. These methods will improve the involvement of teachers in the curriculum development process. It gives them a sense of ownership, and it is perceived to have done a great deal to secure their commitment to the principles and practices of learning to live together.

- **Equipping the teachers**

  Several participants pointed out that commitment alone is not sufficient for a viable introduction of learning to live together. When confronted with a sense of failure, teachers are tempted to revert to the old tacks. As one participant underlined, they must therefore realize that they are engaging in an adventure; a necessary adventure but nevertheless an adventure, where they cannot rely on the old benchmarks. The new methods are tough and demanding, while immediate reward is not to be expected in view of our incomplete knowledge of what works. Participants expressed the need to invest in support systems for the introduction of citizenship education, which facilitate teachers to self-reflect, to exchange experiences, to attend in-service courses, to try out new behaviour in a controlled situation and to monitor progress made.

Teacher training

It goes without saying that all participants underlined the importance of both initial and continuing teacher education. One or two participants insisted on the need to design the key competencies of both the "effective citizen" and the "effective citizenship teacher" and to propose these competencies to teacher training colleges. The new teacher should be aware of being a determinant for social cohesion and qualified to fulfil this role. Others pointed out that developing such blueprints presupposes a great deal of research to be done on what can be taught at all, whether it be to teachers or to students. There was general agreement on the need to invest in teacher training, in purposeful action-oriented research on teacher skills and in networks for setting up pilots and exchanging experience and results.

4.4.3 School organization

Several participants stated that it is not always easy to sustain the focus for citizenship education. It rarely happens that all teachers are simultaneously convinced of its importance. More often than not citizenship education is perceived as an additional task, on top of the existing ones, which is easily given up when teachers or students are short of time or energy.

Participants at the meeting observed that civic education is too often regarded as a marginal activity, remote from a school's core business. They all looked at the school management team as the key factor in keeping learning to live together alive. What should headmasters or school principals do?

Planning for learning to live together

Some participants pointed out that in the primary process of a teaching organization, implicit learning goals always succumb to explicit learning goals unless they are firmly rooted in tradition. Innovations have no chance of being implemented unless they are made visible in the objectives of the organization, in school plans, timetables, staff workloads and examinations. The presented portraits of the Aravete Gymnasium and the Saku Gymnasium in Estonia prove that the latter strategy works well. Civics examinations are popular with the students. 'It is the only subject where they can work on their own opinions.'

A few participants pointed out that this strategy is not enough by itself. Turning citizenship into 'a subject like the others' may prevent it from engaging in educational practice as a cross-curricular theme. Assigning learning to live together to the overt curriculum may prevent it from being embedded in the hidden curriculum. 'If citizenship is taught as a subject, why should a teacher of another subject bother to pay attention to it in his own teaching?' Several participants suggested that, insofar as a cross-curricular approach and the hidden curriculum are considered to be the most appropriate strategies for furthering learning to live together, additional strategies ought to be developed that supplement the inclusion of civic education in the formal curriculum.

In fact the shift of the school towards becoming a learning community poses considerable challenges to the school management team. In learning communities a large degree of discretion is allotted to the individuals that are engaged in the primary process. This complicates the use of standard planning and control instruments to assess the implementation of citizenship teaching in day-to-day practice.

Leadership for learning to live together

Participants agreed that the commitment of the school principal (headmaster) to learning to live together turns out to be a necessary precondition for a successful implementation of its introduction. They expected the following factors to provide significant leverage for citizenship programmes.

- Headmasters should actively promote the development of a shared vision.
- They should exude their commitment to the implementation of any citizenship initiative that is being undertaken and refrain from delegating its ownership to a specific teacher of group of teachers.
- They should warrant ongoing supervision of progress themselves.
- Headmasters should devote staff resources to citizenship education projects.

Most importantly, the extent to which the school leaders have internalized the objectives of civic education in their own conduct and policies determines its status in the school. The school management team itself should act according to the values it wants to be transmitted to the students. It should actively and visibly sustain the school ethos. Their way of dealing with

conflicts, discipline and the school's environment determines the students' behaviour more than any subject matter.

'Students rarely oversee any inconsistencies between the propagated values and the actual practice. If the school does not stick to the democratic values it propagates, they tend to learn from practice and decide that the values are not for them.'

In short, it was concluded, learning to live together is a feature of school organization. A school that does not live together itself cannot teach learning together.

4.5 Assessing and evaluating learning to live together

The participants at the meeting realized that the success of learning to live together depends also for a great deal on the availability of reliable information on its efficacy. They acknowledged the urgency of the development of tools for the evaluation of their respective enterprises. They were weary, however, that indicators might be adopted that focus on measurable outcomes rather than relevant outcomes. However, the use of impressionistic and "emotional" criteria for the assessment of the results of citizenship education should be avoided as well; any results should be evidence based. Finally, participants made it clear that given the state of the art, the results of assessments should be used for generating learning effects and improvements rather than for accountability. In the present circumstances, one participant considered, imposing accountability would discourage schools from engaging in any experiments or pilots.

4.5.1 Key principles

Three key principles were identified upon which decisions about particular forms of assessment and quality control would take place.

Focus on teaching

The focus of assessment should not be on the individual child but rather on the quality of the teaching provided. By stigmatizing groups of future citizens for doing poorly in learning together, schools would hardly contribute to social cohesion. That does not preclude that the performance of individual children may be measured in order to assess the quality of the teaching.

Focus on skills

The focus of concern should be to ensure that schools provide the appropriate underlying skills for children to participate, not just knowledge.

Allowing for the context

In all evaluations of civic education, the local social and cultural context, which varies between regions but also between schools, should be taken into account. Any quality and assessment framework should include criteria for handling intercultural education.

Four levels of quality assessment

On the basis of these principles, the meeting agreed that teaching citizenship education can be assessed in various ways, both directly and indirectly. Four levels of observation were distinguished; the students, the teachers, the school and society at large.

The student level

At the student level, civics teaching can be assessed by looking at examination results, portfolios of civic activities prepared by the students, and reports of social action projects carried out as a part of civic education programmes. Moreover, evidence can be obtained by observing students' behaviour in the classroom.

The teacher level

At the level of the teacher, civics teaching can be assessed through observation; are the principles underlying learning to live together practiced in the classroom? Moreover, since there should be evidence of a distinctive and appropriate pedagogy in the teacher's planning and practice, it may be expedient to examine the way teachers plan their lessons and implement the curriculum. There should also be evidence that the teachers plan to provide opportunities for students to engage in action work.

The school level

At the school level, the evidence to be assessed may include the existence of participative structures for consultation and decision making, as well as of policies on bullying and teacher-student interaction. The degree of student participation in school life and school-based community action can also be examined.

Although it is not simple to assess the school ethos – programmatic statements on paper are not a reliable indicator – it is to a certain extent possible to assess the success of civic education initiatives at the school level by tracking the incidence of negative behaviour, such as bullying and incidents involving students and staff.

The level of outcomes in society at large

The meeting acknowledged that assessing the outcomes of initiatives at the societal level is the most difficult aspect of learning to live together to be assessed. Yet the proof of the pudding is here.

The challenge does not consist of assessing the impact of learning to live together on social cohesion. This is not a task for individual schools. Historical precedents, such as the rise of the nation state, suggest that the existence of a causal relationship between education and social cohesion is at least plausible. Given the urgency of promoting social cohesion and the lack of alternative strategies, this is a sufficient impetus for engaging in the enterprise. However, the plausibility of the causal relationship only presents us with a black box, which hardly provides guidance for assessing and evaluating *specific* actions to promote social cohesion.

The task of evaluation and quality assessment is rather to uncover the mechanism inside the black box (or at least to dissect it into a network of smaller black boxes each of which is more plausible than the big one). This requires finding out which specific types of action by schools targeting specific groups and individuals yield identifiable and measurable specific contributions to social cohesion. At the end of the day this should enable us to compare alternative modalities of action and find out which ones are more effective than others.

As discussed in Chapter 3, however, research on methods and outcomes of civic education is still in its infancy.[220] Aware of this, participants suggested a few indicators that could inspire further research.

Thus, it was agreed that indicators might include an increasing involvement on the part of former students in social, cultural and civic activities, including voluntary work for NGOs and of course a decreasing incidence of juvenile arrest. The participant from Poland suggested interviewing former students as an interesting method of evaluating the social outcomes of citizenship education programmes.

In principle, participants suggested, the effects of civic education should also emerge in increasing voting turnouts. Sometimes, such effects transpire even instantly; the participant from Poland reported that civic education initiatives had had a positive impact on the voting behaviour of the students' parents.

Other suggestions to devise short-term indicators for assessing the effectiveness of learning to live together included the development of "spontaneous" student participation in community action and the structure of their social networks, in particular from a multicultural viewpoint.

The urgency of monitoring

The meeting agreed that, in order to enhance the impact of learning to live together, monitoring systems should urgently be developed that facilitate schools in learning from experience, including the experience of other schools and other countries. On the margins of the present meeting, schools from various Nordic and Baltic countries spontaneously undertook the initiative to set up a monitoring network.

4.6 The dynamics of learning to live together initiatives

Participants converged on the reasons why the schools presented at the meeting had engaged in special efforts to promote learning to live together. They usually referred to rapid changes in society, resulting in a generalized confusion about norms, values, roles and attitudes among young people. In addition, some school portraits mention particular circumstances in the immediate environment of the school, ranging from high levels of unemployment to (potential) tension between communities.

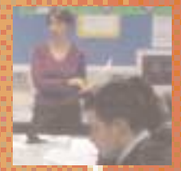
The origins of initiatives

Considerable divergence was found among the presented schools as to how their prominence in citizenship education had

220 Onderwijsraad 2002: 152.

UNITED KINGDOM

- ST JOSEPH'S COLLEGE IS A SECONDARY SCHOOL IN BELFAST, NORTHERN IRELAND. IT SERVES A MAINLY CATHOLIC POPULATION BUT ENCOURAGES APPLICATIONS OF STUDENTS OF OTHER FAITH COMMUNITIES AND TRADITIONS.
- CIVIC EDUCATION WAS INTRODUCED AT ST JOSEPH'S IN 2001. THE PRINCIPAL DESCRIBED IT AS PART OF AN "ETHICAL COMMITMENT" TO AN APPROACH OF EDUCATION THAT SOUGHT TO DEVELOP THE WHOLE PERSONALITY OF CHILDREN.
- EVERY OTHER WEEK STUDENTS AGED 11-14 RECEIVE A CLASS OF "LOCAL AND GLOBAL CITIZENSHIP". IN THE WEEKS IN BETWEEN THE CLASS FOCUSES ON PUBLIC ACHIEVEMENT WORK THAT IS RELATED TO THE CURRICULUM.



come about. In some schools the introduction and implementation of the initiative had been a bottom-up process, in others a top-down one. In others again, players outside the school system had initiated the developments. Here are a few success stories.

The school takes the initiative

In one instance, civic education was one of the core goals of a newly-founded school (the Alternatív Közgazdasági Gimnázium in Budapest). A group of teachers had taken the initiative to develop alternatives for the dominant educational practices of the socialist system that came to an end. The government allowed for setting up pilot schools to test out new ideas. Throughout the 1990s, the school had continued to be a hub for educational innovation. The initiative received support from the ministry of education, the Budapest District and private companies.

In other instances (the presented Polish schools), teachers of existing schools had started the initiative in response to the social problems, they perceived in the neighbourhood. They sought and received support from the school management team, the *self-government* and particularly from NGOs. The activities are developed by teachers, parents and the students themselves. The contents were provided by a national centre that specializes in developing civic education.

In other instances (the Geschwister-Scholl-Schule in Crailsheim, Germany), the school management team initiated learning to live together with the teachers. It received support from the Landesregierung, NGOs and charities.

In the UNESCO General Secondary School in Bürs (Austria), learning to live together had been initiated when the government allowed for a special commitment towards integrating children with special needs into a standard school. The school seized this opportunity to innovate. One pilot project elicited the next one and in less than a decade the school developed into a testing site for innovative educational concepts, which are evaluated in depth in collaboration with a university.

Thus, we see how civic education initiatives may start from scratch by setting up new schools. However, they may also originate within an existing school, as a bottom-up initiative or somewhere midway between the top and the bottom.

Civil society takes the initiative

Finally, it turns out that many schools have engaged in learning to live together after receiving requests for setting up civic projects from players in the school's environment, such as local authorities, the police or the social services, that appeal to schools for support in, for example, furthering reconciliation between ethnic of religious groups or assisting neighbourhood fathers in enhancing crime prevention. It was also mentioned in certain countries that international NGOs propose schools to collaborate in civics projects. As one participant exclaimed, in some countries 'schools are bombarded' with such initiatives. It is up to headmasters to balance the desires of the NGOs and the requirements of the curriculum, to be selective and to protect the school's core programme from excessive pressure on the workload.

The government takes the lead

In Estonia, learning to live together is presently part of a top-down process. After a national discussion on civic education in the early 1990s, the first pilots were initiated by an NGO. Later the government took over responsibility and embedded civic education into the curriculum. Thus, the schools described in the school portraits distinguish themselves not so much in their countries for doing groundbreaking work but for being excellent examples of implementing national policies. Their projects are especially well planned; the teachers are well qualified and just a little bit more enthusiastic than those in the other schools.

The diffusion of experience

Participants also discussed the question of how the ideas and experience that are developed in one school spread to other schools. Starting out from interesting ideas and testing them, how can we arrive at the conclusion that such ideas are sufficiently mature to be tested out in another school and developed further? When are they ready for implementation in local or national education policy?

It was remarked that this is not so much of a problem in small countries; ideas and information spread spontaneously because networks overlap; each expert sits on three or four commissions and advisory teams, so information on what works and what does not spreads naturally from one school to the other. However, in larger countries, and especially on the European level, it was concluded that structures should be set up to ensure the exchange of ideas and experience.

4.7 The viability and sustainability of citizenship education in schools

Participants discussed the obstacles they meet with in introducing and sustaining learning to live together, as well as the dilemmas they face when dealing with them. The following issues were reviewed.

The ideology issue

Some participants reported that civics education meets with opposition on account of its being associated with ideology, propaganda and brainwashing. 'In some countries, for some parts of the population, it appears to be difficult to get across that when introducing citizenship education we are applying a *social science approach*, not a *political approach*.' It was concluded that where such arguments are an obstacle to the successful expansion of citizenship education, this could only be dealt with at the political level.[221]

The efficacy issue

Moreover, some participants said that many parents and politicians question the meaningfulness of civics or citizenship education. An argument often heard against it is that civilized behaviour cannot be learned from books at school but can only be learned in real life, if at all. As the substance of this argument can only be countered by explanations of a technical nature, some participants considered that only a firm commitment to citizenship education on the part of policy makers can put an end to this discussion.

The urgency issue

Participants noted that in most schools the administration, teachers and students somehow do not think of civic education as being at the top of the agenda. 'Everyone thinks that it is a side issue.' This is corroborated in the way in which education is discussed in politics and in the media. 'The results of the PISA surveys on mathematics or science give rise to national debates on the state of education and new policies. As long as there is no similar mechanism for furthering the sense of urgency for learning to live together, civic education is destined to subsist on the margins.'

The pedagogical issue

Citizenship education requires a new pedagogical vision and radical changes of the content and approach to teaching and learning. Participants at the meeting reported that this approach in some cases attracts the criticism that it focuses too strongly on "soft" learning at the cost of the core mission of the school, which is said to consist in the transmission of knowledge. Here, participants urged that the headmaster should demonstrate pedagogical leadership.

The competition issue

A few participants stated that the strong competition among schools in their country is perceived to have an adverse effect on the support for learning to live together. If schools must compete for students in order to survive, while parents choose schools on the basis of students' expected cognitive performance, schools tend to be reluctant to invest in the development of behavioural competencies that are needed for living together at the cost of investing teaching time and workload in the core curriculum.

The ownership issue

The above discussion touches upon a fundamental problem. Who "owns" a child's education, in the sense of feeling responsible and caring about the outcomes? If a school's continuity is made to depend on parents' school choice, it is implicitly assumed that parents are the owners of their children's education.

Although there are parents who do not act like the owners of their child's education, whether as a result of cultural friction or for another reason, this assumption is reasonable. Most responsible parents in fact care about maximizing educational outcomes for their children. However, a problem arises when a choice must be made between individual outcomes and collective outcomes, or at least between types of outcomes that are perceived as such. It happens that, at present, the acquisition of knowledge is generally perceived as an individual benefit; it offers a passport to jobs. However, civic competencies, or at least competencies that are expected to contribute to social cohesion, are rather viewed as public benefits.

221 Some participants brought up that, in fact, citizenship education does embody a political approach: there is an underlying ideology embracing three generations of human rights. But, others objected, human rights are not an ideology. Moreover, "they are just rights; they do not prescribe behaviour, as ideologies do".

Parents who are "ideal" citizens may be expected to look for a balance, being prepared to forego some of the possible private benefits for their children in exchange for the development of competencies that enable their children to contribute to a more cohesive society.

However, one of the reasons for proclaiming the urgency of learning to live together is the fact that not all parents are ideal citizens. It may be expected that if a choice imposes itself, many parents tend to favour educational goals that appear to produce private benefits for their children. As long as cognitive performance is perceived as warranting private benefits, it is likely to put learning to live together at a disadvantage.

This implies that in starting and sustaining civic education programmes, other players besides parents must be involved that are prepared to take up the ownership of learning to live together.

The third party sponsoring issue

As we have seen, such players are in fact found in the environment of the school. In various countries, NGOs and local social services have provided active support to the civics initiatives presented at the meeting.

Some participants reported, however, that the lack of stability of such external support affects the sustainability of civic education activities. Receiving support from a diversity of sources implies that different sets of conditions must be reconciled. Moreover, support from local and national authorities, charities, private sponsors, international organizations and international NGOs is often temporary. This affects the continuity of the projects. Schools have to discontinue projects or find new sponsors, who impose new conditions by introducing new criteria and goals. Finally, one participant remarked, there is the possibility that external sponsors "buy" doubtful teaching methods or even undesirable educational objectives.

The official status issue

On account of the above experiences, many participants regarded the government as the only real owner of civics education. Using the appropriate instruments, the government should promote education for social cohesion as a priority in the schools. The Estonian solution – introducing civic education as a fully-fledged subject in the curriculum – was viewed as an adequate response to the ownership problem. Especially the introduction of formal exams for civic education endows it with a status that prevents it from being pushed into the margin; it also limits the influence of third parties on the contents.

Yet the introduction of citizenship education as a discrete subject in the curriculum raised two objections. On the one hand, there were worries that it might discourage teachers of other subjects to include citizenship competencies in a cross-curricular approach.

On the other hand, it was feared that an early introduction of citizenship education as a discrete subject in the curriculum might convey the message that the methods are ready and the goals are clear, thus discouraging schools from exploring alternatives and searching for new ways to instil citizenship competencies. As was remarked in the portrait of St Joseph's College in Belfast, 'it is possible that the creative possibilities may not be as freely available if the work is being geared towards formal examination'.

The accountability issue

This takes us to the general problem of how to handle accountability for learning processes in a non-formal and informal setting.

In the orthodox mechanistic teaching school paradigm, there is a clear division of roles between the teacher and the learner and a clear distinction between the means and the end of a process. Efficiency is pursued through fixing well-defined learning targets, through codifying and chopping up the subject matter, through pre-sorting students into homogeneous groups, through a division of labour and knowledge among teachers and through reducing uncertainty in the learning process by planning and control. An efficient school is, then, a well-oiled mechanism that "delivers" or "dispenses" education. Its efficiency can be accounted for by measuring and comparing inputs and outputs.

However, this conception of efficiency is not viable to the extent that a school wants to be a learning community, where learning is practised by doing, where the means and the ends are entangled, where learning goals are moving targets, where teachers learn and learners teach each other, where heterogeneity is not a handicap but learning material and where learning processes are not susceptible to planning and control insofar as they take place outside, in the real world. The efficiency of a learning community cannot be accounted for by simple measurement and comparison. It can only be shown to be plausible on the basis of assumptions on the value of the processes taking place and the expected outcomes, assumptions that may shift in the course of time.

Now what happens if a school is simultaneously expected to be an efficient and fully accountable organization for dispensing education and a learning community? It is obvious that if the accounting system is geared to orthodox methods of teaching and learning, alternative forms will have trouble surviving. If a school must account for measurable outputs against fixed targets, any efforts to approach the moving targets will be classified as wasted.

Participants at the meeting prompted two possible approaches to this problem.

One participant proposed to develop sophisticated quality assurance systems, which would cover the quality of community learning as well as "academic" learning. A school involved in civic education initiatives, he suggested, may be expected to operate procedures that enable it to learn from mistakes and successes and to apply its experience in future practice. Therefore, when assessing the quality of learning to live together in a school, its "mechanisms for identifying good practice" should be examined.

Another participant suggested a more radical approach. The community, she said, might simply reclaim its full ownership of education. If schools were set to serve social cohesion as their primary task, their administrations could be merged with those of other community services serving the same goals, such as pre-school support, libraries and participative cultural institutions.

4.8 Food for thought

In this chapter, we have listened to practitioners and experts who have distinguished themselves in promoting learning to live together in various member states of the European Union.

It is obvious that their experience has given them an understanding of what is needed to enhance learning to live together in the schools of Europe. Generally speaking, the case studies and the discussions have shown that there is no single curriculum that warrants success on these matters and could be recommended to all schools. Any achievements can be ascribed to the interaction between the curriculum and the didactics and are crucially linked to the particular context and circumstances of the schools.

Notwithstanding this divergence, there was a complete consensus on the urgency of learning to live together. Moreover, the practitioners and experts provide policy makers wishing to enhance the role of education in furthering citizenship and social cohesion with considerable food for thought. As a conclusion, therefore, a few pointers are given below.

- In developing strategies to enhance learning to live together, initiatives that start out by responding to local needs appear to be most viable.
- Discussions on the definition of citizenship in terms of its underlying values detract from the existing consensus of practitioners on the citizenship competencies that students should develop.
- Children should start learning to live together as early as possible, preferably at pre-school age. This requires the use of appropriate methods, which take the family context as a point of departure.
- Learning to live together involves acquiring knowledge but skills and attitudes are much more important here than for most other competencies taught in the school system. This requires a new pedagogical vision and non-orthodox approaches to teaching and learning, including cross- and extra-curricular approaches and a purposive approach to the hidden curriculum.
- It is not sufficient to introduce citizenship education into the formal

curriculum. The socializing impact of the classroom experience (i.e., the formation of values, attitudes, perceptions of self and the other) includes more than what is visible through official explicit curricula. A crucial variable for the development of civic competencies is the way in which the curriculum is imparted in the classroom.

- The socializing impact of schooling is also effectuated through the overall socializing experience of the school as a (learning) community. The values (democracy, tolerance, social cohesion) to be imparted in citizenship education should therefore determine the way in which the school is organized and governed.

- Schools should team up with parents in the education of their children by providing guidance to parents who need it and encouraging parent participation in school life.

- For older children, the world surrounding the school should not be seen as a liability for learning to live together but rather as an enormous coffer of teaching aids. Insofar as living together is typically learnt by doing, schools should organize and encourage community service.

- Schools should also encourage students to explore democratic and civic institutions by taking part in them.

- The teaching of virtual citizenship, in the sense of having the citizenship competencies needed in cyberspace, is an essential new task of the schools. Students develop such competencies best through participation in Internet activities, e.g., by setting up websites and discussion forums.

- Teachers' commitment, attitudes and skills are crucial for the development of learning to live together. Their very demanding role requires the development of new competencies. Teacher training institutions should focus their research and teaching programmes on developing and supporting learning to live together.

- Assessment of the quality of learning to live together is necessary. However, there are numerous caveats. Indicators should be relevant. The focus should be on the schools and the teaching, not on the students. The social and cultural context of a school should determine which quality criteria are appropriate. The results of any assessment should be used to enhance the teaching, not for accountability. Finally, research must be done on how to assess the social outcomes of citizenship education programmes.

- Mechanisms are needed to ensure the diffusion of evaluation results and of practical experience of citizenship education programmes in general, especially across national borders.

- In order to ensure support for learning to live together among the teachers and the parents, education policy makers should express their firm commitment to it.

- In order to ensure the viability and sustainability of learning to live together in the schools, authorities should develop funding and accountability systems that are conducive to the types of learning considered to be most appropriate for learning to live together.

‘Everybody's responsibility is NOT nobody's responsibility’

The context of religious and political division in Northern Ireland, and the fact that it is a society struggling to emerge from a quarter-century of political violence makes high demands upon civic education programmes. It is indicative of the problem of dealing with the legacy of this violence that the main political parties in Northern Ireland have difficulties in finding ways of working with agreed and shared political structures. In such circumstances there are likely to be limits and constraints on Citizenship Education in schools.

In 1998 the Council for the Curriculum Examinations and Assessment (CCEA) began to explore the possibility of incorporating a citizenship programme into the new curriculum. Civic Education was first introduced in a number of schools in 2001, as a cross-curricular subject in a pilot curriculum development project developed by the University of Ulster.

One of the pioneer schools was St Joseph’s College, a Catholic secondary school located in South Belfast. St Joseph’s draws the majority of its students from two inner-city communities where the levels of social and economic disadvantage are very high; 57 per cent of the students in the school are eligible for free school meals. In disadvantaged communities such as these, fatalism is often all too evident. Thus, the challenge to the school in developing programmes that will engage interest and enthusiasm of students is particularly high.

In a review of the pilot, the initial cross-curricular set-up turned out not to be successful: cross-curricular subjects were “everybody’s responsibility”, which often came down to “nobody’s responsibility”. Schools did not address the issue, and teachers often treated it half-heartedly. In the meantime, however, it had become clear that the new Northern Ireland Curriculum, due to become statutory in 2005 or 2006, will include Local and Global Citizenship. This stimulated schools to make deliberate attempts to mainstream

Civic Education as a normal part of the school's activity, including its inclusion in the timetable and a commitment of teacher time.

St Joseph's followed this line, and complemented it by instituting citizenship education prizes in the school's annual awards. In addition, it not only joined the second phase of the CCEA curriculum development programme, but also actively participated in several Civic Education initiatives involving action projects in the surrounding community, such as the Public Achievement programme (www.publicachievement.com). This programme is based on teams of young people facilitated by trained coaches. A number of teachers at St Josephs were trained as coaches. The CCEA and Public Achievement types of activities mutually reinforce each other, the CCEA Local and Global Citizenship class providing curriculum content and process, while the Public Achievement class provides active learning and involvement by visitors from countries familiar with challenges comparable to those of Northern Ireland (Palestine/Israel, South Africa, Serbia, United States).

Thus, for a number of years, St Joseph's has been increasingly active in Civic Education. Considerable enthusiasm was raised among teachers, students and the surrounding community and impressive teaching materials have been developed. The prime mover in all this was the principal. She succeeded in gaining the commitment of the Senior Management Team, and in mobilizing teachers and students. The case of St Joseph's demonstrates that training is hugely important, and above all, that commitment by leadership is essential.

'School is a microcosm of society'

Citizenship education initiatives in Maltese schools have been built on the foundation laid by the National Minimum Curriculum, which places great emphasis on the importance of skills, competencies, attitudes and values and not merely on knowledge and information.

This inspires teaching staff and school management to place value education and promotion of democratic experience high on the agenda. Promotion of Citizenship Education in the 80 state schools in Malta is the responsibility of the Education Officer for Democracy and Values Education – the existence of a post of this nature is in itself an indication of the importance attached to Citizenship Education and of its close links to the democratic process.

The National Minimum Curriculum spurs all involved in education 'to have a clear educational vision, clear educational goals and a concrete strategy regarding how these goals must be reached'. In line with this, all schools – in collaboration with stakeholders – are required to formulate School Development Plans, explaining their mission statement, aims and objectives and links with the community. Civic Education goals are to be embedded in the school's development plan.

Citizenship Education is not a defined, stand-alone subject on the curriculum. From the perspective of the Maltese educational concept, Citizenship Education is not a subject "taught" during a stipulated period of time and at fixed moments. On the contrary, it should permeate all subjects. Citizenship Education, in its widest sense, is made explicit most convincingly by being experienced through the ethos and management of the school. It requires participation, awareness, value formation and assimilation. Stakeholders are made aware of their rights, but responsibilities and duties are equally emphasized. Citizenship is thus considered to be the backbone of the daily running of the school but it also entails close relations with the surrounding environment. Obviously, involving parents is a cornerstone but schools also work hard to strengthen their relations with the communities they serve. These views are reflected quite accurately in a quote from the Lily of the Valley Girls' Secondary School in Mosta: 'The school is just a microcosm of the whole society. All that the school works on to promote citizenship will not be effective if it is not linked to the larger picture.'

For example, training in democratic skills is provided for by the existence of students' councils and leadership training sessions for representatives who are elected members of such councils. Moreover, external speakers are invited to come to school and address the students on issues such as human rights, children's rights, consumer education and so on. Members of Local Councils visit schools to explain their function and to introduce the projects they implement.

In Malta, the entire school system is divided into girls' and boys' schools. Interestingly, the Education Officer for Democracy and Values Education notes that Citizenship Education seems to be thriving more readily in girls' schools. The boys' schools show a certain indifference towards these issues. This phenomenon has inspired a plan to organize a national event where representatives from girls' and boys' schools would meet and participate in a game-simulation on a case relevant to the national democratic process.

'Bringing the world into the classroom'

Currently, the area where the Aurélia de Sousa School for Secondary and 3rd cycle Basic Education in Porto is located is undergoing radical physical changes, due to the preparations for the Euro 2004 Championship. Although for the past few months the community has had the feeling it was living on a building site, the perspective of becoming the venue for an important European event contributes to further the international atmosphere, which had already been strengthened by the European Capital of Culture status, acquired in 2001.

Although Aurélia de Sousa is in a relatively favoured position, its experience in Citizenship Education is of interest to other schools in Europe. Since 2002, the school participated in UNESCO's Associated Schools Programme (ASP; see Chapter 2). Citizenship initiatives in Aurélia de Sousa comply with the directives of the Portuguese educational system, and with the bi-annual programme of activities submitted to the National UNESCO Commission. The school practices Citizenship Education inside and outside the classroom, according to the principles of the Educational Project of the school and according to school regulations. The Executive Council proposes the Educational Project to the whole school community including the parents association and local authorities. By law, the educational project covers a period of three years and is revised every three years.

Since the school became part of ASP, it has adopted the principles of UNESCO schools. The methods used include teamwork, cross-subject communication, innovation and the introduction – by each discipline and each teacher – of the world outside into the classroom.

In order to further Citizenship Education, an annual plan of activities is defined by the Pedagogical Council. The plan runs across the curriculum and includes extra-curricular activities. There is a distinction between primary education and secondary education. According to the regulations of the Portuguese primary education system, pupils in primary education spend one hour per week on Civics Education. The subjects treated are very tangible, for instance: good eating habits and how to behave in traffic.

In secondary education, each subject department proposes a number of activities to breathe life into the UNESCO principles. The school participates in the ASPnet Project "Young reporters for the environment" (www.youngreporters.org), which entails activities such as working with a Greek and a Turkish school on urban environmental issues and writing articles for publication by the international network. Aurélia de Sousa also takes part in the Hemicycle project on European Enlargement, and organized a Welcoming Fair to the New Countries of the European Union. It sent a report to the European Schoolnet, which was published on the www.futurum2004.eun.org website. A debate on the future of Europe was enlivened by a candidate to the European Parliament, invited by the representatives of the students in the School Assembly. The European Networking activities of Aurélia were crowned by the possibility for a small delegation of staff and students to actually visit the European Parliament.

A fine example of a Citizenship initiative by students is the website that was developed by student representatives in the Pedagogical Council. This site (www.esasmais.com) informs the school community about curricular and extra-curricular activities and activities of the Students' Association. In addition, it publishes students' marks and it also provides a forum for discussion on issues such as abortion and terrorism.

Teach your parents!

It is the children who teach their parents citizenship, that is what Aija Tuna, Latvian consultant on Civic Education, told us. In a very natural way, just by telling their parents what they did today at school. There, pupils learn and practice democratic knowledge and skills and ways of communication. For them it is natural, for their parents this is new and very different from what they learned at school during the "Russian time".

At school, nowadays teachers spend much time trying to develop the children's ability to speak, to express themselves, to develop their thinking skills and to take their responsibility. Their parents, in most cases, have experienced that being absent is fine . Speaking your mind was very often quite dangerous, or at least, it was not regarded as acceptable. For example, career moves were always arranged by the management, people were invited for a position, a job.

Now young people have to use their skills to write a CV to apply, to present themselves in order to get a scholarship or to get a job. Especially in the beginning, in the mid-1990s, this was a shock for parents and even now it still is a complete new thing for parents. Moreover, times have changed enormously and they feel insecure because they are not able to give good advice to their children.

The school can help to gap the bridge between the generations by bringing together children, parents and the school. They invite parents onto the school board, where parents can become decision makers. They learn that they can come up with suggestions and express their opinions. However, they have to have knowledge to do so, they have to understand how a school operates, what changes have taken place in the educational system and what are the main goals. Parents start to be involved but it is a long process because it requires knowledge.

It is also new and unusual for the teachers; parents who know what they are talking about, who have questions, who speak up. It can even be threatening for the teachers. However, it is a question of learning by doing. In some places, however, teachers receive in-service training on how to communicate with parents. For the parents too there is some training to learn how to assume their new role, meetings with a guest lecturer for instance. Aija herself is one of those guest lecturers and recently, on a beautiful Friday afternoon in spring, she was gladly surprised that despite the beautiful weather the school's hall was full with very interested parents eager to take up their new role. That means that they were no longer ordered by the school to do this or that but that they were asked 'what can be your contribution to the school community? What are your hobbies, what are your skills? Could you please spend some time with us?' This approach was very successful, a key for co-operation and has even uplifted the whole community in some cases.

Working in long-term projects taking 2 or 3 years is especially fascinating, says Aija: you can just see how people change, how they open up, get courage, start to influence processes around them. 'That is the best treat you can get!'

Three-year-old citizens?

Citizenship is not 'only for adults', even for young children it is a meaningful concept, in the broad sense of learning to live together. That is what Birgitta Kimber from Sweden made clear in the conversation we had with her in the lobby of an old Dutch castle.

MALTA

- SIR ARTURO MERCIECA PRIMARY SCHOOL IN VICTORIA ON THE ISLAND OF GOZO IS COMMITTED TO ITS MISSION TO "PROMOTE VALUES, SKILLS AND KNOWLEDGE NECESSARY FOR INDIVIDUALS TO BECOME REFLECTIVE, RESPONSIVE AND RESPONSIBLE CITIZENS". TO THIS END THE SCHOOL FOCUSES NOT ONLY ON THE COGNITIVE DOMAIN BUT ALSO ON THE AFFECTIVE AND PSYCHOMOTOR DOMAINS.
- THE MISSION STATEMENT NOT ONLY REQUIRES TEACHERS' AND ANCILLARY STAFF'S COOPERATION TO CREATE A DEMOCRATIC SCHOOL SYSTEM, BUT ALSO PARENTS' COOPERATION.
- THE SCHOOL PROJECT "MY DAY ... YOUR DAY" FOCUSED ON HOW THE CHILDREN OF SIR ARTURO MERCIECA PRIMARY SCHOOL AND ITS SIX PARTNER SCHOOLS IN OTHER COUNTRIES OF THE EUROPEAN UNION SPEND THEIR LEASURE TIME.

‘Civic education means that you have to prepare young people and children to live in the real world and that is not just thinking, but also being able to act. To act and to teach behaviour and to live it, more than just to think it and be nice about it, that is what it is all about. Thus we find that lots of children, when you sit and talk to them, know exactly how to be good friends, they know exactly how to resolve conflicts but two minutes later they will fight in the schoolyard. Because then they have forgotten what they were saying; their actions are different.

So we have taken a different approach, we have looked for ways to train them, how to actually behave in the manners we want them to learn, to be empathic and to understand others. Then we have been looking at the underlying skills for all that. What are the skills needed? What part of the brain is actually used in learning these skills? There is a thinking part of the brain and an emotional part, which can take over the thinking part, if you are angry or very frightened for example. You want to act: you want to run away or to hit somebody. We want to train the children how to behave in such situations, by living it, rather than thinking it. Take anger management for example: we teach it first by role playing, by games, by co-operating with the parents and for the little ones we have “the traffic light”. We explain that anger is as dangerous as a car that hits the red light. The red light means danger for yourself and for others, you can hurt yourself, so you have to stop and calm down. So we teach them calm-down techniques and we talk to the parents and about these techniques: you can count to ten for instance. One little boy preferred to wash his face in cold water: that was his calm-down technique. They role-play this, but in real life, when it happens, his family and friends remind him to wash his face.

It is an ongoing process and the whole school has to get the same idea. Of course nobody will always stay calm, but the first step is to practice to stay calm. The more you practice, the better you get at it.

The next step after the calming down is to think of solutions, of alternatives how to cope with the situation. If your friend prefers to play with someone else, you could offer some sweets; invite him or her for the next day etc. and then you go for your best solution.

For the little ones we have set different goals. The three-year-olds, for example, must learn to wait for their turn; they should recognize feelings of anger but of happiness as well in somebody else’s face. So it is not only behaviour but also a bit of reflection and communication.

We have five different areas: empathy, regulation of emotions, social skills, motivation and “knowledge about myself”. You teach them to “read” situations, to read faces, to look at themselves. It is an ongoing process, week after week after week. Later on, when they are older, they practice active listening, communication skills, using I-statements etc, while still continuing to practice the skills learned earlier. This training is part of life at school but it is also a 60-minute subject once a week, for the little ones it is divided in three sessions of 20 minutes. The teachers are very important in this very social and affective concept of civic education. The parents too, have an important role: they have to help their children to live outside the school what they have practised and lived inside. Parents love it; in particular when their child is difficult, because all of a sudden they get tools to help their children at home.

When we talk about civic education and citizenship, this is the step we must start with, these are the skills underlying it all. Too often we treat citizenship as an intellectual thing but that is not enough. It is important that children learn that they have a choice, that they have a grip on their own lives, which gives hope for the future; the fact that they can control their own lives regardless of what is happening.’

Diversity training for Northern Irish teachers

In the curriculum of its Teacher Training College, the University of Ulster has incorporated two “diversity workshops”; common activities for all students, aimed at preparing prospective teachers for coping with diversity within groups of pupils. In the first workshop, game-simulation provides student teachers with an introduction to diversity issues. Subsequently, during teaching practice in their own schools, they do observation exercises, aimed at discovering that classes are not homogeneous. In the second workshop, the diversity issues observed by the students in their own schools are discussed. Simulation games featuring diversity-issues from other countries demonstrate possible ways of coping with diversity. A resource pack for teachers has been developed based on material about cases such as the civil rights movement in the United States, the Holocaust, and apartheid in South Africa.

5 Synthesis and conclusion

The preceding chapter ended with fifteen pointers resulting from a meeting of practitioners and experts from fourteen European countries. Issues raised by practitioners doing their work should be the policy makers' prime concern. Read them. They are more important than this chapter's conclusions.

5.1 The social cohesion deficit

The challenge faced by European countries in the decades to come is intellectually clear. The welfare and wellbeing of a society requires social cohesion, while social cohesion in complex societies requires sophisticated forms of citizenship among the members of their populations. Important and lasting global trends have adversely affected the potential of our societies for spontaneous transmission of citizenship to the next generations. As a result, the quality of social cohesion is under pressure at a juncture when institutional changes, including European integration, ask for a higher quality of social cohesion. Society more and more looks to education to fill the social cohesion deficit that is thus being produced.

5.1.1 Rising awareness

Since Jacques Delors' Commission on Education for the Twenty-first Century focused our attention onto what it called the crisis of social cohesion and introduced the issue onto the international agenda, awareness of the need to learn to live together has been rising rapidly, as well as the expectations that are put on education to fulfil it. At the international level UNESCO, the OECD and the Council of Europe as well as the European Union have in various ways contributed to raising this awareness.

At the same time, the prominence of the issue on national education agendas has risen in all European countries. Media in many countries have been focusing on issues directly dealing with what they perceive as declining involvement on the part of young people in civic activities.

5.1.2 Strategic analyses

Meanwhile, a great deal of conceptual work has also been done on devising solutions. There is considerable agreement on the knowledge, skills, behaviour and attitudes that may be expected from future citizens as well as on the fundamental underlying values. Despite diverging conceptual frameworks, various multilateral organizations have developed similar sets of key competencies for learning to live together. Moreover, they have given these competencies a prominent place in the integral systems of competencies that they are presently developing. An excellent example is the way in which the goals of learning to live together have

been integrated into the complete set of competencies proposed by the EU Working Group on Basic Skills, which is reproduced in Appendix 2.

In educational practice too, the conceptual side does not present a problem. As we see in Chapter 4, practitioners from a wide variety of European countries easily agree on the specifications of the behaviour they think future citizens should develop: the ideal "citizen child" was easy to sketch. Whatever divergences there may be on values to be transferred in education, the consensus on the learning goals that need to be reached to promote social cohesion is impressive.

5.1.3 Political action

There is also a shared will to proceed to practical action. Active Citizenship has been an important focus in the present generation of European Education and Youth programmes. Social cohesion is a prominent goal in the Lisbon process. In most member states it is now agreed that "preparing for the responsibilities of citizenship" is a core task of our education systems. All member states have, in the past six or seven years, taken measures to introduce, reinforce or reaffirm learning to live together in their education policies or are planning to do so shortly. Many of them have set up support structures. Moreover, many communities, parents and schools have engaged in grass-roots initiatives to promote learning to live together in response to local needs.

5.2 Obstacles

All this does not imply that European education is already set for a new era of enhanced social cohesion. There are considerable obstacles that need to be obviated.

5.2.1 The awareness gap

To start with, support for learning to live together is not as broad as it should be. Although nobody is against it, there is a considerable indifference towards it among both teachers and parents. As discussed in chapter 4, when faced with what they perceive as a choice, many teachers prefer to further knowledge rather than attitudes, while parents tend to favour individual learning goals rather than public learning goals.

Raising public awareness

The Council of Europe's proclamation of 2005 as the European Year of Citizenship through Education may provide a major impetus to amending this situation. Provided that governments visibly associate themselves with the goals and actively promote and publicize the range of activities being planned, a campaign that is visibly all-European may remove some of the scepticism.

5.2.2 The compliance gap

The comparatively narrow basis of support for learning to live together among school stakeholders may underlie the gap, observed by Birzea, between policy intentions, policy delivery and effective practice.[222] However, there are more possible causes. A sceptical attitude to learning to live together in schools is sometimes reinforced by accountability systems that award schools for "academic" learning achievements rather than for their contribution to social cohesion.

This is not to say that there is necessarily a trade-off between individual and public learning goals – citizenship competences may be conducive to achieving individual learning goals as well – but that such a trade-off is perceived to be imposed on the schools. The paradoxical consequence is that school quality and achievement levels are presently on the rise in many parts of Europe, whereas public satisfaction with the education system as a whole seems to be declining.

Planning, control and accountability

The problem here is that attitudes and behaviour are less amenable to being taught in traditional curricular settings than "academic" competencies like reading, writing or mathematics. As we saw in Chapter 4, educationalists consider that learning to live together should be practiced not, or not only, in a curricular approach but also, or predominantly, in a cross-curricular or even non-curricular approach. These types of learning are not highly favoured in most existing systems of planning, control and accountability.

5.2.3 The knowledge gaps

However, it is not so clear at present what systems should replace the existing systems. As it emerges from all chapters of this book, our present knowledge on how best to impart citizenship competencies is incomplete. In many cases we do not know what methods work. As long as this remains the case, it would be premature to install systems that would impose or elicit uniformity.

This is not the only knowledge missing. Even if we knew what works within the school, we should also know how this works out in society. The studies on the outcomes of citizenship or civic education discussed in Chapter 3 point to a positive knowledge effect but much less is clear about effects on behaviour and attitudes. More particularly, we do not know very much about the persistence of attitudes acquired at school, and about crucial ages and methods. We also know little about the mechanisms of transition from inculcated individual attitudes into social patterns.

Finally, we are a long way from translating what we do know into models for school organization, teacher behaviour and teacher training curricula.

So what is needed now?

5.3 Generating and diffusing knowledge and experience

It is important to enrich the agenda for learning to live together with the development of large-scale mechanisms for the generation and diffusion of knowledge and experience about learning to live together through pilots, experiments and monitoring. The mechanism should of course focus on schools but also involve research institutions and teacher training colleges. New teachers should be trained not only to apply the latest knowledge but also to be aware of its insufficiencies, as well as to be eager to add to it.

The scale of the European area and its diverse systems and methods offers an excellent opportunity to learn from each other, to set up networks to conduct pilots and compare results. It is important, however, that pilots and experiments be well-structured, well-monitored and well-evaluated. Co-operation should not be restricted to loosely-knit networks. These are good for fine-tuning and diffusion of new results but there should also be a hard core of serious experimental designs on which commitments are made over longer periods, so as to be able to look at long-term effects.

We must realize that if we subscribe to the analysis pointing to a growing social cohesion deficit, we are dealing with a matter of urgency for most, if not all, European member states. Without strengthening social cohesion our societies will not prosper. When we start now, we may take a decade or two to see the results.

5.4 The European dimension

This raises the final question: how can the European Union assist us? Or, how can we assist each other through the European Union?

At first sight, the European *acquis* offers considerable scope for common action for learning to live together.

5.4.1 Learning to live together is a common issue

To start with, we are facing shared challenges. All EU countries see the same values affected by the same global trends. All EU countries share the institutional changes that have been brought about by European integration. All European member states look to education for a solution.

Learning to live together is, consequently, eligible for Community action aimed at developing exchanges of information and experience on issues common to the education systems of the Member States, as covered by Article 149 of the Treaty of the EU. The required instrument, viz. co-operation between educational establishments, is mentioned in the same article. Moreover, since learning to live together contributes to social cohesion at all levels, it contributes to developing the European dimension in education, which is also one of the aims mentioned in Article 149. As we have seen, the goals and priorities of the European education and youth programmes include (active) citizenship.

5.4.2 Learning to live together is a Lisbon issue

As we saw in Chapter 2, the Lisbon process has considerably reinforced the focus on both social cohesion and education. In Lisbon, governments asked for a challenging programme for the modernization of education systems. Working groups were set up to further agreement on common objectives. The 2001 Stockholm Council, the 2002 Barcelona Council and the 2003

222 Birzea et al. 2004: 21

Brussels Council had emphasized the role of active citizenship and the role of education in promoting social cohesion.

As a result, citizenship competencies have been given considerable prominence in the set of key competencies produced as a part of the implementation of the "Education and Training Work Programme". As we saw in Chapter 2, the working group recommends that the development of key competencies be one of the overarching principles in Community-supported programmes in the fields of education. Where necessary, indicators should be developed for assessing progress in pursuing these competencies in the population.

5.5 Scope for synergy

Presenting specific proposals for European action is not part of this study. That is a matter between the experts and practitioners on the one hand and politicians on the other. However, we could say that some pieces seem to fit. The set of key competencies produced in the Lisbon follow-up includes citizenship competencies. We have seen that present knowledge about the way in which citizenship competencies are developed in young people is insufficient. It seems natural now, in order to validate and implement the complete set of key competencies, to put the competencies whose application is more uncertain than that of others to the test. Here the European education programmes offer a tool that can be used to further the implementation of the Lisbon process.

Appendix 1

The Treaty on European Union

(97/C 340/02)

Chapter 3

Education, vocational training and youth

Article 149 (ex Article 126)

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

2 Community action shall be aimed at:

- developing the European dimension in education, particularly through the teaching and dissemination of the languages of the Member States;
- encouraging mobility of students and teachers, inter alia by encouraging the academic recognition of diplomas and periods of study;
- promoting cooperation between educational establishments;
- developing exchanges of information and experience on issues common to the education systems of the Member States;
- encouraging the development of youth exchanges and of exchanges of socio-educational instructors;
- encouraging the development of distance education.

3 The Community and the Member States shall foster cooperation with third countries and the competent international organisations in the field of education, in particular the Council of Europe.

4 In order to contribute to the achievement of the objectives referred to in this Article, the Council:

- acting in accordance with the procedure referred to in Article 251, after consulting the Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions, shall adopt incentive measures, excluding any harmonisation of the laws and regulations of the Member States;
- acting by a qualified majority on a proposal from the Commission, shall adopt recommendations.

Article 150 (ex Article 127)

1 The Community shall implement a vocational training policy which shall support and supplement the action of the Member States, while fully respecting the responsibility of the Member States for the content and organisation of vocational training.

2. Community action shall aim to:

- facilitate adaptation to industrial changes, in particular through vocational training and retraining;
- improve initial and continuing vocational training in order to facilitate vocational integration and reintegration into the labour market;
- facilitate access to vocational training and encourage mobility of instructors and trainees and particularly young people;
- stimulate cooperation on training between educational or training establishments and firms;
- develop exchanges of information and experience on issues common to the training systems of the Member States.

3. The Community and the Member States shall foster cooperation with third countries and the competent international organisations in the sphere of vocational training.

4. The Council, acting in accordance with the procedure referred to in Article 251 and after consulting the Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions, shall adopt measures to contribute to the achievement of the objectives referred to in this Article, excluding any harmonisation of the laws and regulations of the Member States.

Appendix 2

Working group on Basic skills, foreign language teaching and entrepreneurship;

Report November 2003, Annex 2.

Key Competence 1
Communication in the mothertongue

Definition

Communication is the ability to express and interpret thoughts, feelings and facts in both oral and written form in the full range of societal contexts, work, home and leisure.

Knowledge	Skills	Attitudes
⁝ vocabulary; ⁝ functional grammar and style; ⁝ types of literary text (fairy tales, myths, legends, poems, lyric poetry, theatre, short stories, novels) and their main features; ⁝ types of non- literary text (cv, applications, reports, editorials, essays, speech, etc) and their main features; ⁝ various types of verbal interaction (conversations, interviews, debates, etc) and their main features; – functions of language; – the main features of different styles and registers in spoken and written language (formal, informal, scientific, journalistic, colloquial, etc).	⁝ communicate, in written or oral form, and understand or make others understand, various messages, in a variety of situations and for different purposes; ⁝ read and understand different texts, adopting strategies appropriate to various reading purposes (reading for information, for study or for pleasure) and to various text types; ⁝ listen to and understand various spoken messages in a variety of communicative situations; ⁝ initiate, sustain and end a conversation in different communicative contexts; ⁝ search, collect and process written information, data and concepts in order to use them in studies and to organise knowledge in a systematic way; ⁝ speak concisely and clearly and monitor whether one is getting the message across successfully; ⁝ write different types of texts for various purposes; monitor the writing process (from conception to proof- reading); ⁝ formulate one's arguments, in speaking or writing, in a convincing manner and take full account of other viewpoints, whether expressed in written or oral form; ⁝ use support techniques (such as notes,schemes, maps) to produce, present or understand complex texts or written or oral form (speeches, conversations, instructions, interviews, debates); ⁝ distinguish, in listening, speaking, reading and writing, relevant from irrelevant information.	⁝ be aware of the variability of language and communication forms over time and in different geographical, social and communication environments; ⁝ have confidence when speaking in public; ⁝ be willing to strive for aesthetic quality in expression beyond the technical correctness of a word/ phrase; ⁝ develop a love of literature; ⁝ approach the opinions and arguments of others with an open mind and engage in constructive and critical dialogue. ⁝ Develop a positive attitude to the mother tongue, and recognise it as a potential source of personal and cultural enrichment; ⁝ develop a positive attitude to intercultural communication.

The set of key competencies as published in the appendix to the last (November 2003) progress report of Working Group B on the Implementation of the "Education & Training 2010" Work Programme.
Red text: the knowledge, skills and attitudes that particularly contribute to learning to live together.

Key Competence 2
Communication in foreign languages

Definition

The same definition as communication in mother tongue but applied to a language different from the one(s) in which the child is raised by parents and at school.

Knowledge	Skills	Attitudes
⁝ vocabulary ⁝ functional grammar and style; ⁝ a range of literary and non-literary texts (fairy tales, myths, legends, lyric poetry, theatre, short stories, novels, letters, short reports, etc) and their main features.	⁝ initiate, sustain and conclude a conversation on topics that are familiar, of personal interest or pertinent to everyday life; ⁝ listen to and understand spoken messages in a limited range of situations (topics that are familiar, of personal interest or pertinent to everyday life); ⁝ read and understand non- specialist written texts on a limited range of subjects; or in some cases, specialist texts in a familiar field. ⁝ Produce written material.[223]	⁝ sensitivity to cultural differences; ⁝ willingness to engage with other cultures through the spoken word; ⁝ disposition to deconstruct cultural stereotypes.

Key Competence 3.1
Mathematicalliteracy

Definition

At the most basic level, mathematical literacy comprises the use of addition and subtraction, multiplication and division, percentages and ratios, through mental and written computation for problem- solving purposes.

Knowledge	Skills	Attitudes
Sound knowledge of numbers and the ability to use them in a variety of everyday contexts is a foundation skill that comprises various elements, such as: ⁝ addition and subtraction; ⁝ multiplication and division; ⁝ percentages and ratios; ⁝ weights and measures.	Mathematical literacy has many applications in everyday life: ⁝ managing a household budget (equating income to expenditure, planning ahead, saving); ⁝ shopping (comparing prices, understanding weights and measures, value for money); ⁝ travel and leisure (relating distances to travel time; comparing currencies and prices).	⁝ overcoming 'fear of numbers', ⁝ willingness to use numerical computation in order to solve problems in the course of day- to- day work and domestic life.

223 The group believes that everyone should become proficient in all four dimensions in one foreign language. In addition, for one other foreign language they should achieve proficiency in receptive skills (listening and reading). The levels of proficiency to be aimed at should be in accordance with those described in the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages: learning, teaching, assessment. All students completing general compulsory education should aim to reach B1 (Threshold) or B1+ (Strong Threshold) for all four skills in one foreign language, and for receptive skills in a second foreign language. By the end of their post- compulsory secondary education, students should have reached level B2 (Vantage) or B2 (Strong Vantage).

Key Competence **3.1**
Mathematicalliteracy (continues)

Definition

Math competence thus involves the use of mathematical modes of thought (logical and spatial thinking) and presentation (formulas, models, constructs, graphs/ charts) which have universal application in explaining, and describing reality.

Knowledge	Skills	Attitudes
mathematical terms and concepts; including the most relevant theorems of geometry and algebra.	decoding and interpreting symbolic and formal mathematical language (symbols and formulae), and understanding its relations to natural language; handling mathematical symbols and formulae; representing mathematical entities, understanding and utilising (decoding, interpreting, distinguishing between) different sorts of representations of mathematical objects, phenomena and situations, choosing and switching between representations as and when appropriate; following and assessing chains of arguments, put forward by others, uncovering the basic ideas in a given line of argument (especially a proof) etc; thinking and reasoning mathematically (mastering mathematical modes of thought); abstracting and generalising when relevant to the question; modelling mathematically (i. e. analysing and building models) – using and applying existing models to questions at hand; communicating in, with, and about mathematics; making use of aids and tools (IT included); knowing the kinds of questions that mathematics may offer the answer to; distinguishing between different kinds of mathematical statements (is something an assertion or an assumption, etc); understanding the scope and limitations of a given concept; understanding mathematical proofs; critical thinking	respect for truth willingness to look for reasons to support one's assertions; willingness to accept or reject the opinions of others on the basis of valid (or invalid) reasons or proofs.

Key Competence **3.2**
Science and Technology

Definition

Science is taken to refer to the body of knowledge, and methodology employed, to explain the natural world. Technology is viewed as the application of that knowledge in order to modify the natural environment in response to perceived human wants or needs.

Knowledge	Skills	Attitudes
basic principles of the natural world, technology and of technological products and processes: the relationship between technology and other fields: scientific progress (for example in medicine); society (values, moral questions) culture (for instance multimedia), the environment (pollution, sustainable development).	use and manipulate technological tools and machines as well as scientific data and insights to obtain a goal or reach a conclusion.	the development of a critical appreciation of science and technology, including safety/ security issues as well as ethical questions.

Key Competence **4**
ICT

Definition

The use of multi- media technology to retrieve, store, create, present and exchange information.

Knowledge	Skills	Attitudes
the main computer functions, including word processing, spread sheets, internet/ email, databases, information storage management.	process large quantities of information and distinguish relevant from irrelevant information or disinformation, objective information from subjective information; communicate via email; access (and possibly create) a website.	propensity to work autonomously and in teams; desire critically to assess information available; awareness that the lower threshold to access information may need to be balanced by higher standards of ethics and taste – ability to distinguish what is 'accessible' from what is 'acceptable'; sensitivity to privacy issues.

POLAND

- ACTIVITY WEEK AT THE END OF THE YEAR AT A WARSAW PRIMARY SCHOOL.
- PUPILS OF GIMNASIUM NO 51 IN WARSAW DEBATE POLAND'S ENTRY INTO THE EUROPEAN UNION.
- A REFERENDUM ON POLAND'S ACCESSION INTO THE EUROPEAN UNION.
- PROJECT ON THE EUROPEAN UNION AND POLAND AT GIMNASIUM NO 51.

Key Competence **5**

Learning to learn

Definition

The competences necessary to organise and regulate one's learning, both alone and in groups; to acquire, process, evaluate and assimilate new knowledge; and to apply these competencies in a variety of contexts, including problem solving and learning, at home, in education/ training, in work and in society.

Knowledge	Skills	Attitudes
⁝ self- knowledge: knowing one's preferred learning methods, the strengths and weaknesses of one's skills and qualifications; ⁝ knowledge of available education and training opportunities.	⁝ time management: creating opportunities to dedicate time to learning; ⁝ information management; ⁝ autonomy, discipline, perseverance in the learning process; ⁝ to use appropriate means (intonation, gesture, mimicry etc) to support oral communication; ⁝ to understand and produce various multimedia messages (written or spoken language, sound, music etc); ⁝ to concentrate for extended as well as short periods of time; ⁝ to reflect critically on the object and purpose of learning.	⁝ adaptability and flexibility; ⁝ self- motivation and confidence in one's capability to succeed; ⁝ a self- concept that upholds one's willingness to change and further develop competences; ⁝ sense of initiative (to learn); ⁝ positive appreciation of learning as a life-enriching activity.

Key Competence **6.1**

Interpersonal, intercultural, social competences

Definition

Interpersonal competences imply all forms of behaviour which one must master as an individual in order to be able to participate in an efficient, constructive way and to resolve conflict in social life, in interaction with other individuals (or groups) both in personal, family and public contexts.

Knowledge	Skills	Attitudes
⁝ codes of conduct and manner generally accepted or promoted in society; ⁝ how to maintain good health, hygiene and nutrition for oneself and one's family.	⁝ confidence and empathy in relation to other individuals; ⁝ tolerance in relation to the views and behaviour of others; ⁝ control of aggression and violence or self-destructive patterns of behaviour; ⁝ the ability to maintain a degree of separation between the professional and personal spheres of life, and to resist the transfer of professional conflict into personal domains.	⁝ interest in and respect for others; ⁝ disposition to compromise; ⁝ integrity; ⁝ assertiveness.

Key Competence **6.2**

Civic Competencies

Definition

The scope of civic competencies is broader than that of interpersonal competences by virtue of their existence at the societal level. They can be described as the set of competences that allow the individual to achieve participation in civic life.

Knowledge	Skills	Attitudes
⁝ civil rights; ⁝ the national language; ⁝ the constitution of the host country; ⁝ the roles and responsibilities of institutions that have relevance in the policy-making process at local, regional, national, European and international level; ⁝ knowledge of European neighbours; ⁝ knowledge of key figures in local and national government; political parties and their policies; ⁝ knowledge of main events, trends and change- agents of national, European and world history; ⁝ understanding of concepts such as democracy, citizenship and scope of government.	⁝ informed participation in voting; ⁝ critical reception of information from mass media; ⁝ participation in community /neighbourhood activities; ⁝ ability to interface effectively with institutions in the public domain; ⁝ ability to display solidarity by showing an interest in and helping to solve problems affecting the local or the wider community.	⁝ understand and appreciate differences between value systems of different religious or ethnic origins; ⁝ balance tolerance and respect for (the values and privacy of) others with a propensity to react against anti social behaviour; ⁝ a sense of belonging to your locality, country and (your part of) the world; ⁝ support for social diversity and social cohesion; ⁝ willingness to participate in community decision-making; ⁝ disposition to volunteer and to participate in civic activities.

Key Competence **7**

Entrepreneurship

Definition

*Entrepreneurship has **a passive and an active component:** the propensity to induce changes oneself, but also the ability to welcome and support innovation brought about by external factors by welcoming change, taking responsibility for one's actions, positive or negative, to finish what we start, to know wherewe are going, to set objectives and meet them, and have the motivation to succeed.*

Knowledge	Skills	Attitudes
⁝ identifying opportunities for the development of one's personal professional or business activities.	⁝ planning, organising, analysing, communicating, doing, de-briefing, evaluating and recording; ⁝ the skills of project development and implementation; ⁝ working co- operatively and flexibly as part of a team; ⁝ identifying one's personal strengths and weaknesses; ⁝ displaying proactive behaviour and responding positively to changes; ⁝ assessing and taking risks as and when warranted.	⁝ Disposition to show initiatives; ⁝ Positive attitude to change and innovation; ⁝ Willingness to identify areas in which to demonstrate the full range of enterprise skills - for example at home, at work and in the community.

Key Competence **8**

Cultural awareness

Definition

Appreciation of the creative expression of ideas, thoughts, feelings or opinions as manifest in a range of media including music, literature, arts and sports.

Knowledge	Skills	Attitudes
⁝ basic knowledge of certain manifestations of art and culture, including popular culture; ⁝ basic knowledge of the conventions of, and exemplars from, each of the creative-expressive media and their historical development.	⁝ discussing and debating on a wide range of subjects pertaining to a broad definition of culture: such as: literature, music, film, performing arts, plastic arts, photography, design, fashion, video art, architecture, urbanisation, landscape; architecture, heritage; food; and language. ⁝ comparing one's own expressive- creative point of view and manifestations with those of others.	⁝ a strong sense of identity combined with respect for diversity; ⁝ disposition to cultivate an aesthetic capacity which lays extensive foundations for participation and a continuing interest in cultural life; ⁝ awareness of the evolution of popular taste; ⁝ a positive attitude to all forms of cultural expression.

Appendix 3

Formal curriculum provisions for EDC in Europe[224]

Country	Terminology	Educational level	Approach	Time allocation
Austria	Civic education	Primary and secondary	Cross-curricular educational principle	
	History and civic education	Secondary (ISCED 2 en 3)	New statutory subject	
Belgium				
French-speaking community	Citizen education	Primary and secondary	Mandatory, integrated to moral education and history Cross-curricular themes	2 hours per week (within moral education thematic contents integrated to history teaching)
Flemish-speaking community	Education for citizenship	Primary and secondary	Cross-curricular themes	3 thematic circles of EDC
Cyprus	Social studies	Primary (grades 1-6)	Separate subject	
	History, civic education and economics	Lower secondary or gymnasium (grades 7-9)	Separate subject	Civic education is taught as separate subject for 1 hour per week for 1 semester
Czech Republic	Civics	Primary (grades 6-9)	Separate subject	1-2 hours per week
	Social sciences and education for citizenship	Secondary (grades 12-13)	Integrated to social sciences, ecological education and philosophy	2 hours per week – the national school curriculum: 1 hour per week – the basic school curriculum
Denmark	Social Science	Primary and secondary (grades 1-9 and 10-12)	Separate subject, mandatory	
	History and civics	Upper secondary (grades 10-12)	Mandatory, separate subject	

224 Compiled from Birzea et al. 2004: 35-42 and Kerr 2003: 48-50.

Estonia	Social education	Primary (grade 4)	Separate subject, mandatory	1 lesson a week
	Social education	Secondary (grades 9 en 12)	Separate subject, mandatory	2 lessons a week
Finland	History and social studies	Primary (grades 1-6)	Civics is integrated to the environmental and natural studies as part of it	570 lessons throughout 6 years
		Primary (grades 5-6)	Separate subject, mandatory	114 weekly lessons over 6 years
	History and social studies	Lower secondary (grades7-9)	Separate subject, mandatory	2 lessons a week each 3 years
	History and social studies	Upper secondary	Separate subject, mandatory	1 of 5 compulsory courses (each 38 hours) is social studies
France	Living together	Primary (ages 6-8)	Separate subject, mandatory	
	Civic education	Primary and lower secondary (age 8-11)	Separate subject, mandatory	Formal national examinations on civic education
	Civic, legal and social education	Upper secondary	Separate and integrated statutory core (linked to history and geography)	3 to 4 hours weekly out of 26
Germany	Social studies *(Sozialkunde)*	Primary	Subsidiary subject and part of other subjects (history, geography and economics), mandatory	Included in the curricula of all *Länder* (federal states)
	Social studies	Upper secondary	Integrated, non-mandatory	Optional for general university entrance certificate

Greece	Civic education	Primary	Cross-curricular activities	
	Ancient Greek literature, history, psychology, civic law, and political institutions, sociology, history and social sciences, European civilization and roots, communication technologies, Environmental sciences	Upper secondary (lyceum)	Specific subjects	
Hungary	History and citizenship	Primary (grades 5-8)	Statutory core (part of the curriculum area “man and society”)	10 to 14% curriculum time
	Anthropology and social studies	Primary (grade 7)		Possible time allocation in the local curriculum
	Social studies	Secondary (grades 9-12)		
	Study of man and ethics	Secondary (grades 11)	Integrated	
	Introduction to philosophy	Secondary (grade 12)	Integrated	
	History and citizenship	Secondary vocational (grade 12)	Separate subject	
Ireland	Social, personal and health education	Primary	Integrated	Three strands: myself; myself and others; myself and the wider world
	Civic, social and political education	Lower secondary	Compulsory, separate subject, mandatory	Examined in junior certificate
	Leaving Certificate Applied and the Transition Year Programme	Upper secondary	Part of special programmes (subject such as English, history, geography and economics)	

Italy	Social studies	Primary	Integrated, statutory core	
	History and civic education	Lower secondary	Separate subject	
	History and civic education, Economics	Upper secondary	Separate and cross-curricular (civics linked to history, geography and economics)	
Latvia	Social sciences	Lower secondary	Integrated	Civics is part of a subject block (social sciences together with health education, ethics, economy and history)
	Social sciences	Upper secondary (grades 10-12)	Integrated	
Lithuania	Principles of civic society	Primary (grades 7-8)	Separate subject	1 lesson a week
	Principles of civic society	Secondary (grade 10)	Separate subject	2 lessons a week
Luxembourg	Civic education *(cours d'instruction civique)*	Upper secondary (grade 12)	Separate subject	1 lesson per week
Malta	Learning democracy	Primary and secondary	Cross-curricular integrated in all subjects	1 Each school has to develop its own curriculum based on National Minimum Curriculum
The Netherlands	Citizenship education or social and environmental studies which includes geography, history, society environment and healthy living.	Primary	Taught in the attainment target "Orientation on Human Beings and Society/the World"	This target includes geography, history, society, environment and healthy behaviour
	Social studies *(Maatschappijleer)*	Secondary	Cross-curricular themes	

Poland	Humanities	Primary	Integrated	
	History and society	Lower secondary	Integrated curriculum area	
	Knowledge about society	Upper secondary	Separate subject	
	Civic education	Upper secondary and secondary vocational	Separate subject	
Portugal	Personal and social development	Basic education	Each school defines its own curriculum project according to the guidelines of the national curriculum	EDC is to be developed as cross curricular activities and non-disciplinary curriculum areas (e.g. project area, assisted study, civic education)
		Upper secondary (grades 10-12)	Cross-curricular activities	
Slovakia	Civics education	Primary (grades 6-9)	Separate subject: mandatory	1 hour per week
	Social science	Secondary (grades 9-11)	Separate subject	
Slovenia	Civic education and ethics	Primary (grades 7-8)	Separate subject, mandatory	1 hour per week
	Civic culture	Secondary (grade 9)	Separate subject, optional course (within "humanities" module)	1 hour per week (32 hours per school year)
	Social sciences	Secondary VET schools	Separate subject, mandatory	85 hours per school year (for the 2 years program). 70 hours per school year (for the 3 years program).
Spain	Science, geography and history	Primary	Separate subject	
	Ethics, social sciences, geography, and history	Secondary (first and second cycles)	Separate subject	
	Philosophy, history: history of the contemporary world (social sciences track)	Upper secondary (Bachillerato)	Separate subject and cross-curricular themes.	

Sweden	Social studies	Primary (grades 1-6)	Part of other subjects integrated	855 lessons over 9 years of compulsory schooling
		Secondary (grades 7-9)		
United Kingdom				
England	Education for citizenship	Primary	Cross-curricular as part of a non-statutory frame-work for "personal, social and health education and citizenship"	Schools to decide
	Citizenship	Lower secondary	Cross-curricular and subjects	
		Upper secondary	Series of development projects; Integrated and cross-curricular (subject areas)	
Northern Ireland	Personal Development curriculum	Secondary (age 11-16)	Cross-curricular themes	
Scotland	Personal and social development	Primary and lower secondary (5-14 curriculum)	Integrated and cross-curricular (subject areas)	
	Religious and moral education	Primary and lower secondary (5-14 curriculum)		

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PORTUGAL

- EUROPEAN UNION WEEK AT ESCOLA SECUNDÁRIA/3 AURÉLIA DE SOUSA SECONDARY SCHOOL IN PORTO.
- AT A WELCOMING FAIR AT THE OCCASION OF SPRING DAY IN EUROPE 2004, STUDENTS ORGANIZED A STAND ON EACH NEW COUNTRY OF THE UNION REPRESENTING ITS CULTURAL, ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL RESOURCES.
- THEN, THE SCHOOL SYMBOLICALLY WELCOMED NEIGHBOURS BY HOSTING THE VISIT OF A CLASS OF A SCHOOL FROM A NEIGHBOURING MUNICIPALITY.

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